The Relationship Between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of Indonesia’s Formal Leaders

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWER BASES AND
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STYLES OF
INDONESIA'S FORMAL LEADERS

by

Wirawan

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWER BASES AND
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STYLES OF
INDONESIA'S FORMAL LEADERS

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The purpose of this study was to investigate the power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders. French and Raven's (1959) theory of power was used to define the power bases. Thomas and Kilmann's (1974) theory of conflict management was used to define the conflict management styles. The study assumed that Indonesia's formal leaders used certain kinds of power bases and conflict management styles in their leadership, and their cultural background influenced their leadership behavior.

Three null hypotheses were proposed to guide the research: (1) that there was no correlation between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders, (2) that there was no significant difference among the means of Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases, and (3) that there was no significant difference among the means of Indonesia's formal leaders' conflict management styles.

Thomas' (1985) Power Base Inventory was used to measure the power base variables. Thomas and Kilmann's (1974) Conflict Mode Instrument was used to assess conflict management style. A demographic instrument was also used to
measure demographic variables viewed as important to the study. The sample consisted of 200 Indonesian private company and government organization managers.

A Pearson product moment correlation test was utilized to test Hypothesis 1 at alpha level .05. The result indicated that there was no correlation between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders.

A one-way analysis of variance test was applied to test Hypotheses 2 and 3 at alpha level .05. Results indicated that the range of Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases included authority, discipline, information, expertise, goodwill, and reward. Formal leaders' range of conflict management styles included avoiding, compromising, collaborating, accommodating, and competing.

Findings indicated that the power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders reflected bureaucratic and conflict avoidance characteristics of the Indonesian society.
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The relationship between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders

Wirawan, Ed.D.
Western Michigan University, 1991
DEDICATED TO:

My vivid daughter Anita Melissa Wirawan and my energetic son Jody Michael Wirawan. I love both of you so much and no one can eliminate my affection for you. Hard work and freedom will lead you toward success and happiness.
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After finishing my Specialist in Arts in Library Science degree, I did not intend to pursue further academic honors. However, the Indonesian Management Development Project was able to persuade, encourage, and provide me with the necessary financial support to continue my education. Therefore I must thank the staff of the Project for their persuasion and support.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Pancasila: Indonesia’s Philosophy

Leadership is a major determinant in Indonesia’s Five Year National Development Programs. In these efforts Indonesia’s leaders provide a vision which determines the direction and the goals of these programs. Their leadership influences and changes the Indonesians’ attitudes and behaviors, and motivates Indonesians to commit themselves to participate in the programs’ implementation. Indonesia’s leaders influence, unite, and motivate their constituents to achieve the goals of the programs. Moreover, their leadership has created economic, political and social stabilities, which are needed for the implementation and continuation of the programs.

Leadership is a process by which leaders influence their followers’ attitudes and behaviors (Hackman & Johnson, 1991). In doing so, Indonesia’s leaders rely on Indonesian cultural leadership, which in this study is referred to as Pancasila leadership. Pancasila leadership, then, is leadership based on "Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila" or Pancasila behavioral norms, which are norms established by the Indonesia People’s Consultative Assembly through its
decision Number II/MPR/1978 (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Indonesia, 1978). The purpose of these norms is to provide guidelines for Indonesians' attitude and behavior in conducting their social relationships. These norms are based on the five fundamental principles of Pancasila found in the Indonesia constitution (Indonesia, 1986).

Pancasila has been the Indonesians' philosophical foundation and way of life for centuries. In essence, Pancasila is a manifestation of the Indonesians' basic philosophies, way of life, beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. The term was coined by Sukarno when he proposed to the Indonesian Committee for Inquiry and Preparation of the Indonesian Independence a philosophical foundation of the Indonesia 1945 Constitution (Sockarno, 1965). This was then formally formulated and included in the preamble of the Constitution by the Committee in 1945. The five principles of Pancasila include: (1) Belief in God, (2) Just and Civilized Humanity, (3) Indonesian Unity, (4) Democracy Guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation and Representation, and (5) Social Justice for all Indonesians (Indonesia, 1983).

The Belief in God principle states that Indonesia is a country comprising people who believe in God. Freedom to profess and conduct religious services is guaranteed by constitution. This principle also forbids religious humiliation. However, Indonesia is not a theocratic state. Instead, Indonesia is a state that protects religious freedom, provides religious service facilities, and encourages religious tolerance among religious adherents.
The Just and Civilized Humanity principle acknowledges the equality, fraternity, and equal responsibility of all human beings. Indonesians believe that all human beings are born free and have equal rights. Consequently, this principle rejects racism, oppression of civil rights, and the colonization of any nation by another. Every Indonesian has a moral obligation and responsibility to maintain and protect the value of these human rights.

The Indonesian Unity principle supports the belief that the Indonesian nation is a conglomerate of ethnic groups. The nation comprises 54 ethnic groups (Bone, 1983) with different ethnic cultures. Yet, despite their differences, these ethnic groups share common beliefs, common goals, and have equal rights and responsibilities to achieve their goals. Indonesian nationalism, or Pancasila nationalism, is based on this principle of a nation of unity with diversity. There is a feeling that this nationalism rejects both ethnocentrism and chauvinism. The motto of the Pancasila nationalism is "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" or Diversity in Unity.

The principle of Democracy Guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation and Representation postulates that all social relationships should be conducted via deliberation and agreement. Parties involved in deliberation have an equal right to express their opinions and disagreements. This is a democratic notion that does not recognize minorities, majorities, or the suppression of one group by another; furthermore, this principle of democracy is based on consensus rather than on majority rule.

Social Justice for all Indonesians is a principle that provides the foundation
for Indonesia as a welfare state. This principle declares that all of Indonesia's natural resources must be used for the welfare and prosperity of all Indonesians. Every Indonesian has an equal right to have an education, a decent job, and a good life. In addition, the principle states that all forms of social exploitation and social injustice should be eliminated (Suharto, 1976).

**Pancasila Behavior Norms**

Pancasila behavior norms are based on interpreting and analyzing the Pancasila principles for Indonesians' behavior (see Appendix A). These norms serve as a guideline for Indonesians in conducting their social relationships. The norms are directives for leaders and followers in the transaction of their relationships. Indonesian leaders must apply these norms to their leadership. In effect, these norms are the way of thinking, the standard of moral conduct, and the code of ethics for Indonesia's leaders. As examples of the application of these norms, Indonesia's leaders need to show respect for human rights; acknowledge the equal rights and responsibilities of their constituents; place the indivisibility, unity, well-being and safety of the Indonesian nation above self-interest; use deliberation when making decisions; and behave justly.

**Influence of Javanese Culture**

Javanese ethnic is one of the most dominant among 54 ethnic groups in Indonesia. This ethnic group constitutes approximately 50% of the Indonesian
population. There are indications that Javanese culture influences Pancasila behavior norms. These cultural influences include the Javanese philosophy, beliefs, way of life, language, and behaviors, the sum of which may be identified as Javanism. This influence is so substantial that some Indonesian social scientists refer to it as the Javanization of the Indonesian culture (Ali, 1986; Bakar, 1982; Buchori, 1982; Hardjowiorgo, 1989).

The influence of the Javanese culture has been evident since the Old Order era (before 1965), and it achieved its peak of influence in the New Order era (after 1965). During the Old Order era, Sukarno, as Indonesia's influential leader and orator, emphasized the Javanese philosophy to all Indonesians. Since boyhood, he loved to watch "the Mahabrama and the Ramayana," epic stories of the Javanese traditional "wayang kulit" (shadow puppet) show. These two epics demonstrate many concepts of Javanese philosophy and behavior. In his speeches, Sukarno introduced many concepts from Javanese philosophy, such as "gotong royong" or "holopis-kuntul-baris" (mutual cooperation), and "tata tentrem karta raharja" (harmony, peace, justice and prosperity for all), to Indonesians. He called the application of these concepts the practice of Pancasila in daily life (Soekarno, 1965).

During the New Order era, the Javanese cultural influence was seen as a vehicle to bring unity to a divided nation and was manifested through legislative and executive decisions. When Suharto replaced Sukarno, after the failure of the Indonesia Communist Party coup d'etat in 1965, Indonesia was at the brink of
civil war. Suharto as a national leader had to unite Indonesians and find behavior norms that could hold Indonesian society together. Therefore, he appointed many Javanese army generals to be his assistants, to hold positions in legislative, executive, and judicative bodies in the central and local governments. These generals were strong believers and practitioners of Javanism. Suharto himself is a strong believer in Javanism. Having grown up in a family that believed in Javanism, he has practiced the Javanese way of life since his boyhood (Soeharto, 1989).

With the assistance of selected generals, Suharto interpreted Pancasila principles from the point of view of Javanese philosophy and beliefs. The result of this interpretation was the creation of Pancasila behavior norms. These norms were then institutionalized by the Indonesia People's Consultative Assembly. Most of the fundamental concepts of the norms were derived from Javanese philosophy. For example, the concepts of humane and harmonious relationships between individuals and society, and balance between human beings and nature as a fundamental ingredient for happiness (Indonesia, 1986), are concepts rooted in Javanese philosophy. Self-restraint and conflict avoidance to achieve harmonious social relationships are also derived from Javanese philosophy.

The influence of Javanism was further strengthened by the interpretation of the Indonesia Constitution, Article 29, Paragraph (2) (Indonesia, 1986). This paragraph acknowledges the existence of "Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa" or mysticism along with religion. Mysticism is not a religion but rather
refers to ethics and a life style inspired by a philosophy or way of thinking. It is a system of ideas about the nature of man and society that determines ethics, traditions, beliefs, and a way of life (Mulder, 1989). Not only does mysticism have norms that influence the daily behaviors of people, it is also considered a religion by some believers. In this framework mysticism is seen not only through norms within their daily behaviors but also through their religious rituals. The interpretation of this constitutional provision allows for and strengthens mysticism, of which Javanism is the most dominant.

In the Old Order era, the Department of Religion regulated all mystical institutions and movements. This department established an agency entitled "Pengawasan Kepercayaan Masyarakat" or Mysticism Overseer. This agency oversaw the emergence, activities, and development of mysticism movements. According to an agency study in 1953, there were 360 mysticism movements in Indonesia (Ali, 1986), most of which were based on Javanism. Some of these mysticism movements evolved toward the establishment of new religions.

In the New Order era, the government recognizes only five religions, Islam, Christianity, Roman Catholicism, Hindu, and Buddhism, which are under the direction of the Department of Religion. Because mysticism is not considered a religion but a cultural movement, a government agency related to mysticism, "Direktorat Pembinaan Penghayat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa" or Directorate of Mysticism Development, was established in the Directorate General of Culture, Department of Education and Culture. This agency
organizes, develops and supervises mysticism movements throughout Indonesia. An agency entitled "Javanologi" or Javanology also was established. This cultural agency develops Javanism via research, seminars, and publications.

The Javanese culture further influences other Indonesian ethnic groups through the behavior of government leaders. Most of the appointed Indonesian leaders and bureaucrats are Javanese. When leading their subordinates, for the most part, they behave as Javanese, speaking Indonesian with Javanese accents and using many Javanese words. In their organizations, they develop Javanese organizational culture. In this organizational culture the relationship among the organizational members is based on patriarchal hierarchy, mutual respect, self restraint, and conflict avoidance.

Pancasila Moral Education

Chapter 5 of the Indonesia People's Consultative Assembly Decision Number 11/MPR/1978 (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Indonesia, 1978) instructed the Indonesia House of Representatives and the President to implement Pancasila behavior norms. For this purpose, a national educational program for the teaching of these norms in all formal and informal education was established. This educational program, which is called Pancasila Moral Education, is a requirement for all students who wish to earn a diploma at all educational levels. It is also required for people who want to join the civil services. Pancasila Moral Education is also a required aspect of management training for civil
servants. Promotion of civil servants to leadership positions is based on their knowledge and use of these norms in their leadership behavior.

To implement Pancasila Moral Education, a government agency was established in the central and local governments. This agency is called "Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila" or Agency for Educational Development and Implementation of Pancasila Guidance. In the central government structure, this agency is directly under the Indonesian president, whereas in the provincial government, this agency is under the governor of the province.

**Indonesian Cultural Leadership**

Pancasila leadership is similar to Burns' transformational leadership concept (Burns, 1978). That is, Pancasila leadership is a process of blending the leaders' vision and behavior with the followers' needs and behavior. The Javanese call this mixture "jumbuhing kawula gusti" or the blending of principle between followers and their leaders. The vision is "tata tentrem karta raharja" which is also the needs of the followers. The behavior of the leaders and their followers are guided by the Pancasila behavior norms. For example, in using power and managing conflict they have to apply deliberation, mutual agreement, national unity, and justice norms.

In the process of blending the needs and aspirations of leaders with their followers, the followers are called on to identify themselves to the leaders and the
leaders in turn empower their followers. The leaders become moral agents charged with using their vision to create necessary changes. The followers become leaders by becoming less dependent on the leaders, and the leaders become catalysts who create and accelerate changes. The leader and their followers build a "gotong royong" structure, an interdependent and symbiotic relationship. In this sense, leaders and followers are alike; each needs the other and must work together harmoniously.

Indonesians believe that a leader is merely one member of an organization or a society member who has special tasks. The influence of Javanese culture is reflected in proverbs relating to the task of a leader. For example, the tasks of the leader are described by Javanese proverbs as "ing ngarso sung tulodo, ing madyo mangun karso," and "tut wuri handayani" (Indonesia, 1986; Soeharto, 1990). Javanese proverbs were authored by a Javanese educational and philosophical leader, Ki Hadjar Dewantara. These proverbs have been adopted nationally as a guide for Indonesian leadership.

The proverb "ing ngarso sung tulodo" means to be out front and to function as an example. Leaders function as good examples for their followers. The leaders' attitudes, behaviors, and lives are used as a model by their followers. The example set by the leader--whether positive or negative--becomes the standard for their organization and society. In other words, the leaders become role models for their followers.

The proverb "ing madyo mangun karso" means "in the middle build and
develop motivation." Leaders motivate their followers to develop their capacity to act to achieve intended goals. Motivating followers to achieve their goals is the leaders’ most important task in modern times. In doing so leaders must recognize and understand their followers’ needs. They must show their followers that their needs can be fulfilled through effort. The leaders must develop their followers’ self-esteem and self-confidence to accomplish goals through independent effort.

The proverb "tut wuri hanyani" means "from the back influencing." Thus, Indonesia’s leaders influence and encourage their followers to take initiatives, to feel responsible, and to do their best to achieve their goals. Leaders empower their followers to change their own destinies.

Sukarno (Soekarno, 1965) considered leaders to be "penyambung lidah" for their followers. The term "penyambung lidah" means "speaker;" leaders are the speakers for their followers. These leaders seek to find what is in the minds (needs and expectations) of their followers and speak up for the needs and expectations of their followers. They analyze, synchronize and frame this knowledge into a vision. They formulate this vision into change by striving to fulfill the needs of their followers. The leaders then unite and motivate their followers to implement their planning.

