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Teleworking for Indonesian Civil Servants: Problems and Actors

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Abstract. Teleworking can become an alternative in doing the office work. This working method allows people to do their job in an unconventional way. It allows workers to work outside of the office, for example, from their homes. This method has brought both advantages and disadvantages. The advancing communication technology gives more confidence that the teleworking would be more popular. However, teleworking is not quite popular in Indonesia, especially in the public sector. Although the country is still growing in terms of communication infrastructure, it seems that teleworking might less likely be chosen as a working method. Considering the nature of the government and the bureaucracy reform, this article gives the preliminary arguments as to why teleworking would likely not work in Indonesian bureaucracy, thus to explain who the actors that could have capabilities to solve it.

Keywords: teleworking, civil servants, communication technology

Abstrak. Bekerja jarak jauh dapat menjadi sebuah alternatif dalam melakukan pekerjaan-pekerjaan kantor. Metode bekerja seperti ini memungkinkan orang untuk melakukan pekerjaan secara tidak konvensional. Dimungkinkan bagi pekerja untuk melakukan aktivitasnya di luar kantor, misalnya, dari rumah masing-masing. Metode bekerja ini telah memunculkan baik keuntungan maupun kerugian. Kemajuan teknologi komunikasi menjadikan metode bekerja jarak jauh semakin populer. Pun demikian, bekerja jarak jauh masih belum populer di Indonesia, terutama dalam sektor publik. Meskipun negara ini masih berkembang dalam hal infrastruktur teknologi komunikasi, sepertinya bekerja jarak jauh cenderung belum dipilih sebagai metode kerja. Mempertimbangkan sifat alamiah pemerintahan dan reformasi birokrasi, artikel ini memberikan argument awal, mengapa bekerja jarak jauh tak terwujud di birokrasi Indonesia, serta kemudian menjelaskan siapa saja aktor yang memiliki kapabilitas untuk mewujudkannya.

Kata kunci: bekerja jarak jauh, pegawai negeri sipil, teknologi komunikasi

INTRODUCTION

In January 2013, the president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, had to cancel his meeting with the president of Argentina, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (Hariyadi, 2013). It caused a chaos in Jakarta that led to the decision to cancel the meeting. The chaos caused by extreme flood which also made extreme traffic jams, occurring in the main protocol street of Jakarta as the heart of Indonesian business and politics. The condition also forced the governor of Jakarta to declare a state of emergency in the Indonesian capital city (Arditya & Pramudatama, 2013). The extreme flood and traffic jams not only brought loss to the business sector; they also brought public services to a halt.

Jakarta's experience shows that for a city with such a large number of inhabitants, there should be both an improvement in physical infrastructure, and a change in the form of work. In order to increase productivity and efficiency of services, a change must occur in the way that people work. The city has a dense population and is also the centre of Indonesian business and politics. All the ministries' offices are located in Jakarta. If there is a situation like the above-mentioned, it would harm the governance process. It is important for the Indonesian government to invest in transportation

infrastructure. Meanwhile, when the government improves transportation, the civil servants might use teleworking as a means of doing their jobs. This way of working would allow civil servants to work outside their offices.

There is, in fact, an alternative for the government to make civil servants work outside the office. Sometimes civil servants do their job in a hotel (The Jakarta Post, 2015). However, in 2014, as part of spending cuts policy, the government banned hotel meetings for civil servants (Brummitt, Purnomo, & Rahadian, 2015), but later revoked this decision (Atmodjo, 2014). This fact shows that the civil servants have an alternative to do the job. So that, together with the improvement of public transportation infrastructures, this method of working is also necessary for civil servants in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta. Unfortunately, this method is not common in Indonesia. One of the reasons is the traditional society would not see teleworking as a real working method. Besides giving several reasons exist as to why it may not work within the Indonesian government, this paper would like to explain the actors who seem capable to do something for teleworking as well as solving traffic problem in big city like Jakarta.

In late modernity, society is changing. Society is now more liquid (Bauman, 2000) and has pushed

many things to the government. Society has requested that the government provides proper public services. Consequently, the government has to be more productive as well. The productive public and private sector would meet the society's demand for public services. Therefore, the way of work also has to add the casual work form with the teleworking form. Teleworking gives the employees a chance to work far away from their office. This form allows the distance and time constraints to disappear. In the end, teleworking provides productivity and flexibility in work. This form of working sounds promising, aiming to propel more productive atmosphere in business. This especially applies to a densely populated country like Indonesia, and cities like Jakarta. The question remains, however, whether this will truly work for the Indonesian government and its civil servants.

Studies about teleworking are far from new. For instance, many studies have already been conducted about the advantages of teleworking (Golden: 2006 and Baruch: 2000), its drawbacks (Baruch, 2000), or even about its paradoxes and practices (Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). However, there is no study about telework in the public sector, especially in a developing country like Indonesia.

The nature of the public sector and the typical country might give a different perspective about telework. Previously conducted studies show both benefits and drawbacks of teleworking. This paper will discuss why it is very unlikely to see effective teleworking in the Indonesian bureaucracy, and the arguments behind it. This paper will address the following research question:

How does the teleworking will not going to work for civil servants in Indonesia?

Knowing the arguments why he teleworking not possible to Indonesian bureaucracy, then it is interesting to know who could solve the problem. Therefore, it is also important to address a question:

Who, the actors that need to do something about teleworking?

Modernization and globalization are demanded more in a developing society. This lead to changes in transformation of individual habits and tastes. The alteration simultaneously would enhance a bigger transformation/change in a society (Putnam, 2000). Additionally, the new society formed by a collaboration of the advanced information technology, restructured socioeconomic of both capitalism and statism, and a cultural movement (Castells, 2000). The new society which are made up by a network. Castells (2000) adds that the network society would be more flexible, adaptive, and structured by information technology. For example, the use of internet and global financial markets. To get an advantage in global financial markets is by using teleworking as an alternative way of work.

The transformation of society leads several changes from individual. For instance, a participation of

individual in bigger system would be reduced. Putnam (2000), admits that this change would cause some activities such as work, serve and attend as a cooperation with others, are most slowly declined. The disintegration might contribute to teleworking. Subsequently, the bounce between individual and company becomes less. This is could possibly support towards the teleworking

The change also leads to the development of tradition. Giddens (2002), says that tradition could change because of modernization. In this case, the modernization as well as a development attracts many people to find a better job in a city. In the city, there are many coordinative functions. For example, a city is a place for intense transactions in several domain such as political, cultural and social (Sassen, 2005). These make a city become a very interesting place to find a job. Subsequently, there is a concentration of economic activities in a city. In a long term, the condition would lead the city to have a dense population. The density would cause a social cost in which the city cannot control its own density.

Because of this pattern, the country will become empty and the people would likely move to these cities. According to Sassen's explanation about global city (2005), Jakarta has all of these functions. Additionally, Jakarta is a centre for central government institutions. This makes a lot of civil servants concentrated to work in this city. Due to density problem, one of many problems in Jakarta is instance traffic. Moreover, the safety within public transportation are like not safe, especially for women (Wardhani, 2015). The problem is a result caused by concentration that occurs in the society itself. The network society would be a solution for this problem. Castells (2000) urges that a prevalence of network in the arrangement of social structure is needed. One of the alternatives is by introducing teleworking to the people in Jakarta. It might solve social cost because of dense population e.g traffic. These problems present that teleworking would be more efficient for the workers in Jakarta.

Teleworking is a new method of working. Work could be defined as telework based on the extent to which its activities are carried out differently from a traditional work setting by using more electronic based technology (Golden, 2006). This means the only way to differentiate between teleworking and traditional work is the use of technology. However, it is not only about the tools, but also the location. Kingma (2016), for instance, argues that the work can also be done in third workspaces. It is about spatial perspectives, referring to perspectives between the home and the office (Kingma, 2016). Telework is therefore not only refers to working from home by using advancing communication technology, but also working from another place outside of the home and the office.

Illegems and Verbeke (2004) discuss the places where it is possible to do telework. According to the authors, telework can involve work from home, a satellite office, a telework center or any places outside the office for at least one day per week (Illegems & Verbeke, 2004). This shows that teleworking can be divided into several types: home-based workers, satellite offices, and mobile working (Perez, Sanchez, & de Luis Carnicer, 2002).

According to Perez, et. al (2002), home based workers always do the work from home on a daily basis. This does not, however, refer to the people who are self-employed as online shop owners, or book writers. A home-based teleworker is somebody who has a telecommunication connection to his or her office (Perez, Sanchez, & de Luis Carnicer, 2002). The connection could be through telephones, or personal computers which have an access to his or her office's network. In Indonesian bureaucracy, the civil servants who may become home-based teleworkers are from the computer engineer division. Their task, for example, is to develop and maintain the government's websites.

Satellite offices make sure that the employees work outside their home and offices. This type mainly focuses on the reduction of transportation problems (Perez, Sanchez, & de Luis Carnicer, 2002). When the commuting time poses a significant problem, the offices need to provide a place where the employees can still work productively. The duration of travel time is a problem here. Employees might live in quite far away from the office, and thus need more time to commute. The commute can also become a problem when transportation infrastructure needs to be improved as traffic jams consume much time for employees. In the Indonesian government, the satellite offices might be needed by the civil servants who live in cities near Jakarta whilst their office is located in the capital. This is because traffic is a big issue in the city.