Leadership and National Development

Since 1968 Indonesia’s leaders have been successfully implementing the national development plan. This success brought about political and social
stability in Indonesia. Indonesian political and social development is more stable now than before 1965. This stability has allowed Indonesia’s leaders to concentrate on developing the Indonesian economy. In addition, this stability has been a considerable help in attracting vast amounts of foreign investments (Schwarz, Vatikiotis, & Cohen, 1991). Between 1965 and 1988 the Indonesian economy grew from 4.5% to 5% a year (World Bank, 1985, 1988, 1989). According to Suharto (Schwarz, 1991b), in 1989 and 1990 Indonesia’s economy grew 5.1% and 7.4%. In the same period the inflation was reduced from 63% to 8.5%. Indonesia has developed from a food-importing country to a food-self-supporting country. Indonesia’s economy has changed from a state controlled economy to an open market economy.

An interesting prediction of Indonesia’s future development has been completed by Forecasting International Company (Emmerson, 1987). This company fed 64 social and economic variables into a computer model, then ran the model for 41 countries. The results indicated that there was no country which would improve its economy, security, unity and influence faster than Indonesia. Moving from 22nd place in 1984, Indonesia would be in competition with West Germany, France and Singapore to reach 7th place between 1989 and 1995.

In considering Indonesia’s leaders and their leadership, it appears that there is a relationship between that leadership and the political, social, and economic development of Indonesia. One important aspect of leadership is creating a context for change (Bennis & Nanus, 1986; Burns, 1978). Indonesia’s leaders have
changed Indonesia's economy from a state controlled to an open market economy. The political and social conditions have changed to become more democratic, more open, and more unified. Two aspects of leadership that may contribute to these achievements are the leaders' power bases and conflict management styles. Therefore, it can be assumed that a relationship exists between the leaders' power bases and conflict management styles and these changes. In this respect the leaders' power bases and conflict management styles are reasonable topics for a study.

**Formal and Informal Leaders**

Two kinds of leaders are involved in the Indonesian national development programs: the formal and informal (Tan & Koentjaraningrat, 1970). Formal leaders are appointed or elected as officials of private company and government organizations where they hold managerial positions. The informal leaders are those unappointed or unelected people who represent the social, cultural, religious and scientific leadership of the nation. They are usually prominent people who have the respect of the community because of their social and religious status, or because they hold prominent positions in society. Examples would be those of a noted scientist and a religious preacher.

Indonesia's formal leaders are responsible for the implementation of the national development program. With the help of informal leaders, they influence, stimulate and accelerate their constituents' commitment to participate in
implementing the program (Kamaluddin, 1973). Their role is to create and maintain national stability, which includes national unity, national security, and public order. For this purpose, they must use their power and manage conflict wisely.

**Statement of the Problem**

This study is focused on the leadership style of Indonesia's formal leaders. It investigates two important aspects of Indonesia's formal leaders' leadership: (1) their power bases, and (2) their conflict management styles. Power base here is defined as a self-reported tendency toward types of power sources used by leaders to motivate their constituents' compliance in the leadership process. The power sources include information, expertise, good will, authority, rewards and discipline.

Variable conflict management style is defined as the self-reported behaviors used by leaders to manage conflict. These conflict management styles are categorized into competing, collaborating, compromising, avoiding and accommodating. This study assumes that Indonesia's formal leaders tend to use particular power bases and conflict management styles in their leadership process, tendencies influenced by their cultural background. The leaders' tendencies to use a particular power base and conflict management style are the focus of this study.

Specific questions addressed in this study include the following:

1. What is the main power base used by Indonesia's leaders to motivate compliance from their followers?
2. What is the main conflict management style used by Indonesia’s leaders to manage conflicts in their organization?

3. Does a relationship exist between the leaders’ power base and their conflict management style?

Purpose and Significance

Leadership is the process by which leaders exercise power and manage conflict to influence their followers. This study investigates the perceptions of Indonesia’s formal leaders concerning the types of power bases and the conflict management styles they use to lead their subordinates. The findings of the study provide insight into their leadership behavior.

Since 1978, there have been new developments in leadership in Indonesia. Pancasila leadership concepts and Pancasila behavior norms have been taught intensively via Pancasila Moral Education. To a certain degree, this educational program may have influenced Indonesia’s formal leaders’ behaviors. The findings of this study reveal the influence of the implementation of the Pancasila Moral Educational program.

Indonesian social scientists have investigated the Pancasila leadership concept. However, most of these studies have concentrated on the interpretation of the classical Javanese literature, Indonesia People’s Consultative Chamber Decision II/MPR/1978 (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Indonesia, 1978), and the speeches of Indonesia authorities. An exhaustive review of literature has
revealed qualitative studies regarding Indonesia's leadership behavior but no quantitative ones. Therefore, it is believed that this study is the first quantitative research effort involving Indonesia's leadership behaviors. It is hoped that the findings will contribute to future quantitative studies.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. This study involves surveying perceptions of Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases and conflict management styles used during their leadership. Berelson and Steiner (1964) define perception as a process by which an individual selects, organizes, stores and interprets sensory stimulation into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world around him. Perception concerns selected experiences of individuals. Therefore, the first limitation of this study relates to the distinction between the leaders' perception of their perceived behaviors and their actual behaviors. Direct observation of the leaders' use of power and conflict management behaviors is very complex and too costly to be undertaken. In this respect, this study assumes that the leaders' perception is not unrealistically different from their real behaviors and therefore addresses the problem statement of the study.

The second limitation of this study relates to the generalizations made over time. The study involves a one period survey; the observation is derived from a single period of time. This study provides information on the power bases and conflict management styles used by leaders at a particular point in time. The use
of power bases and the application of conflict management styles are contingent on particular situations that may change over time. Therefore, generalizations derived from this study are limited.

The population of the study creates a third limitation. That is, the population described in this study is limited to Indonesia's formal leaders. They are private company and government organization managers. The study sample includes high, middle, and lower level managers of private and government organizations. These managers are leaders in their respective organizations, the backbone of Indonesia's formal leaders, and they play important roles in the Indonesian development program. They have planned the Indonesian Five Year Development Program, and provide input for the top policy makers to make decisions and implement the program. Their tenure in their organizations is longer than the tenure of top policy makers. For example, the Minister of Education and Culture or Interior or Foreign Affairs may change every five years, but lower echelon managers stay on the job until they retire. This study assumes that the population sampled is representative of Indonesia's formal leaders. In this respect any generalization derived from this study is limited to formal leaders of private company and government organizations.

The fourth limitation relates to the standard norms used to describe the score profile of power bases and conflict management styles. These standard norms were derived from studies conducted in the United States involving American managers. As yet, no International standard norm to measure power
bases and conflict management styles exists. Due to Indonesian and American cultural differences, the percentile generated by the standard norm must be considered as an approximate figure.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Power

**Power and Leadership**

Organizational politics has become a topic of great interest to social scientists during the last twenty years. This topic has been discussed in literature on leadership, management, psychology, political science, and other social disciplines. According to Pfeffer (1981), the term organizational politics refers to activities undertaken within organizations to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources that determine a preferred outcome in situations of uncertainty. Power is an important ingredient of leadership and leadership always faces uncertainty. In the leadership process, leaders seek, develop and use power to influence their followers. The way leaders do this subsequently influences various aspects of their leadership, such as performance, job satisfaction, leadership style, decision making, and leadership effectiveness.

Social scientists sometimes use the terms leadership and social power interchangeably. For example, Burns (1978) defines leadership as a special form of power. French and Snyder (1959) define leadership in terms of power. They contend that if one member of a group has power over the other, he has some
degree of leadership. Both terms are not the same, yet they intersect at many points. Leadership is a process through which leaders influence their followers toward the achievement of goals. Power is the capacity or ability of an individual to influence others; and in this context power is one of the means by which leaders influence the behaviors of their followers. Thus, power is an ingredient used by leaders to influence their followers during the leadership process.

Hackman and Johnson (1991) argue that power can exist without leaders but that leaders cannot exist without power. Many members of a society have power, but they are not leaders. Tax collectors have the power to collect taxes, policemen have the power to direct traffic, cashiers have the power to collect payment, and terrorists have power over their hostages; but they are not leaders. They are merely doing duties assigned to them by their own managers or leaders. Leaders not only have, maintain, and develop their power, but also use the power to realize their vision. Bonn's and Nanus (1985) propose the relationship between power and leadership. According to these scientists, power is the basic energy needed to initiate and sustain action. It is a capacity to translate and sustain intention into reality. Leadership is the effective use of power.

Social scientists propose many definitions of power. Most social scientists agree that power is the capacity or ability of the power holder to influence the power recipient (Lewin, 1951; Parson, 1954; Rogers, 1979; Russel, 1938; Tawney, 1931; Yukl, 1989). However, social scientists are still divided over the meaning of capacity or ability. Russel (1938) contends that an individual may have power
over another if he is able to direct physical power, to reward and punish, and to influence the opinion of the other. Lewin (1951) asserts that power includes only the capacity to employ psychological forces; he excludes physical force and coercion.

Most social scientists believe that the concept of power includes the ability to enforce physical coercion. The widely used theories of power—such as French and Raven’s (1959), Etzioni’s (1961), and Hersey, Blanchard and Natemeyer’s (1979)—include coercive power in their classification of power.

Power may also be reviewed as a resource for action that may or may not be used. The use of power may bring about influences which, in turn, produce a desired change. According to French and Raven (1959), changes include behavior, opinion, attitudes, goals, needs, values, and other aspects of a person’s thinking. Yukl (1989) asserts that the outcome of such influence can be commitment, compliance, or resistance on the part of power recipients to power holders.

Similar to leadership, power is not an individual property but a property of social relationships. Power results from the relationship between two or more individuals (Burns, 1978; Lewin, 1951; Yukl, 1989). The parties involved are called the power holders or power wielders, and the power recipients. A leader is one of the power holders. Thus, all parties involved in a social relationship have certain degrees of power. However, leaders as power holders have more power than their followers or power recipients and therefore can influence them. French and Raven (1959) and Burns (1978) have formulated formulae to measure
the parties’ degree of power in a given social relationship. According to Burns (1978), the power A (the power holder) has over B (the power recipient) is equal to the maximum force that A can induce on B minus the maximum resistance force which B can mobilize in the opposite direction.

Using power resources or power bases, the power holder influences and changes the behaviors and attitudes of the power recipients. Levinger (1959) defines power base as properties of a power holder perceived by a power recipient as they relate to any goalward motion. For this reason, power recipients comply with the power holders.

Power recipients comply with the influence of the power holder for a certain reason. According to Levinger (1959), the power recipients comply because the power holder has a legitimate right, knowledge, information, property, and a socio-emotional capacity. Burns (1978) thinks the reasons involve the power holder’s capacity to punish the power recipient; to provide knowledge that can help the power recipient out of an uncertain situation; or to give something that the power recipient needs.

Types of Power

French and Raven (1959) have provided six categories that can be used by a power holder to influence and change the power recipient’s behaviors: reward, authority, coercive referent, expertise, and information. Many social scientists have adopted this classification.
A reward power base is the power holder's ability to control the resources desired by the power recipient (Thomas, 1985). According to Yukl (1989), this involves not only the power holders' control over resources, but also control over perceptions of the power recipient that a request or assignment is feasible and, if carried out, will result in the promised reward. Hackman and Johnson (1991) argue that reward power includes both tangible rewards (such as money and health benefits) and intangible rewards (such as supportiveness). They also believe that in such situations, the reward must be desirable and attractive to the power recipient. Examples of the reward power bases include advancement for power recipients, such as pay increases, bonuses, promotions, better jobs, and better work schedules.

Legitimate power base, or authority, includes the legitimate right of the power holder to direct the power recipient and oblige him to obey that direction (Thomas, 1985). "Authority is based on the perceptions about the prerogatives, obligations, and responsibilities associated with particular positions in an organization or social system" (Yukl, 1989, p. 15). In this respect, Hackman and Johnson (1991) suggest that authority lies within specified parameters. Outside of these parameters, the power holders do not have legitimate rights.

Legitimate power is the backbone of bureaucratic leadership, for bureaucratic leadership derives from hierarchical authority. According to Burns (1978), this involves formal and actual authority to organize and reorganize employees in hierarchical relations for both its continuing and its changing purposes.
A coercive power base is the power holder's ability to coerce the power recipients through punishment if they fail to conform to their influence (French & Raven, 1989). It is also the capacity to prevent someone from obtaining a desired reward (Yukl, 1989). Thomas (1985) contends that this power base is at work when power recipients comply to avoid some unpleasant treatment that the power holder asserts. Blau, as cited by Yukl (1989), asserts that coercive power is effective when applied to a small percentage of followers under conditions considered legitimate by the majority of followers. Otherwise this creates opposition and motivates followers to restrict the leaders' power or remove them entirely from their leadership positions.

Most coercive power used by leaders—especially in formal organizational leadership—is based on the authority of leaders to use coercive power only if they have a legitimate right to do so. Authority or legitimate power attaches to the leaders' position, which gives them a legitimate right to coerce followers who do not comply with the leaders' demands. For example, the Director General of every Indonesian Ministry does not have the right to fire his subordinates. Only the Minister of the department has this right. Consequently, the Director is only able to give recommendations to the Minister on personnel decisions. Together with authority, coercive power becomes the backbone of bureaucratic leadership.

In a referent power base, power recipients identify themselves with the power holder. This identification is a feeling of oneness or desire for such identity on the part of the power recipient with the power holder (French & Raven,
1959). The power recipients desire to please a power holder toward who they feel strong affection (Yukl, 1989). This power base is at work when the power recipients comply because they want to be cooperative with or supportive of the power holder they have come to like or admire (Thomas, 1985). This power base stems from friendship, loyalty, and mentoring.

Hackman and Johnson (1991) refer to referent power as role model power. This is power that leads followers toward a feeling of genuine loyalty for their leaders. Since this loyalty develops over extended periods of time, it should be used carefully. If leaders can maintain and develop their referent power, they will develop into role models for their followers.

An expertise power base refers to the ability of a power holder to solve problems and perform important tasks effectively in a given field (Yukl, 1989). It is based on the power holder’s superior judgment, knowledge, and skill. Examples include an attorney influencing clients and the success of a scientist influencing his followers. In modern times expert power is associated with professionalism. The degree of the leaders’ expert power base determines their professionalism. There are two indicators of a leaders’ expert power: their credentials and their ability to demonstrate practical knowledge and skill.

An information power base is the ability of the power holder to control information that is needed by the power recipient. According to Pettigrew, as cited by Yukl (1989), this capacity includes the ability to access and distribute information to the power recipient, such as the power holders’ ability to collect,
select, censor and transfer information to the power recipients.

Thomas (1985) adopts French and Raven's classification of power. However, he changes two its terms: referent power base is changed into goodwill and coercive power into discipline. For the purpose of this study, French and Raven's classification of power is used. The study also incorporates the terminologies developed by Thomas which include information, expertise, goodwill (referent), authority (legitimate), reward, and discipline (coercive).