If in the satellite offices the employees have to work in the designated location, mobile workers have more flexibility. They might frequently work from home, a hotel, a car, or a café by using communication technology, thus communicating with the office when necessary (Perez, Sanchez, & de Luis Carnicer, 2002). The kind of work which is very likely to be done by mobile working includes jobs related to negotiations or promotions. In addition, mobile working might be necessary to prevent the employees in getting bored. In the Indonesian government, civil servants might work from a hotel. Inter-agencies meetings usually take place in a hotel.

Furthermore, there are three dimensions of teleworking (Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). First is the richness and complexity of the work at an individual level. The practice of telework that might have resulted in benefits or drawbacks for an individual teleworker can change his or her work activities and demands (Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). By teleworking, the job's pressure might change, and workers may have less stress as they have an alternative way of working.

The second dimension is the diversity of work activities which the employees can be included in, and how these works can be distinguished in their suitability of telework (Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). The nature of work is very broad. Thus, the employees would differ it and see how the work would suit teleworking. In the end, they might see whether teleworking has brought advantages or disadvantages. In this dimension, the diversity of work is related to the suitability and effectiveness of telework in practice

(Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). The activities that might be related include writing, discussions, or consultancy.

The last dimension includes communication technologies that can have an important role in connecting and facilitating the work (Boell, Cecez-Kecmanovic, & Campbell, 2016). Advanced technology is very necessary to telework. Telework is possible when a well-developed communication infrastructure is in place. A well-developed infrastructure includes a stable and strong Internet connection. This would require a secure network, a high speed of device hardware, a well-developed software, and a safe server and database. These combinations would allow employees to telework.

When considering these dimensions, teleworking is also possible to do in Indonesian government. Some civil servants might have complex work. Such people need to cooperate with many people in different agencies. Thus, they have certain challenges and advantages. Civil servants in Indonesia might also have diversity of their work activities, for example reporting, discussing, collaborating in making a decision, and so forth. Some of these activities might be better done by teleworking. Finally, the Indonesian government has provided services of Internet infrastructure to support teleworkers.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study of teleworking for civil servants in Indonesia conducted by look at the documents, news, and data about civil servants condition in Indonesia. First and most importantly, the author look at the documents or studies about teleworking to build the theoretical framework. After that, the the author look at current condition of traffic in Indonesia. Thus, the study also look at the development of internet users in Indonesia. The study then investigated the policy and data about Indonesian civil servants. Having these sets of data, the author analyse the teleworking in Indonesian government. Finally the study provided abother insight about the teleworking form developing country like Indonesia. The study also revealed whether the method of teleworking will work within Indonesian bureaucracy or not. Knowing this, the study looks at the actors and their capability in doing something about teleworking. These actors would make teleworking more possible in Indonesia, so that the problem of public transportation in Jakarta can be solved. Although not solved at all, at least teleworking would reduce the negative effect of traffic problem.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Teleworking in Indonesia: from theory to practice

The city of Jakarta is full of inhabitants. Due to inappropriate transportation system, the city suffers from traffic problem. The people who are working in Jakarta, need to have at least 4-6 hours to commute everyday. A problem which is even worse because all the offices of the government of Indonesia is settled in Jakarta. To solve this problem, it would seem logical to

choose teleworking as an alternative way of work. This part would give theoretical argument for teleworking. The obstacle of teleworking practice in Jakarta would also explain in this section. Firstly, I would explain the theoretical argument of teleworking in the perspective of network society as well as the practical problems. Secondly, I would give insight from the tradition perspective.

First, we need to see the teleworking in the network society framework. The teleworking is most likely possible for the network society. One of the characteristics of network society is when there is a connection between the nodes in value making, relation making, and decision making (Castells, 2000). Teleworking could offer a solution for a dense city. In a big city like Jakarta, the economic and government activities can connect all of the dimensions. In practice, the distance is not a problem anymore in doing work. There is a space of flow which is made of places connected by telecommunications, fast transportation, and information systems (Castells, 2000). The example of space of flows is a global city. Castells (2000) also adds that the global city has links to other places in the world which demand comprehensive communication and coordination.

Sassen (2005) also adds that the global city is a place for intense transaction such as political, cultural, and social. This makes a city have many coordinative functions. Since the city has many integrated functions, the number of inhabitants would be increasing. The people might have seen city as a perfect place to look for a job. Consequently, it increases urbanization and put the city more (populated) crowded. At this point, many problems can be happened such as crime, housing, or traffic. Therefore, the city needs a solution. Having transformed into a network society would allow the possibility of teleworking.