Etzioni (1961) and Thomas (1985) categorize power into two groups: personal power and position power. Personal power refers to the power holder's personal qualities and knowledge. It "is the extent to which followers respect, feel good about, and are committed to their leader, and see their goals as being satisfied by the goals of their leaders" (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982, p. 248). Personal power includes information, expertise, and goodwill. Position power refers to the power holder's position in an organization. This power consists of authority, reward, and discipline (Etzioni, 1961; Thomas, 1985). Etzioni (1961) postulates that a leader should have both personal and position power. The relationship and influence between leaders and their followers is strengthened if it is based on both powers rather than if based on only one.

Classifications of power that are proposed by French and Raven, Thomas, and Etzioni are parallel and complement each other. The classification of power into personal and position power suggested by Etzioni and Thomas uses French and Raven's framework. In this respect, this study evaluates Indonesia's formal
leaders' power bases by using all of these power classifications.

**Study on Social Power**

Various studies have been done concerning the use of power in the leadership process. Student (1968) conducted a study concerning the relationship between supervisors' power bases, labor compliance, and performance in an industrial organization. He found that a supervisor's legitimate power was the most important element for compliance of subordinates. However, this power base did not relate to performance. Reward and coercive power were positively related to some kinds of performance, such as supply cost performance, but also negatively related to other performance such as maintenance cost performance.

Hersey et al. (1979) postulate that there is no best type of power. From various studies, they propose the following conclusions: (a) the leaders' expert and legitimate power bases appear to be the most important factor for their constituents' compliance, (b) the leaders' expert and referent power bases strongly relate to constituent performance and satisfaction, and (c) there is no evidence indicating that any power base is best. They conclude that, depending on the situation, leaders may need various power bases.

Social scientists also direct their studies to find out the relationship between power and cultural values, and the association between power and organizational position. For example, Aldemir (1986) conducted a study concerning a combination of power bases of American and Turkish faculty members. He discovered
that American faculty members employ a different type of power combination than Turkish faculty members. He believed that this difference can be associated with the difference of cultural values of both nations. Pitts (1990) conducted a study concerning the power bases of 146 project managers. They were asked to complete a questionnaire concerning their perceptions of the power bases good managers should use. The results showed that the highest ranking category was expert power followed by reward power, legitimate power, coercive power, and referent power.

Indonesians' Perception About Power

Javanese Point of View

Indonesians perceive social power from a unique cultural perspective. This perception forms two points of view concerning social power: these include Javanism and contemporary points of view. Javanism, a traditional point of view, theorizes that social power is not merely related to social relationships but also exists as part of cosmic power. Based on Javanese classical literature review, Anderson (1972) contends that traditionally Javanese perceive social power differently from Western views. Power is something concrete, homogenous, constant in total quantity, and without inherent moral implications. This perception is a part of the philosophy of Javanese feudalistic society in the past.

Different from the Westerner who perceives social power merely as an
abstraction determined by social relationship, the Javanese traditionally perceive
social power as something concrete and tangible. A person is a power holder if
he is "sakti," that is, has supernatural power, influence, or can make the power
recipient fearful or respectful. For example, Indonesians who believe in Javanism
considered the first Indonesian President, Sukarno, to be powerful because he
possessed supernatural power that protected him from various assassination
efforts. In addition, he was very charismatic and widely respected.

Power to most Javanese is neutral and independent of its possible users. Power is neither bad nor good. Instead it is the power users who determine whether power is good or bad. Power also does not relate to a question of legitimacy. Power is neither legitimate nor illegitimate. Instead, it is the power holder and power recipient who determines the legitimacy or illegitimacy of power.

Ultimately, all forms of power are homogenous; that is, all forms of power
are the same and cannot be classified because they emanate from the same
source. This perception differs from a Western view that perceives power as heterogeneeous, ascribed to, and derived from certain patterns of behavior and certain social relationships. The Javanese also believe that power contains the specific elements of authority, reward, charisma, expertise, and coercion. However, these elements mix with each other like "fluidum" or moving fluid that fills the universe (Suseno, 1985) and cannot be separated.

Javanism assumes that the quantum of power in the universe is constant and
never changes. This means that there is only limited power available in the
universe. The Javanese also believe that power can be shared and transformed from one power holder to the other. In this respect, power holders may lose or increase their power.

Javanism believes that a person may obtain social power through various ways—not merely through social relationship. A leader may obtain power through approaching cosmic power, which in turn may lead to supernatural or divine power. For example, a person may obtain supernatural power through "tapa brata" or asceticism (not eating, sleeping, moving, talking, etc.) and "lelana brata" or traveling and meditation in holy places, such as a cemetery, forest, or mountain. If these sacred deeds are accepted by "the Almighty," the person will see "wahyu" or a divine revelation in the form of "teja," a round blue radiance in the sky. This wahyu then enters, and unites with the body and mind of the person. With this power, a person might become a new leader.

A good example of this manifestation of the traditional point of view concerning power occurred in 1976. Sawito Kartowibowo, a government official, believed that he had obtained "wahyu" after "lelana brata" involving sacred places in Java. He suggested then that the government had lost the "wahyu" and therefore lost its power. After influencing many important political and religious leaders, Kartowibowo asked President Suharto to transfer the Indonesian presidency to him. This affair was taken very seriously by the government, and Sawito's action was considered to be an attempt of a coup d'etat. Therefore, he was indicted and sentenced to eight years (Calon-calon tanpa panggung, 1990).
Contemporary Point of View

In contrast to the traditional point of view, the Indonesian contemporary point of view concerning power sees social power as merely a social relationship phenomenon with nothing to do with cosmic or supernatural power. Power results from social interaction. People may obtain power by means of interaction in a social relationship such as: joining business, government, political and social organizations; being elected and appointed; receiving education; gaining respect of others; and using force, such as in a coup d'état.

Indonesians who follow the contemporary point of view are those of a generation which has become Westernized and well-educated. The development and modernization of education and the economy, along with the democratization of political and social relationships, have deflated the feudalistic characteristics of Indonesian society; and this development has affected the traditional values of the society. Mulder (1989) describes various changes that have happened among the well-educated Javanese community. In this community, class based order has replaced status position and status order. That is, social relationships appear to become less personal and more business-like. The New Order is a working order that respects achievement rather than feudal moral order, which is based on aristocracy and cosmic power.

Throughout the Indonesian national development process, new and influential leaders have emerged, such as technocrats, bureaucrats, and entrepreneurs.
They now hold some key positions in Indonesia's formal leadership. These new leaders rely more on the knowledge, skill, and experience, rather than a traditional belief. These leaders seek and use power based on their expertise, information, and reward through social relationships.

Conflict Management

Conflict Management and Leadership

One of the tasks of leaders is to unite their followers. Followers consist of individuals who may have different educational backgrounds, experiences and behaviors from each other. These differences then may create conflicts that hinder the achievement of the prospective goals. In this respect, leaders must manage conflict properly in order to build leader and follower unity. For example, Gardner (1990) asserts that one of the tasks of leaders is to achieve workable unity among their followers. The bigger and more complex the organizations and society are, the more inevitable that competition, collision, and conflict arise among members. Leaders must manage conflict in such a way that they not only maintain but also strengthen organizational unity. The productive functioning of an organization and society depends on the unity and the ability of members to work together.

Conflict management is also related to organizational survival. Farace, Monge, and Russell (1977) list four organizational characteristics that closely
relate to organizational survival. These characteristics are: (1) adaptation, (2) control and coordination of resources, (3) expression and management of feelings, and (4) the development and maintenance of the integration among members into group cohesiveness. These characteristics must be managed properly to avoid destructive conflicts. Labovitz (1980) contends that properly managed conflict leads to change, that this change leads to adaptation, and that adaptation then leads to organization survival.

Derr (1975b) overviews an association among an organization's energy resources, conflict management, and productivity. He postulates that to achieve its goals effectively, an organization must use its collective energies productively. If a conflict arises in the organization, the organization's collective energies might be used unproductively. Thus, in managing conflict, the primary objective of the organization is to divert resource energy from conflict dissipation to the implementation of tasks and goals. The role of the organization leader is to find and apply ways to turn conflict energy into productivity. The leader must use conflict-directed organization energy in a positive manner.

Over the last twenty years, conflict in organizations has become a topic of many studies, and these studies have proposed many definitions about conflict. Derr (1975a) defines conflict as energy expended in the organization enterprise in reaction to a tension. Thomas (1976) defines conflict as a "process which begins when one party perceives that the other has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of his" (p. 891). He contends the four key elements of
conflict which underscore the conflict process are: (1) frustration, (2) conceptualization, (3) behavior, and (4) outcome. Frustration, resulting from interference with the achievement of goals, leads to an awareness of conflict. If the frustration is dealt with consciously, the party may then conceptualize the situation. Based on this conceptualization, the party then engages in behavior with the other party to reconcile the situation, and the other party will react to this behavior. If interaction on a given issue stops, conflict outcome reoccurs. If the outcome fails to satisfy either party, a loop of the conflict might occur.

Kilmann and Thomas (1977) define conflict as "the condition of objective incompatibility between values or goals, the behavior of deliberately interfering with other’s goal achievement" (pp. 59-60). Blalock (1987) defines conflict as the intention and mutual exchange of negative sanctions or punitive behaviors. He suggests that in order for a conflict to exist, there must be at least some negative sanction applied by each party.

Hocker and Wilmot (1985) define conflict from a communications perspective. They define conflict as "an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals" (p. 23). According to this definition, four elements develop within the conflict process: (1) an expressed struggle between two or more parties, (2) the parties’ perception of incompatible goals, (3) the parties’ perception of scarce reward, and (4) the parties’ interdependence on each other.
Conflicts arise for many reasons. Schmidt (1974) contends that conflicts happen when the parties involved possess different information, perceptions, and roles. Derr (1977a) postulates that there are six major sources of conflict: (1) stress, which an individual experiences outside or inside an organization, and which may influence his relationships and create disagreement with others; (2) role conflict, a condition that occurs when a clash occurs over a person's role in the organization; (3) power struggles, which pit a person or a group against one another to achieve selfish objectives; (4) differentiation, which creates misunderstanding and disagreement; (5) interdependence, which if not balanced can lead to communication and interaction breakdowns; and (6) external pressure, which arises from forces outside of the organization.

Wexley and Yukl (1977) categorize the causes of organizational conflict as (a) competition for resources, (b) task interdependence, (c) jurisdictional ambiguity, (d) status problems, (e) communication barriers, and (f) individual traits. They assert that among these, competition for resources and communication barriers are the most common.

James Madison, as cited by Burns (1978), postulates that the main cause of conflict is the unequal distribution of properties. In an organization, property can be translated into such resources as funding, space, supplies, personnel, and support. If an organization suffers from a scarcity of these resources, conflicts are more likely to occur.

Social scientists agree that conflict is a property of social relationships
(Burns, 1978; Derr, 1975a; Folger & Poole, 1984; Hocker & Wilmot, 1985; Thomas, 1975). Conflict is a social interaction phenomenon that occurs between at least two interdependent parties who share some degree of mutual interest. Conflict can therefore be categorized into political, familial, social, and interpersonal or organizational conflicts. This study is concerned with interpersonal conflict.

Assumptions About Conflict

People have different opinions or assumptions concerning conflict. These assumptions about conflict can be categorized into: (a) negative and bad, (b) positive and useful, and (c) neither bad nor good. The classical point of view about conflict assumes that conflict is abnormal, negative, unnatural, bad, and wrong. In this respect conflict should be prevented, avoided, and never escalated (Cupach, 1980; Hocker & Wilmot, 1985). These assumptions are based on conflicts that lead to destructive outcomes and unwanted change.

The contemporary point of view on conflict postulates that conflict is normal, inevitable, positive and needed. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) believe that conflict is a natural process, inherent in the nature of social relationships and amenable to constructive regulation through communication. Conflict is not inherently detrimental, and it creates many productive results (Cupach, 1980). Leaders should not shun conflict, but rather confront, exploit, and ultimately embody it (Burns, 1978).
The contingency theory on conflict postulates that conflict is neutral, neither bad nor good. Derr (1975b) describes conflict as normal and a natural consequence of human interaction in an organizational setting. Conflicts can occur for a myriad of overt or hidden reasons; consequently, there is no best way to manage conflict. Appropriate conflict management therefore depends on diagnosing causes and understanding certain preconditions out of which conflicts arise. If it is managed properly, conflict may produce new and creative ideas, release built-up tension, strengthen relationships, and lead toward social change to eliminate inequities in social justice (Folger & Poole, 1984).

Relationships also exist between an organizational climate and perceptions about conflict. "Climate constraints and channels conflict behavior; it lends a definite tenor to interchanges that can accelerate destructive cycles or preserve a productive approach" (Folger & Poole, 1984, p. 82). Bureaucratic organizations, those with a closed climate, typically adhere to certain values, relationships, and modes of communication. In this type of organization, conflict is considered to be an organizational malfunction that disrupts normal operating standards. In bureaucratic organizations, therefore, conflict is considered to be abnormal and should be avoided. Within an open organizational climate, the organization is constantly reacting to, and interacting with, external stimuli. In this climate, conflict is a positive phenomenon, which may lead to change and development.
Types of Interpersonal Conflict

Conflict within an organization or interpersonal conflict can be categorized as either destructive or constructive (Deutsch, 1973; Thomas, 1976; Wilmot, 1979). In destructive conflict one of the parties involved believes that he has lost and therefore becomes dissatisfied with the conflict outcome (Deutsch, 1973). This destructive conflict process is characterized by conflict spirals (North, 1964; Thomas, 1976; Wilmot, 1979), which rely heavily on the overt manipulation of power, threats, coercion, and deception (Deutsch, 1973), confrontation, non-negotiable demands, and win-lose outcomes.

In constructive conflict, the conflict process moves toward a win-win solution. The parties involved may engage in a variety of behaviors, ranging from coercion and threat making to negotiating, joking, and relaxing to reach a mutually acceptable solution (Folger & Poole, 1984). The elements of such conflict become collaborative; instead of creating a win-lose situation, they motivate constructive communication (Hocker & Wilmot, 1985). The outcome of such conflict satisfies all of the parties involved.

Conflict Management Styles

Conflict management increasingly has become an important skill of leaders. According to Schmidt (1974), about 20% of managers' time is spent on conflict either as a participant or as a conflict manager. A survey conducted by the
American Management Association indicated that conflict management was rated as a topic of equal or greater importance than planning, communicating, motivating, and decision making (Lippit, 1982). Managing conflict within an organization is the responsibility of leaders. When followers possess divergent views, the leaders' action, statements, and behaviors will determine an outcome or possibly prevent conflict (Hollander, 1978). The primary purposes of conflict management are to create unity (Gardner, 1980), build and maintain cooperative working relationships, and use conflict-directed organization energy positively (Derr, 1975b).

Leaders develop conflict management styles when managing conflict. Conflict management style is a behavior pattern generated by people in conflict situations. This behavior pattern is determined by their opinions and feelings about the cause of conflict, their expectations about how others will react (Folger & Poole, 1984), communication patterns in conflict interaction, the types and amount of power involved, and the expected outcome.

Social scientists have developed theories concerning conflict management style (Blake & Mouton, 1964; Hall, 1969; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Kleiner, 1978; Stepsis, 1974; Thomas, 1976). The concept concerning conflict management styles was originated by Blake and Mouton (1964) who developed a conflict management styles framework. Their framework is based upon two dimensions: (1) a manager's concern for people, and (2) a manager's concern for production or tasks. This framework parallels their theory on leadership styles, the managerial grid theory (Blake & Mouton, 1964). Their framework, as shown in Figure 1,
Figure 1. Blake and Mouton's (1964) Conflict Management Styles Framework. consists of the following styles:

1. **Forcing.** Managers who have a high concern with production and a low concern for people tend to use force when managing conflicts.

2. **Confrontation.** Managers who are highly concerned with production and people tend to use confrontation.

3. **Compromising.** Managers with a marginal concern for production and people tend to use compromise when managing conflict.

4. **Withdrawal.** Managers with little concern for production and people tend to withdraw when facing conflict.

5. **Smoothing.** Managers with little concern for production but great concern for people tend to use a smoothing management style when facing conflict.
Their theory has been adopted and developed by Jay (1969), Schmidt (1974), Thomas (1976), and Thomas and Kilmann (1974).

Thomas (1976) developed a theory of conflict management styles based on the degree of assertiveness and cooperativeness shown by an individual involved in conflict. Assertiveness is the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy his own concerns, whereas cooperativeness is the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy another person's concern. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) replace the term assertiveness with aggressiveness. They believe that aggressiveness describes self-centered behavior better than the term assertiveness, which has come to mean appropriately insistent behavior that does not deprive the rights of another person.

Based on the degree of assertiveness and cooperativeness of the individual, Thomas' theory describes five conflict management styles: (1) competing, (2) collaborating, (3) compromising, (4) avoiding, and (5) accommodating. The framework is described in Figure 2.

Competing is a conflict management style in which the individual has a high degree of assertiveness but low degree of cooperation. It is a power oriented conflict management style in which a person uses whatever power he has to win a position at the expense of another person.

Collaborating is both an assertive and cooperative conflict management style. Its objective is to find an alternative, a common ground, to "fully satisfy" all parties involved in the conflict. Derr (1975b) contends that collaborating is the
most preferred conflict management style because collaborating (a) promotes interpersonal relations, (b) is a creative force for innovation and improvement, (c) enhances feedback and the flow of information, and (d) develops an organizational climate characterized by more openness, trust, risk-taking, and a good feeling of integrity.

Compromising is an intermediate style using both an assertive and a cooperative conflict management style. Using give and take strategies, parties involved in a conflict find a middle-ground alternative solution which "partially satisfies" all of the parties involved.

Avoiding is an unassertive and uncooperative conflict management style in
which the individual does not address or withdraw from the conflict. Thomas and Kilmann (1974) postulate that avoiding might take the form of diplomatically shunning the issue, postponing the issue until an appropriate time, or simply withdrawing from a threatening conflict situation.

Accommodating is both an unassertive and a cooperative conflict management style. In such a situation, the individual neglects his own concerns to satisfy another's. As with other conflict management styles, accommodating can take many forms. The individual may obey the other's directives, even though he does not want to do so, or he may have altruistic behaviors. Accommodation also can be used as a tactic to encourage cooperation.

No one of these styles is superior to the others. Each style may possess advantages and disadvantages over the others depending on the circumstances of its use (Hocker & Wilmot, 1985; Phillips & Cheston, 1979). A person is capable of using all five modes with the same or different conflict situations. However, a person may use some conflict management styles better than others and thus tend to rely on the preferred styles (Business Programs That Make Business Better, 1986; Hocker & Wilmot, 1985).

What conflict management style a leader adopts depends on a number of factors. According to Thomas (1976), these factors include personality characteristics of the conflicting parties, behavioral norms, procedures governing decision making once conflict arises, and the rewarding of competition or cooperation. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) assume that the personal choice of a conflict
management style or styles depends on the conflict situation, experience with the various styles, and how comfortable a person is with a particular style.

Indonesians' Perception About Conflict

Throughout their history, Indonesians have experienced numerous conflicts. Before 1945, Indonesians fought against Netherlands and Japanese occupation to gain independence. Between 1945 and 1950, Indonesians had to defend their independence against both a communist rebellion and the Netherlands which tried to reoccupy their country. Between 1950 and 1959, Indonesians tried to unite their country against many separatist political groups, such as Durul Islam in Java and Sulawesi, South Maluku Republic in Maluku, and separatist groups in Sumatra and Sulawesi. Between 1959 and 1965, Indonesians were in conflict with the Netherlands over the occupation of West Papua. In addition, the New Order, which had been used since 1965, emerged out of conflict with Old Order political domination. These conflicts brought about much misery, and political, economic and social instability. In turn, this instability prevented Indonesians from concentrating on the development of their country. Therefore, Indonesia's economic and social development are now behind other Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, even though Indonesia is rich in natural resources and manpower.

When the New Order government gained control in the country, its main priority was to establish political, social, and economic stability. This stability was
used as a springboard for Indonesians' national development. The Indonesian government believed that national stability is a condition sine qua non for the implementation, continuation and success of the national development program (Soeharto, 1989).

To establish and maintain national stability, the Indonesian government created a culture-based conflict avoidance. This culture believes that a happy life can be achieved only if harmonious relationships exist among members of the society, between an individual and society, between human beings and nature, and among nations (Indonesia, 1986). Conflict is considered to be disruptive to harmonious relationships. It is an abnormal situation to be avoided. This conflict avoidance principle, or principle of harmony, is used as basis for Pancasila behavior norms.

The principle of harmony derives from Javanese philosophy. The Javanese believe that nature and human beings are created with harmonious attributes. Unless disturbed, they will be in a harmonious situation. The responsibility of human beings is to maintain the harmonious situation.

According to Geertz's study (1961), the Javanese believe that two principles should be followed to establish and maintain a harmonious relationship. First, in all situations human beings should behave in such a way as to avoid conflict. Everything that may disturb a harmonious relationship must be avoided. Willner (1970) calls this principle the principle of avoiding conflict. Suseno (1985) calls this principle "rukun principle" or the principle of harmony.
The second principle concerns respect for people based on their status and position. The Javanese believe that human beings are predestined and created in an hierarchical order of status and position. Examples of such status and position are the relationships between woman and man, parents and children, husbands and wives, leaders and followers, laymen and scientists, and clergymen and believers. In regard to status and position, human beings are not equal. As long as all society members respect status and position, harmonious social relationships will prevail. Suseno (1985) calls this principle the "respect principle."

The purpose of the principle of harmony is to maintain a harmonious society which is called "rukun situation." Mulder (1978) describes the rukun situation as one in which all members of the society live harmoniously, quietly and peacefully, without conflict and contradiction, and by helping each other. Harmonious social relationships lead to "gotong royong" behavior and the accomplishment of "tata tentrem karta raharja."

Power and Management

Power is an important phenomenon in the process of conflict and conflict management. The use of power by parties involved in conflict influences conflict interaction and the direction of conflict management. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) contend that one of the fundamental concepts in conflict theory is power. In interpersonal conflict, the power structures involved lie at the heart of any analysis. Acts of power balancing determine conflict interactions and conflict
management.

Power is one of the causes of conflict. In the leadership process, leaders and their followers share limited power. Hersey and Blanchard (1982) suggest that leaders should realize three notions about power: (1) leaders must realize that power is finite, with only a limited amount available to organizations; (2) leaders have only a portion of the total power available within an organization, and must share power with their followers; and (3) leaders must use power in realistic and meaningful ways.

The sharing of limited power among leaders and followers may bring about a power struggle and role conflict. A power struggle occurs when parties involved compete over limited power resources. According to Derr (1975a), five motivating causes underlie any power struggle: (1) parties competing for scarce resources such as status, information, work load, and budget; (2) parties seeking to gain influence through organization; (3) parties having incompatible drives for autonomy and influence; (4) parties with equal authority vying for leadership positions and influence; and (5) parties are not bound by either a common authority or the need for independence.

The use of power in conflict management influences the process of conflict interaction. Conflict involves moves and counter moves on the part of people involved. These moves depend on the exertion of power. Using various sources of power, a person tries to influence others to accept his resolution. Folger and Poole (1984) assume that if power is successfully exerted, a person reduces his
opponent's options by limiting the forms of interaction, by eliminating a possible resolution, or by restricting the opponent's ability to employ countervailing power. These constraints determine the direction of the conflict.

Power balancing is one of the effective methods of managing conflicts. If parties involved in the conflict have a balance of power, they are unlikely to coerce one another, and are more likely to negotiate to solve the conflict. Walton (1969) surmises that power balancing is an effective avenue for managing relationships. When parties involved in a conflict have power equity, they are more likely to have a long-term relationship.

Wehr, as cited by Hocker and Wilmot (1985), proposes the following method to balance power: (a) limit the power use of the higher-power party, (b) empower the lower-power party, and (c) transcend the win-lose aspect of conflicts and create a collaborative structure.

The parties' perceptions concerning the type of power they use influence their conflict management style. Conrad (1980) has studied the relationship between power, gender, and the mode of conflict management in a superior-subordinate relationship. He found that subordinates' verbal responses to the conflict management actions of their supervisors are influenced substantially by the perceived power relationship.

Conceptual Framework

A review of the literature suggests a conceptual framework concerning
concepts of leadership, power and conflict management that intersect at many points. Leaders seek, develop, and use power to influence their followers. The types of power leaders use substantially influence various aspects of their leadership, such as their leadership styles, organizational climate, and their followers' job satisfaction and productivity. This phenomenon in turn determines the achievement of intended goals.

In the leadership process, leaders deal with conflicts. Conflict is a normal phenomenon and sometimes is unavoidable due to limited organizational resources. Conflict is neither bad nor good and can be either destructive, constructive or both. Properly managed conflict can lead toward a constructive resolution which in turn may lead to constructive changes. The leaders' leadership behavior in managing conflict influences the outcome of the conflict. This outcome will determine the achievement of intended goals.

The effect of power on conflict management is an interesting phenomenon. Power may bring about conflict, and the limited power resources available in organizations might bring about role conflict and other conflicts as well. Power also influences conflict interaction. The type of power bases used by leaders to manage conflict may escalate, prolong, or shorten conflict interaction, which will determine the outcome of the conflict.

Indonesians perceive leadership, power, and conflict from their own cultural perspective. Leadership is perceived as the process of influencing behaviors and attitudes by using Pancasila behavior norms to achieve harmony, peace, justice,
and prosperity for all Indonesians. It is a process of blending between the followers’ needs and behaviors, and the leaders’ vision and behaviors. In the leadership process, the leaders and their followers build harmonious behavior by using Pancasila behavior norms as a guideline to create changes. These changes lead toward the realization of the leaders’ vision, which also means fulfillment of their followers’ needs.

Understanding Pancasila behavior norms is essential to understanding Indonesians’ behavior. These norms have been formulated by the Indonesia Peoples’ Consultative Assembly and have been taught to all Indonesians in compulsory Pancasila moral education. The norms have three functions: (1) they are Indonesians’ behavior guidelines for conducting social relationships, (2) they are designed as national norms to unite all Indonesians’ ethnic group behaviors, and (3) they are guidelines for leaders and their followers in the use of power and management of conflict.

There are indications that Javanism has influenced Pancasila behavior norms for some concepts underlying the norms derive from Javanism. These concepts include (a) having harmonious social relationships as a precondition for a happy life, (b) avoiding conflict, and (c) achieving mutual goals via gotong royong social relationships.

Indonesians have mixed perceptions concerning social power. Javanism or the traditional point of view perceives social power as a part of cosmic power. This view postulates that social power can be obtained through both metaphysics.
and social relationships. The contemporary point of view perceives power merely as social relationship phenomenon to be obtained only through the social relationship process. These points of view influence Indonesian formal leaders' perceptions of power. No matter their point of view, these leaders must apply Pancasila behavior norms when exercising power.

Indonesians, in general, perceive conflict to be an abnormal situation. Conflict is considered disturbing to harmonious social relationships, a conditio signan quanon for a happy life. In this respect, conflict should always be avoided; this belief provides the basis for Pancasila behavior norms.

In the past, Indonesians experienced many conflicts. These conflicts have created much misery and have jeopardized Indonesian unity. It caused economic, political, and social instability, which have prevented Indonesians from concentrating fully on developing their country. As a result, Indonesia is a country that finds itself behind other Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, even though Indonesia is rich in natural resources and manpower. These experiences have strengthened Indonesians' belief that conflict is bad and should be avoided.

Hypothesis

With indications to suggest that a relationship exists between power and conflict management, Indonesia's leaders' power bases and conflict management styles are susceptible to evaluation. This study, therefore, proposes three null-
hypotheses to be tested.

Hypothesis 1: No correlation exists between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders.

Hypothesis 2: No difference arises among the means of Indonesia's leaders' power bases.

Hypothesis 3: No difference occurs among the means of Indonesia's formal leaders' conflict management styles.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study is a self-perception survey. The perception of Indonesia’s formal leaders concerning the type of power bases and conflict management styles used in their leadership, as measured by Power Base Inventory (Thomas, 1985) and Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (Thomas & Kilmann, 1974), comprise the variables in this study. The study assumes that no difference is to be found between the leaders’ perception and their real behaviors. The variables involve six types of power bases and five type of conflict management styles. In addition, demographic variables are used to describe the characteristics of the sample.

Three null-hypotheses are proposed to guide the measurement of the variables. These variables have been measured using two self-administered instruments and one demographic instrument. The three null-hypotheses are tested against alternative hypotheses. The alternative hypotheses are as follows:

1. There is a correlation between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia’s formal leaders.

2. At least one of the means of Indonesia’s formal leaders’ power bases is different.
3. At least one of the means of Indonesia's formal leaders' conflict management styles is different. Statistical analysis are used to test the hypotheses.

Population

The target population of this study is Indonesia's formal leaders, defined as managers of government and private company organizations. The accessible population of the study includes managers who worked in 30 private company and government agencies in Jakarta. These managers have the followings characteristics: (a) They come from various Indonesian ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Menadonese, Batak, Padang, Aceh, and Chinese Indonesian; (b) they are high, middle, and lower level managers; (c) they have various levels of education, possessing doctorate, master, bachelor and two year-college degrees; (d) they include females and male managers; (e) their ages vary; and (f) they work in various fields, such as industry, banking, trade, education, agriculture, co-operative, library, public administration, science and technology, logistics enterprise, hospitals, and book publishing. The accessible population is assumed to represent target population.

The sample design relies on a stratified random sample. The names of 15 private companies and 15 government agencies were selected from the Jakarta phone book. The researcher contacted the organizations' personnel managers and program directors and asked them to participate in the study. A list of 300 managers' names from 150 private companies and 150 government agencies was
compiled from each organization's personnel data base. From these lists, 200 samples (100 private company managers and 100 government organization managers) were selected randomly. These managers became the sample used in this study.