The new society characteristics by Castells (2000) also show that the teleworking is very likely to happen in the middle of network society. Therefore, we need to look at the characteristics of network society. According to Castells (2000) there are four characteristics of network society; a new technological paradigm, the globalization, dominant manifestation of internet, and a demise of the sovereign nation-state. In explaining the teleworking, the first three characteristics would be more relevant. The fourth is not relevant to explain the teleworking in the context of solving problems in a dense city. This is because we will be more focused on discussing about how to solve a problem in a dense city, not about the legitimacy of the nation. First, a new technological paradigm which is based on the deployment of new technology. Advanced technologies are coming to our life everyday. For instance, the development of smartphones seems to never end. The people also use this smartphone development in their daily life. Thus, if the people want to choose teleworking, it would be easier due to this new technological paradigm. Second, globalization. The organization has a global mission as well as global standards in doing business. For the government organization, for instance, they might look at the developed countries in delivering the service. To maximize the organization's performance, the people need to work by reaching their potential. In

doing their job, the workers might need to do it from a distance. Third, the dominant manifestation of internet. Internet is the significant tool for teleworking. People need to connect to the internet if they want to work from a distance. Therefore, they would discuss, send documents, or communicate decision by the support of internet. From those characteristics, the network society should can support the teleworking.

According to above, the Indonesian society has meet the characteristics of network society. Jakarta, as the heart of business and politics activities has transformed its function into a global city. For instance, the country stock market located in Jakarta. This means that they trade is influenced by global currency trade. Thus, the economic activities would follow the value, relation, and decision making in a global situation. Additionally, as a member of the international community, the political activities in Jakarta also have strong relation with global political communities. For instance, as a member of United Nations the government offices need to be aware about the issue from the other side of world. Therefore, Jakarta has already linked with other places around the world with a comprehensive communication and coordination. Consequently, the interaction way of people with each other would have changed. For instance, the number of cell phone user is increasing. BBC Indonesia (2014) reveals that Indonesia is the highest smartphone user in the world. The report shows that Indonesians use their phone 181 minutes a day (BBC Indonesia, 2014). Moreover, due to advanced technologies, the number of internet user is increasing in Indonesia, particularly Jakarta. The emerging of online shops or online based transportation platform has changed the daily life as well as the way people interact with one another. To save their time, people would choose the online shops to buy things (Rahman, 2017), or use online transportation to book a taxi (Martudji, 2017). These factors indicate that the society in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta, has transformed into a network society.

Having know that the network society can support the teleworking, we also need to understand about the teleworking. The concept of teleworking constitutes by several aspects. According to Boell, et al (2016), in practice teleworking can be possible because of the complexity of work, the diversity of works, and the use of ICT. Due to the network society above discussed, the political and economics activities in Jakarta are likely possible to be done by teleworking. For example, there would be a varied kind of works such as writing reports, discussion, or giving advice which possible to be done from distance. By the support of ICT infrastructure, teleworking can be done.

Additionally, Kingma (2016) explains that the people can do the work from a distance by the third workspaces. The place is located between home and office. In line with Boell, et. al (2016), the work is needed to have support from ICT infrastructure. By this support, the office only requires the workers presence virtually (Kingma, 2016). From the third workspaces, for instance, the workers are possible either to get instruction or submit the reports by using the email (Kingma, 2016). This shows that teleworking need a full support from ICT infrastructure.

Although teleworking should offer a solution for traffic problem in big city like Jakarta, the teleworking in Indonesia has challenges in practice. First, there is a fundamental challenge on ICT infrastructure. The country has limited coverage of internet service. Indonesia also has a low speed of internet service as well. These problems make the people might feel not convenient to choose teleworking. Since teleworking will most likely depend on ICT, the practice in Indonesia would be very difficult. As a result, I would argue that although the society has transformed into network society, teleworking would face challenges because of the lack of ICT infrastructure.

To solve the ICT problem, the Indonesian government need to invest more money in improving ICT infrastructure. The investment indeed cost the government a huge amount of money. But, in a long term, it would bring many benefit for the society. One of the benefits is more flexible work, which could lead the people happier in working. As a result they would be more productive in working. More importantly, the traffic problem in Jakarta would be solved.

Another obstacle for teleworking in Indonesia is the nature of work. For the civil servants in Indonesia, the physical presence is mandatory. There is a regulation which oblige the civil servants to come to the office. Punishment would be given to those who are indiscipline. The disciplinary issue is something that the government need to improve for a better governance service. To solve this problem, the government need to change the regulation. If the civil servants are not punished due to working from home, they might prefer to choose teleworking. Consequently, it would reduce traffic problem in Jakarta, a city where all of central government offices located.