Instrumentation

Two instruments are used in this: Power Base Inventory (PBI) and the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKC). In addition to collecting demographic data from respondents, a demographic questionnaire was used. The demographic instrument is enclosed in Appendix D; PBI and TKC are not enclosed due to copyright laws.

The PBI instrument is designed to measure six bases of managerial power. The power bases are defined as perceptions of the leaders concerning the bases of power they use to motivate compliance from their followers. The classification of power bases is adopted from French and Raven's (1959) classification. The six power bases measured by the instrument are: (1) information, (2) expertise, (3) good-will or referent power, (4) authority or legitimate power, (5) reward, and (6) discipline or coercive power.

To measure these power bases, a pool of sixty items was developed. The items consisted of short and simple statements (ten items for each power base). To enhance reliability, the statement for each power base was paired twice with the others power base statement, forming 30 different item pairs. The managers
were asked to select the statement in each pair that best represented the reason their followers comply with the managers' directives. The respondent's score on each power base is valued from 0 to 10. These scores refer to the number of times the power base was chosen.

A study concerning psychometric properties of the PBI instrument has been conducted by Jeff Kravitz (Thomas, 1987). Reliability measurement was done by constructing a Likert-format version of the PBI. This instrument was administered to 140 managers in training session throughout the United States. The managers were asked to respond to individual statement on the five-point Likert's scale.

Coefficient alpha from the PBI Likert format instrument ranged from .72 to .88. These values exceeded the minimum level suggested by Nunnally (1978). The test-retest correlations were also quite respectable, ranging between .63 and .80, with an average of .70.

The validity measure of the PBI was done by intercorrelating this instrument with a similar instrument, Hersey and Natemeyer's (1979) Power Perception Profile (HN). Similar to PBI, HN uses six French and Raven's power base classifications, but adds a seventh power base, connection power. The intercorrelation for referent or goodwill power base is $r = .74$, $p < .001$; coercive or discipline $r = .48$, $p < .001$; legitimate or authority is $r = .47$, $p = .001$; reward $r = .25$, $p = .02$; expertise $r = .24$, $p = .02$; and information $r = .18$, $p = .07$.

External validity measurement of the PBI was done by administering the
instrument to a nation-wide sample of 318 managers. The sample included managers of business, governmental, and military organizations. Military managers (\(N = 55\)) rated higher than non-military managers (\(N = 2630\)) with \(t = 1.66, p = .05\). Managers in service industries (\(N = 84\)) rated their referent power higher than non-service managers (\(N = 234\)), with \(t = 2.96, p = .002\). Scores of managers of manufacturing organizations (\(N = 61\)) were higher in reward power than were non-manufacturing managers (\(N = 257\)) with \(t = 2.65, p = .004\).

The TKC instrument was designed by Thomas and Kilmann. The first author is the same person who designed the PBI. Both instruments use the same form, which consists of 30 pairs of items, making a total of 60 items. The respondents were also asked to choose one of the items in the pairs. According to Womack (1988), TKC is more widely used and produces more favorable results when compared with Blake and Mouton's, Lawrence and Lorsch's, and Hall's instruments.

Studies concerning psychometric properties of the TKC have been done by Kilmann and Thomas (1977) and Womack (1988). Kilmann and Thomas (1977) measured the reliability of the TKC according to internal consistency and test-retest reliability. The internal consistency coefficients of all conflict management styles fell in the moderate range between .58 to .71, except for accommodating which was .43. The average alpha coefficient was .60. In comparison, the average similar instruments are Lawrence and Lorsch's .45, and Hall's .55.

The test-retest reliability is moderately high and consistent across the
conflict management styles. The average test-retest coefficient of the TKC is .64, while Lawrence and Lorsch’s is .50, Blake and Mouton’s .39, and Hall’s .55 (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977).

Concurrent test validity of the TKC indicates a convergence with Blake and Mouton’s, Lawrence and Lorsch’s, and Hall’s instruments. The TKC shows the average correlation with the last three instruments (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977). Womack (1988) refers to studies conducted by Brown, Yelsma and Keller, and Yarnold concerning construct validity of the TKC. These studies indicate support for TKC.

To collect demographic data of the respondents used in this study, a demographic instrument was constructed. This instrument measures the variables of genders, education, age, length of the time in the job, and position of the respondents in the organizations.

Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected directly by the researcher with the assistance of the personnel managers of the private company and government organizations. The researcher directly distributed the instruments to the respondents. The respondents were given 2 weeks time to respond to the questionnaires. After ten days, the researcher called each respondent inquiring whether any problem had arisen concerning the questionnaires. If there was any problem, the researcher explained the meaning of the question. In addition, the researcher asked
respondents when the questionnaires could be collected. Subsequently, they were collected two weeks later.

Data Tabulation and Analysis

Each respondent's answer was scored and tabulated separately. PBI (Thomas, 1986) and TK (Thomas & Kilmann, 1974) scoring procedures were used to analyze the respondents' answers. Power bases and conflict management styles data were tabulated separately. In addition, the data were also tabulated according to category: government organization and private company managers, and male and female managers.

The Pearson product moment correlation and one-way analysis of variance statistics were used to test the hypotheses. The Pearson correlation statistical test was used to measure the correlation between power bases variables and conflict management style variables. The one-way analysis of variance test statistics were used to measure the means differences among the power bases and conflict management style variables. Tukey post hoc multiple comparison tests were undertaken to differentiate among power base pairs means and among conflict management style pairs means. It was used to test whether the difference between pairs means was statistically significant. To minimize measurement errors, a two-tailed test was used; its alpha level was set at .05. SPSSX statistical software was used to generate fast and precise statistical results.

The means of power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesian
formal leaders were then measured by standard norms of power bases (Thomas, 1985), and by standard norms of conflict management styles (Thomas & Kilmann, 1974). The first set of norms was established based on 317 managers' scores of the various organizations included when taking the PBI. The second set of norms was based on 339 managers at middle and upper levels of business and government organizations. These measures profile the scores of Indonesian formal leaders' power bases and conflict management styles in terms of the standard norm. This score profile was used to determine the main power base and conflict management style.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Demography of the Sample

The sample in this study was drawn from 30 private companies and government organizations. The response rate of the questionnaire was substantial. From a sample size of 200, 169 completed questionnaires were returned. Thirty one respondents did not answer the questionnaire. They were either too busy to complete the questionnaire or out of town when the questionnaires were picked up. Of the 169 questionnaires returned, 5 were not usable because they did not answer all of the questions. The usable returned questionnaires numbered 164, or 82 percent of the total distributed.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents are as follows:

1. **Gender.** The respondents comprised 36 female and 128 male managers.

2. **Age.** Forty-eight managers were between 25 and 35 years of age; 54 managers were between 36 to 46 years old; and 62 managers were 47 years or over.

3. **Length on the job.** Twenty-seven of the managers had been on the job for 5 years or less; 67 managers had 6 to 15 years of experience; 30 managers had 16 to 26 years of experience; and 40 managers had 27 years or over of experience.
4. **Education.** Twenty-three managers had two years of college or less; 61 had bachelor degrees; 75 had master degrees; and 5 had doctorate degrees.

5. **Type of organization.** Eighty-two of the managers worked for private companies; and eighty-two worked for government agencies.

6. **Managerial level.** The respondents also consisted of high, middle and lower level managers. However, since the echelonization structure of the private companies and government organizations is not the same, the study cannot categorize the respondents into managerial levels.

**Testing of the Hypotheses**

Three null-hypotheses were tested against three alternative hypotheses. The first hypothesis testing was conducted to determine the correlation between power bases and conflict management styles. The correlation coefficient and coefficient determination of both variables was calculated to indicate the magnitude of correlations. The purpose of the second and third hypothesis testing was to determine the mean differences of both variables. In addition, Tukey post hoc multiple comparison tests were undertaken to determine the statistically significant differences among power base means and among conflict management style means.

These means were then measured by using standard norms of power bases and conflict management styles. This measurement was designed to score profile the Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases and conflict management styles on the standard norm. The score profile was used to determine their main power base
and conflict management style.

**Hypothesis 1**

Hypothesis 1 states that no correlation exists between power bases and conflict management styles of the Indonesia's formal leaders. This null-hypothesis was tested against an alternative hypothesis which stated that there was a correlation between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders. To test these hypotheses, the observed power bases and conflict management styles data were analyzed and tested by means of Pearson product moment correlation test statistics. The test was a two-tailed test with an alpha level of .05.

Table 1 shows the results of this test. Test results indicate that the Pearson product moment correlations coefficient is $r = .0003$. The critical value for a two-tailed test with a degree of freedom of 163 at alpha level .05 is .195 (Gravetter & Wallnau, 1988). Since the observed $r$ value, $r = .0003$, does not exceed the critical value of .195, the null-hypothesis failed to be rejected. No evidence indicates a correlation between power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesian formal leaders.

The value of the coefficient of determination and cross correlations among each power base and each conflict management style also supports the conclusion. The coefficient of determination of $r = .0003$ is $r^2 = .00$. This figure reveals that no variance of the power base variables can be associated with the variances of conflict management style variables. In other words, the way Indonesia's formal
leaders exercise power cannot be associated with the way they manage conflict. In addition, their power bases cannot be used to predict their conflict management styles.

Table 2 shows the Pearson correlation coefficients of each power base and conflict management styles. Among 30 cells of correlation coefficients, only one supports the null-hypothesis at an alpha level of .05. The cell is a correlation between the expertise power base and the avoiding conflict management style with a negative correlation coefficient of $r = -0.198$. This suggests that when these leaders exercise higher expertise power, they use a lower avoiding conflict management style in management of conflict. On the contrary, if they exercise lower expertise power, they use a higher avoiding conflict management style when managing a conflict.

The coefficient determination of $r = -0.198$ is $r^2 = 0.04$. This figure indicates that the variable expertise power base shares only a very low variance, 4% with
Table 2

Intercorrelations Between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of Indonesia’s Formal Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Collaborating</th>
<th>Avoiding</th>
<th>Compromising</th>
<th>Competing</th>
<th>Accommodating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.141</td>
<td>-.113</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>-.068</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>-.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.279**</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.140</td>
<td>.26**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>-.136</td>
<td>-.155*</td>
<td>-.162*</td>
<td>.171*</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>-.198*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05; ** p < .01; 2-tailed test

an avoiding conflict management style. This means that only 4% of Indonesia’s formal leaders’ behavior when using expertise power can be associated with their behavior when using an avoiding conflict management style. Figure 3 illustrates the overlapping areas of the coefficient of the determination between expertise power base and avoiding conflict management style.

The inter-correlations between each power base and each conflict management style of the managers who work for government agencies, Table 3, and
managers who work for private companies, Table 4, indicate that correlations occur between some power bases and conflict management styles variables.

Table 3 indicates that from 30 cells of correlations, only 4 cells of the correlation coefficient exceed the critical value .195 at alpha .05. These are correlations between expertise and compromising ($r = .236$ with $r^2 = 5$), between information and competing ($r = .227$ with $r^2 = 5$), between reward and accommodating ($r = .232$ with $r^2 = 5$), and between expertise and accommodating ($r = -.277$ with $r^2 = 7$). However, these variables share only low levels of variances between 5 to 7%. This suggests that only 5 to 7% of the leaders of Indonesia's government organization behavior in using these power bases can be associated with their behavior in using related conflict management styles.

Table 4 indicates that among 30 cells of the correlation coefficients of the
Table 3
Correlations Between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of Government Agency Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Collaborating</th>
<th>Avoiding</th>
<th>Compromising</th>
<th>Competing</th>
<th>Accommodating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>-.112</td>
<td>.208</td>
<td>-.502</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>-.021</td>
<td>.326**</td>
<td>-.052</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>-.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>-.163</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>.227*</td>
<td>-.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.385**</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.050</td>
<td>-.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>-.129</td>
<td>-.181</td>
<td>-.304**</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.232*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>-.091</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>.236*</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>-.277*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05; ** p < .01

private companies leaders' power bases and conflict management styles, only 3 cells exceed the critical value of .195 at alpha level .05. These include correlations between goodwill and competing (r = -.232 with r² = .05), between goodwill and accommodating (r = .246 with r² = .06), and between expertise and avoiding (r = .228 with r² = .05). However, these variables share low variances, between 5 to 6%. These figures mean that only 5 to 6% of Indonesian private company formal leaders' behavior in using power bases can be associated with their related
Table 4
Correlations Between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of Private Company Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Collaborating</th>
<th>Avoiding</th>
<th>Compromising</th>
<th>Competing</th>
<th>Accommodating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>-.172</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>-.097</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>.186</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.117</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>-.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>-.145</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>-.232*</td>
<td>.246*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>-.040</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>-.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.228*</td>
<td>-.123</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>-.176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05; two-tailed test

conflict management style.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 states that no difference occurs among the means of Indonesia’s formal leaders’ power bases. This null-hypothesis was tested against the alternative hypothesis which stated that at least one of the means of Indonesia’s formal leaders’ power bases was different. To test this hypothesis, the observed
power bases variables were tested by using the one-way analysis of variance. The test is two tailed test with an alpha level set at .05.

Table 5 shows the results of the test statistics. The critical value for the degree of freedom of 5, 979 at an alpha level .05 is 2.21 (Hinkle, 1978). Since the observed $F$ value ($F=62.04$) exceeds the critical value of 2.21, the null-hypothesis is rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis. The probability that the observed sample values have occurred by chance if the null-hypothesis is true is .000. This suggests that there is evidence indicating differences among the means of Indonesian formal leaders' power bases.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>$F$ Ratio</th>
<th>$F$ Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.04</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>978</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p < .05$; 2-tailed test

Table 6 shows the means and standard deviations of Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases. The highest mean is authority (6.63), followed by discipline (5.83), information (5.75), goodwill (4.06), reward (4.01), and expertise (3.87).
Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Indonesia's Formal Leaders' Power Bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 also shows the standard deviation of the power bases. The scores are scattered widely around standard deviations of 1.84 to 2.04. About 95% of the power bases scores are clustered around these standard deviations.

The post hoc multiple comparison test using the Tukey method indicates that significant statistical difference occurred among some of the means of power bases at alpha level .05. Figure 4 shows the significant differences among some means of the power bases.

Figure 5 shows Indonesia's formal leaders' power bases score profile on the standard norm. Both authority and discipline power bases scores are above average (approximately at 60th percentile) on the standard norm. Figure 5 also
### Power Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 indicates that Indonesia’s formal leaders’ behaviors in using information and expertise power bases are on the average (approximately at 50th percentile) within the standard norm. Their perception concerning the use of goodwill and reward power bases are below the average (approximately at 40th percentile) on standard norms.

The observed power base data of Indonesian formal leaders who work for government agencies, Table 7, and who work for private companies, Table 8, also support the findings. These tables indicate that the highest power base mean of both government agencies and private company managers is authority (with mean

---

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Information</th>
<th>**</th>
<th>**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>** ** **</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>** **</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of 6.98 and 6.28). However, for government agencies managers this variable is followed by information (5.98), discipline (5.69), goodwill (3.95), reward (3.89) and expertise (3.82). For private company managers authority is followed by discipline (5.97), information (5.64), goodwill (4.29), reward (4.20), and expertise (3.79).

![Power Bases Graph](image)

**Figure 5. Indonesia’s Formal Leaders’ Power Bases Score Profile.**

Tables 7 and 8 also show their standard norm scores profile. For government organizations’ leaders, the order of their power bases score profile is authority (approximately 70th percentile), information and discipline (approximately
Table 7
Means and Standard Norms of Government Organization
Formal Leaders' Power Bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8
Means and Standard Norms of Private Company
Organization Formal Leaders' Power Bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
60th percentile), expertise (approximately 50th percentile) and reward and goodwill (approximately 40th percentile). For the private company leaders, their power base standard norm scores profile range is discipline (approximately 70th percentile), authority and information (approximately 60th percentile), reward and expertise (approximately 50th percentile), and goodwill (approximately 40th percentile).

The combination of the power base means of the female and male leaders are different. Table 9 indicates that the highest mean of female leaders' power base is discipline (6.22), followed by authority (6.11), information (5.00), expertise (4.57), reward (4.37) and goodwill (3.71). Table 10 reveals that the range of Indonesian male formal leaders' power bases means is authority (6.74), followed by information (6.00), discipline (5.72), goodwill (4.22), reward (3.86), and expertise (3.69).

The order of the standard norm scores profile of female leaders' power bases (Table 9) indicates that discipline is the main power base (approximately at the 70th percentile). It is followed by authority and expertise (approximately at the 60th percentile), reward (approximately at 40th percentile), and goodwill (approximately at the 30th percentile). The order of male leaders' standard norm scores (Table 10) indicates that authority is the main power base with score profile approximately at the 70th percentile. This score is followed by discipline with score profile approximately at the 60th percentile, information approximately at the 50th percentile, and expertise, goodwill and reward all approximately at the
### Table 9
Means and Standard Norms of Female Leaders' Power Bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>6.22</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 10
Means and Standard Norms of Male Leaders' Power Bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Base</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>6.74</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypothesis 3 states that no difference exists among the means of Indonesia's formal leaders' conflict management styles. This null-hypothesis was tested against the alternative hypothesis which states that at least one of the Indonesian formal leaders' conflict management styles means is different. To test these hypotheses, the observed conflict management styles data were tested using the one-way analysis of variance. The test was a two-tailed test with alpha level set at .05. Table 11 shows the results of the test.

The critical value for degree of freedom 4, 815 is 2.22 (Hinkle, 1988). Since the observed $F$ value ($F = 165.36$) exceeds the critical value of 2.22, the null-hypothesis is rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis. The probability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>$F$ Ratio</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>165.36</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>815</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p < .05$; 2-tailed test
that the observed value will occur by chance if the null-hypothesis is true is .000. Evidence indicates that a difference exists among the means of the conflict management styles. Table 12 indicates that the highest mean of the conflict management style of Indonesia's formal leaders is collaborating (7.54). This variable is followed by avoiding (7.45), compromising (7.14), competing (3.79), and accommodating (3.75). Table 12 also points out the standard deviations of the conflict management styles. The figure indicates that their conflict management styles scores disperse widely between -1.60 and 2.57 standard deviations.

The post hoc multiple comparison test using the Tukey method (Figure 6) indicates that no difference occurred among the means of the variables of collaborating, avoiding, and compromising at alpha level .05. However, the test also

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations of Indonesia's Formal Leaders’ Conflict Management Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Management Style</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compromising</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 6. Significant Differences (*) Among the Means of Conflict Management Styles.

reveals that significant differences occur between these three variables with competing and accommodating conflict management styles.

Figure 7 exhibits the score profiles on the standard norm the conflict management styles of the Indonesian formal leaders. This figure indicates that the avoiding conflict management style falls approximately at the 70th percentile. This conflict management style in turn is followed by compromising, approximately at the 60th percentile, and collaborating, approximately at the 50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict management styles</th>
<th>Competing</th>
<th>Collaborating</th>
<th>Compromising</th>
<th>Avoiding</th>
<th>Accommodating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percentile. The profiles for accommodating and competing scores are below the average, at approximately the 40th and 30th percentile.

These score profiles indicate that Indonesia's formal leaders tend to avoid conflict. In addition, they are more likely to compromise and collaborate when facing an unavoidable conflict situation. The score profiles also indicate that their accommodating and competing conflict management behaviors are low when facing a conflict situation.

Figure 7. Indonesia's Formal Leaders' Conflict Management Styles Score Profile.
Table 13 shows the conflict management styles means and standard norm scores of the Indonesia's government organization leaders. The table indicates that the avoiding conflict management style mean is the highest (7.70) with its standard norm score at approximately the 80th percentile. This conflict management style mean is followed by collaborating (7.63) and compromising (7.02), with their standard norm scores at approximately the 60th percentile. The other conflict management styles are accommodating (4.00) and competing (3.35) with their low standard norm scores falling at approximately the 40th and 30th percentile, respectively.

Table 14 displays the means and standard norm scores conflict management styles of the private companies leaders. Their highest conflict management style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Management Style</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>7.70</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compromising</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14

Means and Standard Norms for Conflict Management Styles of Private Company Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Management Style</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compromising</td>
<td>7.31</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean is collaborating (7.50), followed by compromising (7.31), and avoiding (7.13). These standard norm scores point out that the avoiding conflict management style falls at approximately the 70th percentile. This style is followed by collaborating, and then compromising which are at approximately the 60 percentile. The competing and accommodating scores are low, at approximately the 40th and 30th percentile, respectively.

Table 15 displays the means and the standard scores for conflict management styles of Indonesia's female formal leaders. The table indicates that the conflict management style with the highest mean is compromising (7.94), followed by avoiding (7.77), and collaborating (7.48). However, their standard scores also reveal the avoiding score is the highest, at approximately the 80th percentile,
Table 15
Means and Standard Norms Conflict Management: Styles of Indonesia’s Female Formal Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Management Style</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Score Profile Percentile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compromising</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating</td>
<td>7.48</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

followed by compromising at approximately the 70th percentile, and collaborating at approximately the 50th percentile. The scores for accommodating and competing are low, at approximately the 30th percentile.

Table 16 describes the means and standard norm scores of conflict management styles of Indonesian male leaders. The table indicates that the collaborating mean is the highest (7.56), followed by the avoiding (7.39), compromising (6.97), competing (3.96), and accommodating (3.79). However, on the standard norm, avoiding conflict management score profile is the highest, at approximately the 70 percentile, followed by collaborating, at approximately the 60th percentile, and compromising which is approximately at the 50 percentile. The competing and accommodating scores are at approximately the 30th percentile.
In conclusion, hypotheses testing results reveal pertinent information concerning power bases and conflict management styles of Indonesia's formal leaders. First, no correlation exists between the power bases of Indonesia's formal leaders and their conflict management styles. Second, the main power base is authority, followed by discipline, information, expertise, goodwill and reward. Third, the main conflict management style is avoiding, followed by compromising, collaborating, accommodating and competing.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Implications

Authority and Bureaucratic Leadership

The findings of this study indicate that Indonesia’s formal leaders are more likely to rely on their positional power rather than on their personal power. They perceive authority and discipline or coercive power as their main power base to motivate compliance from followers. The score profile for these variables on the standard norm is above the average (at approximately the 70th percentile). The score profile of their personal powers reveals that they also use such powers to strengthen their positions to lead their followers.

Various explanations may define these phenomena; most likely the leadership of Indonesia’s formal leaders is bureaucratic leadership. They use authority and discipline or coercive power bases as the main pillars of their leadership. They strongly believe their authority emanates from above (via the constitution, law, regulation, culture or higher level leaders), which gives them legitimate rights to exercise their authority downward to their subordinates. The leaders strongly believe that their subordinates are obligated to comply with their leadership.

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Hierarchical Characteristics

Indonesian bureaucratic leadership has two characteristics, hierarchical, and patriarchal or familial. The hierarchical characteristic derives from Indonesian culture which sees society organized into hierarchical status and positions. Social relationships also are based on hierarchical status and position. Every member of society has individual roles and responsibility in these relationships. Furthermore, a member of society is obligated to respect and maintain hierarchical statutes, positions, and roles. Social harmony prevails if every member of society respects these hierarchies.

In Indonesian bureaucratic leadership the behavior of lower level leaders and followers are obligated to follow guidelines which are established by higher level leaders. Pancasila behavior norms are general behavior guidelines. Higher level leaders interpret these norms into bureaucratic organizational culture. The prevailing culture determines how leaders and followers operate within the organization. For example, the cultural norms determine how communication between leaders and followers must be conducted. Communications follow predefined formal hierarchical channels.

Indonesia is a highly bureaucratic country. Based on the Indonesian Presidential Executive Order Number 44 and 45 of 1974, the structure of government organizations are hierarchically arranged into four echelons, Echelon 1, 2, 3, and 4. Each higher echelon supervises 3 to 5 lower echelons. The Indonesian
governmental bureaucracy rests on this echelonization. Some of the private companies, especially those owned by the government, also apply this echelonization. According to the Indonesian Cabinet Secretary, Moerdiono (1988), two of the functions of Indonesian bureaucracy are to accelerate the implementation of Pancasila morality and maintain political stability. In this respect, the apparatus of the Indonesian government must maintain, develop, and strengthen the Indonesian bureaucratic system.

Indonesia's formal leaders are bureaucrats who hold bureaucratic positions and work in a bureaucratic environment. Their leadership is bureaucratic leadership that uses authority and discipline as their main power base. Adams and Bailey (1989) postulate that the characteristics of bureaucratic leadership include stability, accountability, control, intervention, and holism. Bureaucratic stability is stability based on the implementation of hierarchy of authority, bureaucratic norms, and procedures. This stability may make interaction between leaders and their followers predictable, consistent, and a matter of routine. In addition, the leaders can control their followers' behavior since the followers are always accountable for their behavior. Intervention reflects the hierarchical function of bureaucratic leadership. Leaders establish goals for their followers, monitor operations, and evaluate outcomes. Holism relates to how leaders and their followers stick with formatted behaviors. Deviation from formatted behavior indicates a malfunction of the system.

Appointments of armed forces officers to hold higher central and local
government civil positions obviously influence the character of Indonesian bureaucracy. In 1986 for example, such officers (some of them retired officers) occupied two-fifths of strategic government positions (Emmerson, 1987), such as the president's staff, department ministries and post of general secretaries, governors, city mayors, speakers of the People Consultative Assembly and House of Representatives, as well as the Supreme Court chairman. Members of armed forces are also appointed to hold private company leadership positions. These military officers have significant influence within Indonesian bureaucracy. They bring military bureaucracy into civilian organizations. Thus, the military bureaucracy influences the organizational culture of civilian institutions. The characteristics of military bureaucracy include hierarchy of authority, echelonization of organization, formal organizational norms and procedures, standardization of behaviors, uniform dress codes, and formal ceremonies. As an example of these influences, once a month all government officials have to participate in a formal ceremony, similar to military inspection. They must wear uniforms and recite the government official code of ethics ("Sapta Prasetya" or Seven Allegiances).

**Familial Characteristics**

The patriarchal or familial characteristics of Indonesia's bureaucratic leadership makes it different from that found in the West. One characteristic of Western bureaucracies is that the relationship between leaders and their followers is of an impersonal nature (Weber, 1946). It is merely a relationship between
superiors and subordinates which is arranged by rules and procedures. In this relationship, leaders must separate their official position and activities from their private life, status, and activities. In addition, the loyalty of the followers to a leader is impersonal loyalty. It is loyalty to a leader's formal position and function, not loyalty to the leader as an individual.

By contrast, in Indonesia the relationship between leaders and their subordinates is a personal relationship. The relationship is perceived in the context of family relationships. The male leaders--from the president to the factory supervisor--are addressed as "Bapak" or father, whereas female leaders are called "Ibu" or mother. The behavior of a person as a leader cannot be separated from the behavior of the person as an individual. The relationship between leaders and their followers is not merely a business relationship but also a familial one. In this respect, Pancasila leadership is also called familial leadership.

Role of Leaders

The role of leaders is dominant in relationship with their followers. The use of such phrases as "berkenan memberikan pengarahan" (willing to give direction) and "merestui" (blesses), in both formal and informal organizational ceremonies and meetings, reflects this phenomenon. Followers hesitate to act unless they enjoy the blessings of their leaders. President Suharto criticized this custom when he said, "If you keep asking me for advice and direction it's like enforcing feudalism," (Vatikiotis, 1990, p. 24).
In the familial role, leaders are "pamong"--people obligated to take care of their followers. This is similar to parents as guardians of their family members. Leaders are the guardians of their followers. Leaders are responsible for "mengayomi," or to protect their followers. In turn, the followers are "loyal lahir batin" or loyal physically and mentally. This is similar to the loyalty of family members to their parents. Such attitudes and behaviors, as well as customs, motivate followers to be fully loyal to their leaders.

The Javanese believe (Soeharto, 1989) that subordinates must "mikul duwur mendem jero" their leaders. The Javanese proverb "mikul duwur mendem jero" means respect and trust fully. The followers must not only respect and trust their leaders but they also must avoid discussing or ridiculing their leaders' mistakes. Followers must forgive their leaders' errors. In this respect, Indonesians were disturbed when Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, in his speech on August 26, 1990, criticized Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia (Lee, 1990). In this speech Lee said Sukarno made fiery speeches but could not feed his people. This remark brought an angry reaction from Indonesians and their leaders. In Indonesian culture, ridicule of leaders in public is unacceptable behavior. In American culture, American leaders are objects of constant scrutiny and ridicule.

In such familial leadership, charismatic leaders may easily build a harmonious relationship with their followers. They hardly need to use coercive power to motivate compliance from their followers. However, despite its merit, familial leadership suffers from drawbacks. In traditional Javanese society, followers may
consider a leader as a perfect human being who cannot do wrong. Traditionally, Javanese consider a leader to be "a ratu adil" or a wise and just king. In addition, the relationship between leaders and followers may become a completely personal relationship. Consequently, if leaders abuse their power, the followers are highly unlikely to speak up against them. The followers "rikuh," or "do not feel comfortable" expressing their feelings, and are unlikely to resolve an uncomfortable situation. They may easily become "yes men" doing whatever the leaders order without criticizing their leaders.

Coercive Power

The finding of this study reveals that Indonesia's formal leaders apparently face situations which push them to use coercive power. Their tendency to use coercive power is above the average on the standard norm. One of the problems faced by Indonesia's formal leaders, especially in government organizations, is the low morale of their subordinates. Ancok and Faturochman's study concluded that the motivation and morale of Javanese and Sundanese government officials, factory workers, and farmers in Central and West Java were low (Soeriawidjaja & Subagyo, 1989). The main causes for low morale are low salary and leniency on the part of the administration to enforce rules. This low morale has substantially influenced productivity. To maintain their leadership, therefore, Indonesia's formal leaders use coercive techniques to discipline their subordinates. According to Thomas (1985), leaders use discipline to reinforce their authority, to reinforce
rules, and to maintain morale. Coercive power is also used when other power bases have failed, and when compliance is deemed essential.