Second, beside the network society framework, the teleworking could also explain by tradition framework. When we discuss about globalisation, we also need to talk about tradition. Giddens (2002) argues that despite of the globalisation, tradition is still there. The society could not rid of the tradition. Instead, the tradition is transformed in the modern society (Giddens, 2002). Tradition still remains in the industrial countries because of the institutional changes which cued by modernity were limited to public institutions (Giddens, 2002, p. 60). According to this, the tradition can not be diminished, it just can be changed.

There is a different perspective between western and Indonesian society because of educational level. In the western perspective, the tradition has transformed due to modernity. Due to high level of education, the tradition has adapted with teleworking phenomenon. The society in western tend to accept teleworking as an alternative way of working. This also influenced by the globalisation, where the institution has to follow the global economic and political situation. Thus, the high level of education also allows western society to accept teleworking practice.

However, with the tradition perspective, teleworking has not been accepted by the Indonesian society. This is become an obstacle for teleworking in Indonesia. For instance, people in Salatiga, Indonesia, are shocked

by two siblings who earn a large amount of money just by staying at home (Purbaya, 2016). People in the community thought that the two siblings used magic as they never worked. In fact, the siblings are running their design engineering company from home (Purbaya, 2016). This perception shows that to some Indonesians think that working can only be done in a conventional way. Not going to the office means that people are jobless. Thus, to them always not at home means that the people is busy and can make more money from their job. This shows the traditional perspective still exist in the society despite of the advanced technology.

The problem of traditional perception of teleworking in Indonesia can be solved by the government. To do so, the government needs to invest in education. By having a high educated society, I think the people would be more open to teleworking. Although, this solution might take a long time but in return can develop the tradition. In a long term, when the people accept teleworking, a problem of traffic in big city would be solved.

In sum, theoretically teleworking offers a solution for density problems in a big city. The network society's characteristics in technological paradigm, globalisation, and manifestation of internet expect that the organizations are connected each other. There is a space of flows which made of places connected by telecommunications, fast transportation, and information systems (Castells, 2000). By having many coordinative functions in political, cultural, and social, a comprehensive communication and coordination are necessary for a big city. Teleworking would be very likely to solve the challenge in communication and coordination. However, in Indonesia and particularly Jakarta, teleworking would be difficult to be applied. There are challenges in ICT infrastructure, nature of work, and tradition. These challenges need to be tackled by the government by invest in ICT and education as well as change the regulation for the workers. By doing so, the traffic problem in Jakarta would be solved.

Teleworking for civil servants: the facts seem that are not going to work

Although telework might bring benefits for the Indonesian government, it seems this form of work will not work in Indonesian bureaucracy in the near future. This section of my paper will explain the reasons why teleworking would not work in the near future for the Indonesian government.

Technology

The main crucial factor for teleworking is the presence of an efficient and fast Internet connection. However, current data shows that the average speed of Indonesian Internet is in 94th place among Asia Pacific countries (Panji, 2016). This means that the Internet speed in Indonesia is relatively slow, causing difficulties for those doing telework. The slow connection would mean workers need more time, for example when sending reports. Moreover, the slow connection would be a problem if teleworkers want to conduct a video call. A bad network would make an online meeting with a video conference very difficult to do.

In practice, the Indonesian president occasionally does video conferences. The most recent video conference was held when the president met with the Indonesian diaspora in Sydney (Aini, 2016). However, for the lower level management, it is quite difficult to conduct a video conference. Thus, it would also be difficult to do teleworking.

Besides the slow connection, another problem is the development gap between regions in Indonesia. While development has been concentrated in Java, the government has failed to develop other regions. The current government has stated to build many physical infrastructures in eastern Indonesia (Purnomo, 2016). Since the development has just begun, the current condition of communication infrastructure is far from outstanding. The data from APJII (2015) shows that the Internet users are mainly come from the big islands such as Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi (APJII, 2015). This means that the eastern part of the country, including Maluku and Papua, still has limited access to the Internet.. This is shows that with the current condition teleworking is not an option for many workers, especially for civil servants who work in eastern Indonesia.

Data security is also a challenge. By having an average Internet infrastructure, internet activity in Indonesia is quite risky. Weak Internet data security would result in huge losses for many Indonesian people. In banking activities, for instance, people would lose their money if the data security is not safe. There was a problem in Indonesian banking when a lot of people in Mataram did not realize that their money was gone (Tribunnews, 2016). The experience from Mataram has become more complex because the bank does not know what happened. As a result, consumers could not do much. Although the bank takes full responsibility for this problem (Tribunnews, 2016), the problem shows that the banking system is not safe.