Since 1945 the coercive power base has been used to defend Pancasila as the national ideology. Indonesia's formal leaders consider Pancasila Indonesia's national philosophy and way of life. It is a national ideology without which unity and stability suffer (Suharto, 1976). Efforts at replacing Pancasila with other ideologies, such as communism, liberalism, and Islam, have been tried or contemplated. Examples of these efforts were found in the Indonesia Communist Party coups in 1948 and 1965, the Darul Islam rebellion between 1946 and 1957 to build Islamic Republic of Indonesia, and the rebellions in North Sulawesi and Central Sumatra in the 1950s that established the Revolutioner Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia's formal leaders use coercive power to suppress all these coups and rebellions.

Apart from these violent displays, Indonesia's leaders also use coercive power to maintain national stability and national unity. National stability and national unity are considered as conditio sine quanon for the implementation and continuation of national development (Indonesia, 1983, 1986). In addition, national stability is very important in sustaining authority. National instability means leaders will not be able to lead their constituents, or to achieve intended goals. An unstable situation can also cause leaders to fall. Therefore, Indonesia's leaders will use their coercive power to suppress those who threaten or disturb national stability and national unity. For example, Indonesia's formal leaders
suppressed student demonstrations in the 1970s when they protested government policy.

**Information Power**

Indonesia’s formal leaders tend to use the information power base at the average of the standard norm. They consider information to be very important in motivating their subordinates’ compliance and in achieving national development goals. Information also has been used to convey norms, policy, and order, to explain courses of action, and to underscore the reason for decisions. In addition, information is an ingredient in empowering the followers. Leaders use information to develop their followers’ maturity. By sharing information with their followers, leaders help develop their subordinates’ knowledge and skill, and facilitate work ways.

Indonesia’s formal leaders believe information is important in bringing both stability and instability. Information can produce either unity or disarray. Properly managed information is essential in the creation of Indonesian unity and national stability. Therefore, Indonesia’s formal leaders manage the flow of information to their constituents. They determine what information is to be transferred, as well as the method of transference.

Indonesia’s formal leaders use two methods to manage the flow of information. First, they establish an “official information source center,” which becomes the main and formal source of information. For example, every government
department maintains a Public Relations Bureau to provide information concerning implementation of the tasks of that department.

**Preventive Censorships**

Second, Indonesia's formal leaders censor information that may cause instability. This censorship is conducted preventively and repressively. Preventive censorship is accomplished by providing guidelines concerning the content of information that can be transferred to constituents and the method of that transference. For instance, the Indonesian Department of Information publishes press guidelines that must be followed by newspaper publishers (Buku Pintar, 1989). The guidelines forbid newspapers from publishing news concerning racial and religious conflict that may provoke wider social unrest and instability. Failure to comply with these guidelines may result in a revocation of the publication's license.

Indonesia's leaders also select and filter information to be transmitted to constituents. They forbid the transference of negative information, such as information that may create conflict, negative information concerning respected leaders, and negative information concerning national development. Such actions cause some Indonesians to supplement their information by listening to foreign radio broadcasts, such as Radio Australia or Voice of America.

Preventive censorship also is conducted to prevent people with negative information from transmitting such information. According to Indonesia's formal
leaders, there are dissidents in Indonesia (Sudomo, 1991; Menkeh, 1991). They comprise former ministers, a governor, diplomats, retired army generals, lawyers, university lecturers, and cultural leaders. These dissidents disagree with government policy concerning the implementation of national development programs, law enforcement, and government behavior.

The dissidents formed political and social pressure groups. One of these pressure groups is "Kelompok Petisi Limapuluh" or Petition Fifty Group. The members of this group include retired Lieutenant General Ali Sadikin (former Governor of Jakarta), retired General H. R. Dharsono (former West Java Army Commander and General Secretary of ASEAN), Slamet Bratanata (former Minister of Mining), retired Police General Hugeng Imam Santoso (former Indonesian Police Chief of Staff), retired Major General Aziz Saleh (former Minister of Health), and Anwar Haryono (former member of the House of Representatives). According to Coordinating Minister of Political and National Security, Sudomo, they are prevented from traveling overseas because the government fears they may provide foreign governments with views that can threaten assistance for Indonesia's Five Year Development Programs. The government shows concern that such information may change the policy of the countries that provide aid for Indonesian national development programs (Blakblakan, 1991).

Censorship is not only conducted by Indonesia's government leaders but also by leaders of private companies. Private company leaders also believe that information can jeopardize their business interests. Thus, they will use legal measures
to block or eliminate critical information about their lives and businesses practices. For example, in 1982 Yahya Muhaimin, a lecturer of Gadjah Mada University, wrote a dissertation at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology entitled "Indonesian Economic Policy 1950-1980: The Politics of Client Businessmen" (cited in Dari Jenkins ke Muhaimin, 1991). In his dissertation, Muhaimin wrote that in the 1970s, Probosoetedjo (a step brother of the Indonesian President) was appointed by the Indonesian Minister of Trade, Sumitro (who later became the President’s daughter’s father-in-law), to monopolize Indonesia’s clover trade.

When this dissertation was published in 1991 (cited in Dari Jenkins ke Muhaimin), Probosoetedjo accused the author and the publisher of lying about his business activities. He demanded that the author and publisher withdraw the book or face a law suit (Rahardjo, 1991). This case was the fourth case in which Probosoetedjo had threatened to sue an author and publisher. In 1986 Probosoetedjo sued David Jenkins (cited in Dari Jenkins ke Muhaimin, 1991), an Australian journalist, for his article in The Sidney Morning Herald of April 10, 1986. This article concerned the Indonesian president’s family business. In 1987, Probosoetedjo also sued Tempo magazine for its article of September 19, 1991. That article concerned Probosoetedjo’s business activities. The article alleged that Probosutedjo’s business grew because he was given business privilege by the Indonesian government. In 1990, Probosoetedjo sued Christianto Wibisono who also had written that Probosoetedjo had been given business privileges to monopolize the clover trade in Indonesia (Dari, 1991).
Repressive Censorships

Indonesia’s leaders undertake repressive censorship in three ways: (1) by calling upon publishers not to report a negative event, (2) by ordering the deletion (blackening) of sentences or paragraphs in foreign publications, and (3) by forbidding distribution of critical literature. In 1990, the Indonesian Attorney General banned six books that he believed might create national instability (Pelarangan, 1990). In addition, the Ministry of Information revoked the publication license of two magazines that had created religious conflict and social unrest (Guncangan, 1990).

Expertise Power

Indonesia’s formal leaders apparently believe that expertise power is very essential in achieving national development programs goals. National development is a process of change, and leadership is a process of influencing others to change. Leaders believe they must use their expertise in the management of their followers. Their expertise score profile is on the average at the standard norm. Leaders’ expertise score profiles reveal leaders generally are confident that their subordinates can do the jobs. Subordinates with special capabilities do not hesitate to try out their ideas. Since the 1970s, scientists have received appointments to leadership positions in both private companies and government organizations. These scientists have been transformed into technocrats. Furthermore, a national
program to develop national awareness, knowledge, and skill has been developed and implemented. Private companies and government agencies have sent their managers to national and overseas universities to gain expertise.

Referent Power

Goodwill or referent power is very important in familial leadership. This power makes followers identify themselves with their leaders and voluntarily do their tasks. In addition, such power use builds mutual thrust between leaders and followers. However, Indonesia’s formal leaders obviously do not always use such powers. Perceptions of Indonesia’s formal leaders toward the use of goodwill power bases is below average on the standard norm. Leaders apparently prefer orders to engendering team work, a characteristic of highly bureaucratic leadership. Leaders use goodwill mainly to maintain harmony and to avoid conflict with and among constituents. Goodwill also is used to provide role models for subordinates.

Reward Power

The formal leader’s perception of the use of reward power bases is below average in the standard norm. In a tightly controlled bureaucratic system, the ability to use reward power follows certain rules and procedures. For example, Indonesian government employees can be promoted only once every four years, and they can receive salary increase only every two years. These salary increases
and promotions are rights of the employees. The task of the manager is to evaluate employee performance to see if the have fulfilled the necessary requirements to earn a higher rank or salary.

**Combination of the Leaders' Power Bases**

The findings of this study also reveal that the combination of government leaders' power bases (Table 7) differs from that combination found among private company leaders (Table 8). Private company leaders use more discipline, less authority, and more reward power bases than government organization leaders. The private company leaders seem more concerned with their subordinates' productivity than government leaders. For private company leaders, decreasing productivity means less or no profit that in turn may endanger their business. They have to push and motivate their subordinates much harder in order to produce more and better products. By contrast, government leaders are concerned with competency, but they also are dependent on their acceptability by the higher level leaders. This explains why working for a government organization could be more "relaxing" than working for a private company.

Female leaders also differ from male leaders in their use of power bases. Female leaders tend to use more coercive, reward, and expertise powers, and less authority, information and goodwill power bases than their male counterparts. Female leaders also seem more concerned with productivity than male leaders. Although Indonesia's constitution specifies men and women citizens have equal
rights and opportunities, women are still a minority in leadership positions. Indonesian society is male dominated, and female leaders seem to believe that they must demonstrate higher performance in order to remain in their positions.

Conflict Avoidance Management Style

Indonesia's leaders tend to avoid conflict. Their scores profile for avoiding conflict management style is at the 70th percentile on the standard norm. This behavior finding reflects conflict avoidance characteristics of Indonesian culture. Indonesian culture, especially Javanese culture, considers conflict an evil to be avoided. This belief is reflected in Pancasila behavioral norms as well as in bureaucratic organization. Moreover, for purposes of development of their country, Indonesia's formal leaders perceive a need to manage conflict so that the results will satisfy all parties involved in a controversy. The objective is pursued through compromise and collaboration.

Sillars, Coletti, Parry and Rogers (1982) postulate that conflict avoiding-behaviors are those that minimize any explicit discussion of the existence of a conflict. In Indonesian culture, conflict-avoiding behaviors usually include denying the existence of a conflict, even though there is one; refusing to discuss a conflict; asking not to discuss or exaggerate a conflict; and ignoring the conflict, or remaining silent. These behaviors also are a result of the implementation of the self-restraint norms of Pancasila behavior norms.

Conflict avoiding behaviors may deaden a conflict temporarily, but they
cannot stifle or resolve it permanently. For example, there are four social issues that may ignite social conflict in Indonesia: suku (ethnic groups), agama (religion), ras (race), and social gaps (particularly gaps between rich and poor). Indonesia's leaders encourage their constituents not to exaggerate or debate differences in such matters in order to avoid social conflict and unrest. While this approach tends to temporarily deaden the conflict, it does not resolve the problem. Hence issues remain unresolved and can cause new social conflicts. Some possible solutions to tackle the problem may be found in enacting and enforcing rules that protect social justice and in developing humanism in education.

Compromising and Collaborating Conflict Management Styles

In the event of unavoidable conflict, Indonesia's formal leaders are more likely to use a compromising or collaborating conflict management style. Their compromising conflict management style profile score is at approximately the 60th percentile, while their collaborating profile score is approximately at the 50th percentile on the standard norms. Using these conflict management styles tends to generate win-win conflict outcomes, which satisfy the parties involved. In addition, these conflict management styles tend to prevent any escalation of the conflict and restores harmonious relationships disturbed by the conflict. For example, the Probosoetedjo and Yahya Muhaimin case was solved by compromise. Both parties negotiated and agreed not to resolve the case in the court. Probosoetedjo agreed not to sue Yahya Muhaimin after the author apologized and promised to
revise his book when the second edition was published (cited in Tak, 1991). The Probosoetedjo cases with Christian Wibisono and Tempo magazine (cited in Tak, 1991) were also solved through compromise.

**Competing Conflict Management Style**

Indonesia’s formal leaders’ competing conflict management style is low (at approximately the 25th percentile) on the standard norm. They believe competing with one another may create or prolong conflict, which in turn may disturb harmonious relationships. In bureaucratic leadership a procedure exists for the resolution of conflict. When a conflict arises and the parties involved cannot resolve it, a higher level leader will be called upon to render a decision.

**Accommodating Conflict Management Style**

The use of accommodating conflict management styles are below the average (at approximately the 30th percentile) on the standard norm. Indonesia’s leaders tend to use this conflict management style to preserve harmony and to avoid disruptions in their organizations. In addition, this style is used when lower level leaders conflict with higher level ones and when competition can only damage the credibility of the lower level leaders.

**Combination of Conflict Management Styles**

The combination of government organizational leaders’ conflict management
styles (Table 13) is different from those of private company leaders. Government leaders use more avoiding and accommodating, and less competing than private company leaders (Table 14). This data supports the previous conclusion that government organization leaders are more bureaucratic, less disciplined and less production-oriented than private company leaders.

The combination of female leaders’ conflict management styles is different from those of male leaders. Female leaders utilize more avoidance tactics. They also use more compromise and less accommodation than Indonesian leaders generally. If conflict is unavoidable, female leaders try to find a solution which satisfies all parties involved in the conflict.

**Correlation Between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles**

The finding of this study indicates there is no correlation between the power bases of Indonesia’s formal leaders and their conflict management styles. The way these leaders exercise power cannot be associated with the way they manage conflict. The types of power they use cannot be used to predict the conflict management styles they use in managing conflict. Moreover, the findings also reveal that their main power bases contradict their main conflict management styles. Their main power bases are authority and discipline, whereas their two primary conflict management styles are avoiding, and collaborating or compromising. Authority and discipline are power bases that can be enforced via coercion if
power recipients do not comply with the power holder's influence. Logically, in managing conflict the power holder is more likely to use competing, a power-based conflict management style, rather than avoiding. However, the data indicate that Indonesia's formal leaders are more likely to use avoiding, compromising and collaborating rather than competing conflict management styles.

There are at least two possible explanations concerning this phenomenon. First, Indonesian culture does not teach the Indonesians to compete when conducting their social relationships. Instead, Javanese culture and Pancasila behavior norms teach Indonesians to restrain themselves in conducting their social relationships. Social relationship matters are to be handled naturally and not competitively. For example, Indonesian President Suharto (Soeharto, 1989) suggests that matters should be done "alon-alon asal kelacon," or slowly but surely. Competition is considered unnatural behavior that may create conflict, prolong conflict, and cause win-lose conflict solutions. In turn these situations may disturb harmonious social relationships. This phenomena is different from American culture that teaches and encourages Americans to compete in their social relationships. American culture believes that competition behavior which is guided by ethics will bring about more productive and better social relationships.