The banking problem could have been prevented with a high level of security. What if the same problem were to happen in other cities across Indonesia? Indonesia has more than 400 cities, and if Mataram lost 1.5 billion Rupiah, how much money will be lost if it would also happen to the other cities? It is a huge loss for the Indonesian banking system. If many people do not trust the system, they will be angry at the government. In the end the government might lose trust and legitimacy from its people.

In addition, there is another example about the data security in Indonesia. The government has been creating new electronic identification cards (ID) for the people. Unfortunately the data server is quite vulnerable and delays the input process (Destriani, 2016). The problem makes the process of ID creating very time-consuming. According to Destriani (2016), the procedure of the service is that people have to record the data in their neighbourhood administration office. The officials then send the data to the district official who will continue to send the data to the municipality. The data is finally sent to the national server in Jakarta. This sharing of data requires a large and stable server. Once the server is not working, the data would be in trouble. The ID project

has collected all personal details of Indonesian people. If the server is not safe, the personal data of the people would be able to spread anywhere. This would give an opportunity for fraud.

It is important for the government to invest in advanced Internet infrastructure. Besides making the government more efficient it will also build trust from the people. Although it would take time, the condition would also increase the likelihood that teleworking will occur.

Civil servants quality

The difficulty in using technology is not only because of a lack of infrastructure, but also the quality of civil servants. The Minister of Administrative Reform, Asman, Abnur, explains that more than 60% of Indonesian civil servants have a low level of skills and knowledge (Putra, 2016). This fact shows that teleworking is not a good way for civil servants to work in Indonesia. Asman also adds that most civil servants are able to do clerical work (Putra, 2016). This clerical role that is explained by Asman is for example typing a letter or archiving. Thus, this role does not need to use any advanced technology. Moreover, some civil servants also do not know what do they have to do in the office (Putra, 2016). This condition can lead to an unproductive organisation. It is a challenge for the Indonesian government to upgrade the civil servants' skill and knowledge.

The government needs to invest more in training and education for civil servants. This step is necessary not only to give them more skills than clerical work, but also to introduce them to the use of technology. The training program has to be in line with the physical infrastructure project. As a result, the development could be used by many people. In the end they would be able to do telework.

The training and education program is another problem to solve: the majority of civil servants are high school graduates (Putra, 2016) and data also shows that they are mostly aged between 46-55 years old (BPS, 2015). When the government ask these civil servants to increase their knowledge, they would be reluctant to do so. Although people are never too old to learn, this age range is the final stage of their career. These civil servants might feel that the training is not necessary for them because they are nearly retire from their professional career. In addition, the training might also be a huge investment because the civil servants mainly have a lower educational background. There is a big educational gap that needs to be solved. Reducing this gap will take more time, and as a result, it seems that the telework will not work in the Indonesian government in the near future.

Regulations restriction

Another reason that the telework is not going to work in Indonesian bureaucracy is due to regulation. There is a regulation about discipline of civil servants. The level of civil servants' absence is a problem in Indonesia (Dzakwan, 2016). It might also relate to the previous sections where the civil servants do not know what they

have to do (Putra, 2016). The civil servants tend to be absent from the office to do another job (Dzakwan, 2016). Consequently, the level of absence is relatively high. The government then established new regulations in 2010, allowing the managers to give punishment by firing those that are not disciplined (Dzakwan, 2016). The government gives full attention to the presence of civil servants.

The government reacts with a bureaucratic reform. The Ministry of Administrative Reform established the bureaucratic reform in 2009 (Setiawan, 2014). The reform requires several changes in Indonesian bureaucracy. One of the changes is by maximizing the use of technology in the government, including by recording the presence electronically (Kemenpan dan RB, 2016). This program objective is to make the record about the presence easier so that the managers would have easily monitor their staff. In return, the government also gives more incentives for the diligent civil servants (BKN, 2016). Although there is still a debate about the presence and incentives, the Ministry of Administration Reform argues that the only way to measure the performance and discipline is by giving the civil servants money from the presence in office (Kemenpan dan RB, 2016). In this condition, the presence of the civil servants is mandatory, thus, they would get more incentive by working from their offices.

In addition, the work as civil servants means that public service is the priority. To make the public service well delivered to the people, the civil servants need to meet the stakeholders. For instance, in citizen documentation, people cannot be serviced if the civil servants are working from outside the office. Therefore, it is difficult for civil servants to help people with public service by telework.

There is some exception for civil servants who are going on business trips. These people are allowed to not record their presence as long as they have an official letter from the manager (BKN, 2016). Outside these people, or if they are ill, civil servants have to go the office for work.

According this condition, the current regulation does not support telework. The regulation is quite rigid. If the civil servants abandon this rule, they might lose their job. The managers also plays important role in this; if they give permission to do telework, it might be possible. However it is very unlikely to be accepted by the civil servants. If they are not recording their presence electronically, they might also lose the incentive. We can therefore conclude that because of the regulation, telework will not apply to Indonesian bureaucracy in the near future.

Society and perceptions about what defines work

People in Salatiga, Indonesia, are shocked by two siblings who earn a large amount of money just by staying at home (Purbaya, 2016). People in the community thought that the two siblings used magic as they never worked. In fact, the siblings are running their design engineering company from home (Purbaya, 2016). This perception shows that to some Indonesians think that working can only be done in a conventional way. Not

going to the office means that people are jobless. Thus, to them always not at home means that the people is busy and can make more money from their job.

This perception shows that teleworking is less popular for Indonesian people. It needs time to make people understand about there is also an alternative in doing the job. This is also related to the level of education. Educating people is not a short term process, it takes much time to do it. Therefore, the perception cannot change drastically. This also means that in the near future, not so many people would be likely to accept telework.

Only going to work for upper middle level management

Telework is also an alternative way in the decision making process. In this sense, not all level management can do telework. The collaboration of decision making requires many meetings and negotiations. Thus this process is very likely to be done by teleworking. The people who have responsibility for this role is upper middle management level. This work requires very high mobility. However, there is few people in this management level. Mostly, the workers in the lower management level is not needed to have high mobility. Since the number of the lower level is higher, the teleworking cannot be applied for most of workers because it is only fit for upper level. Indonesian bureaucracy has the same condition. Despite the regulation restrictions, if teleworking can be applied, it only works for the upper level.

Teleworking for civil servants: who can do something ?

Although in Indonesia, the teleworking might be impossible for it to work in the near future, some actors seem to be capable to do something about it. This section would explain about these actors, their preferences, and how they interact in order to accelerate teleworking in Indonesia. these actors are interdependent which leads these actors to collective problems of traffic problems in big cities. However, the interdependent actions would become a solution for teleworking.

Government

The first actor who need to do something is the government itself. There are some aspects that need to be improved by the government.

a) Technology

It would be a huge investment for the government to spend money on technology. Indonesia is a big country which consist of thousand of islands. Creating a comprehensive internet infrastructure would be very expensive. However, if it is well established, the positive impact would be perceived by the people. In Indonesia, the government has introduced a program "Internet Masuk Desa (Internet goes to village)" (BBC Indonesia, 2010). However, the development shows that not so many villages are covered (APJII, 2015). The government need to push more in implementing this policy. By having a well connected villages, the number of internet users would be increased. Subsequently, the people would have more access for information. Having internet access also means that the people

would have more opportunity to do teleworking. Beside providing an internet access through the entire country, the government also need to invest in protecting the connection. We have already discussed about the vulnerability of Indonesian internet system, so that, it is important to put internet security as one of the priorities. The government have to ensure the people that all their online activities, including for telework, are safe. Another thing that the government could do is by recruiting the best programmers to protect the national internet network system. By doing so, the teleworking in Indonesia would be possible to happen and solve traffic problem in Jakarta.

b) Bureaucratic reform

There are several difficulties in implementing teleworking in the Indonesian bureaucracy. The problems such as the civil servants quality, regulations, the nature of jobs are very likely occurred if they want to use teleworking as a solution of transportation in the cities. One of the obstacles of teleworking in Indonesia is a low quality of Indonesian civil servants. As an employer, the government needs to put more money to invest on training and education. By investing in training and education, the quality of civil servants would be elevated. This would make the productivity increase, so that, the public service would be very well delivered. As a consequence, the people would be very happy and satisfied with the government. In line with training and education, the government also need to re-arrange job allocation for the civil servants. We know that the number of civil servants consist of older generations and lacking in education. Although it might takes time, but it is important to introduce the old generation that technology is necessary for nowadays working. It would also help them adapt with a new demand of work.

Another crucial aspect that government need to do is to look at the regulations. Because of the regulations the nature of work for civil servants is not supported by teleworking. By regulatory changes, the nature of work would transformed from conventional method. The amendment should also put the output of work is more important than the presence of the civil servants. If the government underlines the productivity is more important than civil servants' presence, the nature of work would change. The civil servants would choose to telework without any fear of being punished. In the end, the problem of transportation in the city like Jakarta would be solved.

c) Society

The government also need to improve the society, especially with their understanding about the way of work. In Indonesia, conventional work by going to office is the most common belief for the people. Therefore, it is also important to give more understanding to the society that there is another alternative way of work; teleworking. This can be done by giving more information and knowledge to the people. Thus, the education access need to be opened more for the people. In Indonesia the percentage of people who are going to higher education is just 14.6% from the population (Syukro, 2013). This number is resulted by the availability of universities is

limited. The data from Indonesian National Statistical Agency (BPS) shows that the universities are very much concentrated in Java (BPS, 2015). This means that for the people who live in other islands, they have less chance to go to their desired university. In a long term, the education level in the other islands would be left behind. The government need to build many higher educational institutions outside Java. This need to be followed by reducing cost to higher education, in order helping poor people to send their children to college. Having well educated people as well as a good internet connectivity, would change society's perception that teleworking is an acceptable way to do work.

Due to the problem of the society which is still traditional, the government could start from the modern global economy purpose, to go more local. This is by giving more attention to improve local society with global perspective. The government need to find connections between global and local issues. By doing so, the government could de-traditionalize society. The connection for instance the ASEAN single market forces Indonesia to ready for the competition. The market would allow skilled labour from other South East Asian countries to enter Indonesia (Min, 2015). Indonesia has to respond by developing their own citizens' quality in order to not lose the competition. Therefore, it is important to transform the traditional society into a more modern one.

Despite of making several changes in infrastructure, organization, and society, the government need to cooperate with other parties. For example, investing in technology is indeed very expensive. The government might ask business actors to joint in the project. In return, the business actors could get many benefits such as the opportunity for easily expanding their companies to entire the country. By having well developed infrastructure, the private sector would have easier to distribute their products and services.

Business

The second actor who can do something to teleworking is private actor. A big company which are based in Jakarta for instance, would love to expand its business to other provinces. This means they also have to invest in technology. By establishing other branches in other cities, they will need more employees. These workers who would assigned in other cities, will have a very good connection with their main office in Jakarta. Thus, the company also have to invest in telecommunication technology. A very well telecommunication network would be a great addition for their business. In the end, their service for the people would be well delivered. By having more branches in the other cities, the prospect employees would not only focus on getting job in Jakarta, but they could also dream about working in other islands. This would result in reducing population in Jakarta. As a consequence, the traffic situation would likely be less dense than before. This expansion would also lead to the teleworking. By having a well connected telecommunication. The company would not always depend on going to their main office in Jakarta. The executive would be made a strategic decision by

teleworking. For instance, the virtual meeting can be held, also the data and knowledge sharing would be happened virtually. If more business institutions do the same, the teleworking would be more possibly to happen in Indonesia. At the time when many business institutions allow their employees to do telework, it would influence the government and society. For example, if the teleworking proves that the productivity increases, the government might follow this step. For the people, when many employees work by teleworking, they would see teleworking as an effective method to get both professional and social life. This would form a new life style for Indonesian workers in choose telework. In the end, people tend to choose teleworking than a conservative one. Subsequently, not many people would commute every day to a big city. The phenomenon would solve transportation problem in big city like Jakarta.

Workers/citizens

All workers, not just civil servants, are the one who do teleworking. These people could choose to do or not to do telework based on their preference. Having trouble with transportation in a big city might be a reason to choose teleworking. Thus, the employees could look for a possibility of doing telework to their institution. This demand would make the institutions consider the option.

Furthermore, in the near future there is quite not possible to use late modern solution such as modernizing the way of work. This is because of traditional society which believe working at home is not really work. The condition shows that for the late modern society and global market, there is a traditional labour supply. The society need to learn that teleworking does exist. To do that, the citizens have to raise their knowledge. This can be done by getting more information, following education or building network with many people. They would know more and discuss about teleworking. Thus within they network, they might be know how to demand their employer to do telework. These workers also could influence others who are close to them. In the end, many other people would be aware about teleworking.

Developing the society is important. If the people did not develop, it would be hard on developing the economy. As a result, it would harm the government. The undeveloped economy would lead to lower revenue to a country. Subsequently, they would not be able to have more investment such as for infrastructure or education. Less investment would cause less developed society. This shows that it is important to the people to start to think about how to develop the society. Having well developed society, people would have not traditional perception anymore. At this point teleworking would be more possible to happen in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Teleworking gives another alternative in doing work. Home-based work, offices satellite, and mobile working are all types of telework. Previous studies have

found that this form of work brings both benefits and drawbacks. In the near future, however, teleworking is not going to work in Indonesian bureaucracy. This is because of reasons including: technology infrastructure, civil servants quality, restriction from regulation, and society's perception about work. It only seems to work for the upper middle management level.

Although teleworking is not going to work in the Indonesian government, it might be successful in future. The actors like the government, business institutions and society itself are capable to do something about teleworking. They could also influence each other in order to make teleworking possible to happen in Indonesia. When the obstacles of teleworking are solved, people would tend to choose teleworking. Therefore, the transportation problem in a big city like Jakarta can be solved as well.

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