Second, the use of power and conflict management styles are contingent on any given situation. The type of power base and conflict management style that may be used in a normal situation may be different from those used in emergency situations. The content of the instructions of both Power Base Inventory
(Thomas, 1985) and Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (Thomas & Kilmann, 1974) represent general and normal situations. Observed data will be different if the situation changes. For example, if a conflict is considered disruptive to national stability, Indonesia’s formal leaders tend to use coercive power and a competing conflict management style. In one of his speeches the Indonesian Defense Force Chief of Staff said that there was no compromising when handling conflicts that might disturb national stability (Pangab, 1991).

The intercorrelation between power bases and conflict management styles (see Figure 3) indicates that there is a negative correlation between the expertise power base and avoiding conflict management style. This data means that if Indonesia’s formal leaders exercise a higher expertise power base, they tend to use lower conflict avoidance management styles and vice versa. There is an association between the degree of the leader’s expertise and the degree to which leaders will avoid a conflict situation. Indonesia’s formal leaders’ conflict avoiding behavior is not limited to creating harmonious social relationships but it also may be associated with their scientific knowledge. Conflict avoidance management behavior apparently is higher for leaders who have less knowledge and skill in a given field than those who have more. The probability of leaders with high expertise in a given field using a competing conflict management style is higher than those who have less expertise.

In conclusion, the findings of this study obviously parallel Indonesian culture, its belief, norms, and expectations. Indonesia’s formal leaders’ power bases
and conflict management styles reflect the bureaucratic and conflict avoidance characteristics of Indonesian society. In addition, their power bases and conflict management styles are directed at maintaining national unity and stability, as well as harmonious social relationships. These social conditions are preconditions of Indonesians' prosperity and happiness.

Recommendations

Trimming Indonesia's Bureaucracy

Indonesia is one of the most bureaucratic countries in the world. Currently, it is estimated that there are more than 280,000 organizational units in Indonesia's central and local government. This bureaucracy is strictly regulated. Parkinson's Law (Parkinson, 1957) seems to apply to Indonesia. Indonesian bureaucracies are concerned with adding unnecessary new organizational units, personnel, and facilities. Moreover, new organizational units merely increase echelonization and bloated budgets.

Recently, every government department in Indonesia established "non-structural working units" in addition to the existing "structural units." A non-structural unit is an organization unit consisting of experts in a given field. The apparent reason for establishing non-structural units was to develop the greater vertical mobility of ranks and increase salary rather than to address more significant organizational development needs. Furthermore, some task overlap is
inevitable. For instance, educational enterprises are handled by the Department of Education and Culture, the Department of Religion, and the Department of Interior.

This situation makes Indonesian bureaucracy less efficient and costly. It also creates role conflicts, slows down the implementation of tasks, and wastes organizational resources. Role conflict occurs when an employee is responsible to more than one agency or person. For example, elementary school principals must be responsible to the Department of Education and Culture as well as to local government. Financially, the principal depends on the Department of Interior through local government. However, in matters concerning curriculum, educational methods, and standards and evaluation, the principal reports to the Department of Education and Culture.

The application of strict authority in decision making sometimes slows down the process of task implementation. Pancasila behavior norms suggest Indonesia's formal leaders should apply participatory decision making. In practice, however, decisions are made by higher level managers, and the lower level managers only implement decisions. If the decision maker is not able to act effectively, the implementation of organizational tasks stop. For instance, between 1983 and 1985 many government projects could not be implemented on time since decisions concerning project tender and bidding were centralized in the hands of the Secretary of State. Due to time limitations and complicated bureaucratic procedures, a decision had not been made when the project time expired.
Decentralization, application simplification, and participative decision making processes could substantially improve Indonesia's national productivity.

Indonesia's swelling bureaucracy also wastes organizational resources. The establishment of new and unnecessary organizational units means hiring new personnel and spending money for salaries, work space, and equipment. However, these full-time employees work only part-time due to a lack of jobs to perform and low salaries. This situation creates discipline and morale problems, such as absenteeism, the commercialization of authority, and corruption.

Trimming and slimming down the bureaucracy is needed to solve the current problem. The "Menteri Negara Pendayaan Aparatur Negara," or State Minister of Apparatus Efficiency, must prevent the establishment of unnecessary organizational units. Moreover, a national study must be conducted on ways to improve the usefulness and effectiveness of the available units. Unnecessary units must be dissolved, and organizations with duplicate roles must be merged or eliminated. The current effort of the State Minister of Apparatus Efficiency to trim the Indonesian bureaucracy is a wise effort and should be continued. In this effort the Minister reorganizes the government organizations, trims its echelons, and oversees the establishment of new government organizations.

The discipline power base of Indonesia's formal leaders is above the average in the standard norm. Ironically, Indonesia is a country with many discipline problems. National discipline has become a national issue since the 1960s. Discipline problems result from factors such as the decline of Indonesia's economy,
underpaid government employees, and the leniency of law enforcement. Examples of discipline problems include declining work ethics, decreasing morale, absenteeism, corruption, and bribery. Lack of discipline is one of the causes behind Indonesia’s slow development even though the country possesses many natural resources and much manpower. Discipline problems must be solved nationally. A program to develop national discipline must be established and implemented. This program should include professionalization of government assignments, increased government officials’ salaries, effective law enforcement, and human resource development. If this program can be implemented successfully, national productivity could markedly increase.

**Abolishing Scientific Censorship**

Indonesia’s formal leaders exercise their information power base in a way that suggests they believe their constituents are immature and unable to digest available information. The censoring of scientific material means Indonesians are unable to judge scientific facts even after 46 years of independence. Censorship also discourages scientists from conducting scientific research. Moreover, it limits academic freedom. The abolishment of scientific censorship is crucial to the development process because it would enhance scientific research and general scientific knowledge.

Indonesia’s leaders suffer from conflict phobia. Their discipline power base and conflict avoidance scores indicate this phenomenon. Current concepts of
"national stability and unity" and "national development" have become magic words in Indonesia. Everything that disturbs national stability and unity, and hinders national development must be avoided. According to the ruling bureaucracy conflict disturbs national stability and unity, and thus hinders national development.

People are afraid and have little courage to express different opinions, especially ideas opposed to those of their leaders. Consequently, people become indifferent and passive, which in turn, may tend to decrease their participation in national development. A good example of such passivism is the "Golongan Putih" (GOLPUT) or White Group. The GOLPUT is a term which describes Indonesians who do not vote in elections. This group is also cynical about Indonesia's formal leadership. For members of this group, voting only means legalizing the existing political establishment. National stability is possible without alienating the citizenry or stifling their creativity. Conflict phobia can be avoided if Indonesia's leaders apply genuine Pancasila behavior norms and support the rule of law on an equitable basis.

Corruption of Power

In 1887, Lord Acton (1985) wrote to Mandell Craighton: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" (p. 383). As an abstraction of social interaction patterns, power depends on the parties involved in a social interaction. The parties involved--power holders and power recipients--tend to
transgress their power by adding to the content, changing its parameters, or abusing their powers. Boulding (1990) calls this phenomena the pathology of power. Power corruption happens in all parts of the world and throughout the history of mankind.

In Indonesia the corruption of power may appear in at least four forms. First, the accumulation of power by formal leaders. Formal leaders tend to accumulate and concentrate power in their own hands. They are reluctant to distribute or delegate power to others. Many of Indonesia’s formal leaders hold two to four positions simultaneously. For example, the Indonesian Minister of Research and Technology, Habibie, currently holds leadership in four other strategic government and private organizations. The Minister of Co-operative, Bustanul Arifin, occupies at least three other leadership positions in public and private organizations. Some members of the Indonesian House of Representative and People’s Consultative Assembly hold other positions outside these chambers.

Such accumulations and concentrations of power have produced negative effects. Power accumulation creates an attitude that leaders are super-humans and irreplaceable, and hence must be given life tenure. This practice is at total variance with the principle that leaders are replaceable. For example, the appointment of Sukarno as Indonesia’s President for life illustrates the problem. Moreover, the accumulation of power slows down the implementation of organizational tasks. An organization with leaders holding permanent office and often more than one leadership position in different organizations suffers because such
people cannot concentrate their expertise on organizational tasks. Nor can they devote the necessary time to any one of their responsibilities.

Another form of power corruption is nepotism. Familial leadership without a detailed written description and control over the leader's power increases the probability of nepotism. The leader's family members may influence the leader's decision. The probability that leaders will engage in conflicts of interest also is higher. Conflicts of interests may go unchallenged, but that does not mean the organization is managed effectively. Nepotism appears in two forms: (1) the appointment of a leader's family members to leadership positions, and (2) the giving of special privileges to the leader's family members. For example, Jaelani Naro appointed his son and his sister to membership in the House of Representatives as well as to party positions when he was the Chairman of the Persatuan Pembangunan Party. The Probosoetedjo cases relate to the question of whether Suharto family members have received business privileges.

In Indonesia there is no law which prohibits leaders' family members from being appointed to a leadership position or doing business. Leaders' family members possess the same rights as other Indonesian citizens. What is needed is a "rule of the game" that regulates conflicts of interests. Such rules of the game are available in Indonesia, as the President Executive Order prohibiting conflicts of interests of civil servants. The main problems are law enforcement and social control, as well as the participation of citizens on the enforcing of regulations.

Still another power corruption is power abuse. Despite largely being a
passive society, there have been complaints concerning public and private sector abuses of power. Such complaints find expression in opinion columns of Indonesian newspapers and magazines, in books written by Indonesian political critics such as Mochtar Lubis (Lubis, 1989), and in public demonstrations. An instance of the latter was the civil disobedience of those citizens who have suffered from government land procurement policies. Types of powers abused are: arbitrary use of authority, the use of coercive power, and the misuse of information power. Such power abuse would not occur if power holders applied the Pancasila behavior norms, and showed self-discipline and respect for the rule of law.

In 1986, the Indonesian House of Representatives enacted Peradilan Tata Usaha Negara, Undang-undang No. 5 tahun 1986 (cited in Membolduser wibawa PTUN, 1991). The purpose of this law was to protect Indonesians from abuses of power. According to this rule, a victim of such abuse can sue the power abusers. Since the law’s enactment, many victims have used this legal procedure to sue power abusers in court. Usually, however, the victims are weaker than the power abusers and some government authorities have ignored court decisions. For example, Bupati (the Head of Regency) Gianyar ignored the Ujung Pandang Administrative Court decision (cited in Membolduser wibawa PTUN, 1991). He ordered the demolition of the Bali Skylight Restaurant building even though a Court order specifically prohibited the building’s destruction until a final Court judgement could be rendered.

Bureaucratic corruption is another issue in power corruption. Bureaucratic
corruption is the misuse of bureaucratic positions and power for personal financial gain or special privilege. Bureaucrats misuse their positions to extract rewards from their subordinates, their clients, and government. Corruption appears in the form of bribery, kickbacks, government supported travel for private and political purposes, and financial remuneration. There are laws and executive orders to prevent power corruption in Indonesia, but what is needed is the enforcement of these laws and the participation, through social controls, of Indonesian citizens in law enforcement.

Leadership study is a new, uncultivated field of research in Indonesia. Indonesians believe they need appropriate leadership to achieve their goals. However, not many social scientists and research institutions have paid serious attention to this investigative area. Leadership studies concentrate on the interpretation of classical Javanese literature, legal documents, and speeches made by Indonesian authorities. There is a serious lack of quantitative research. Previous research on Indonesian leadership only added to the number of general assumptions about leadership and not to a body of theory based on facts that can be measured and replicated. Furthermore, many aspects of Indonesian leadership, such as followership, leadership styles, motivation, organizational culture, and job-satisfaction are untouched quantitatively.

Indonesian social scientists are reluctant to conduct quantitative studies on leadership because they lack academic freedom. If a research finding contradicts authority's assumptions or societal beliefs, the scientist is in trouble. In the recent
past, several scientific surveys became national issues and sparked social unrest. In these cases, researchers had to defend themselves against reprisals from both the general community and the government. For instance, Atmowiloto (an editor of Monitor magazine) conducted a survey that ranked the names of leaders known to his readers. His findings indicated that the Prophet Muhammad ranked eleventh, after names of Indonesia’s most recognized personalities and Atmowiloto himself (cited in Guncangan, 1990). The publication of these results provoked disturbances in Jakarta. The government thereupon judged the study a threat to national unity and stability. Atmowiloto surrendered himself to Indonesian authority, then was prosecuted and jailed for five years (Arswendo, 1991).

The censorship imposed by Indonesia’s leaders show that academic freedom is not highly respected. The Indonesian scientific community supports an argument that a scientific research finding should be open to analysis and allowed to be tested by scientific reviewers, not by government censors or court decisions. Scientific dialogue enhances social participation in national development. It also could lead to meaningful social change.

There is hope that Indonesian authorities are moderating their attitudes. Changing attitudes among government officials in Indonesia may be a reflection of changes occurring in Eastern Europe, or by the globalization of economic, social and political development. As a consequence of internal and external stimuli, Indonesia’s leaders are beginning to show more flexibility and more tolerance for a variety of opinions. In his national speech before the Indonesian House of
Representatives on August 16, 1990, Indonesian President Suharto suggested
Indonesians can move toward openness, toward greater tolerance, and the promo-
tion of human rights (Vatikiotis, 1990). However, censorship continues, and it is
notable that the Atmowiloto and Probosoetedjo cases came after the president's
remarks. Clearly, differences of opinion are to be tolerated only so long as they
do not disturb social harmony and stability or hinder the implementation of
national development programs. In his remarks, Coordinating Minister of
Political and National Security, Sudomo, asserted journalists could write anything
as long as it did not jeopardize national interests (Menguji, 1990).

Developing Pancasila Leadership

The application of Pancasila behavior norms could be improved by develop-
ing and reforming Pancasila moral education. Such an educational program must
教 graduate students how to conduct a study on Pancasila leadership. In par-
ticular, students must learn to identify Pancasila leadership variables and the
appropriate methods in studying the variable. They must design a research pro-
ject and execute the research. Most important, the method of Pancasila educa-
tion must be changed from indoctrination to dialogue and discovery.

Indonesian research institutions and social scientists need to pay more atten-
tion to quantitative studies on Indonesian leadership. Studying leadership in
Indonesia is not easy. Indonesian society consists of 54 different ethnic groups,
living in more than 13,000 islands. In so diverse a community, it is difficult to

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generalize a study over population and geography. Quantitative studies are easier and cheaper to replicate than qualitative studies. Conducting a qualitative study is more difficult because ethnic group literature focusing on leadership is very limited.

Independent human subject review boards need to be established in the Indonesian Department of Research and Technology, in the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, and in other research institutions. The task of such boards is to review and recommend research proposals related to human subjects. These reviews and recommendations would protect the rights and safety of research subjects. The reviews and recommendations also may help to prevent social unrest when study results are published. Moreover, by reviewing research designs, methods, and groups under study, research findings will be more objective and hence more reliable.

Last but not least, this study is an initial effort at launching a program to develop leadership science in Indonesia. Follow-up programs will need to be developed. First, there is an immediate need for the establishment of a Center for Leadership Development in Indonesia. The function of the Center would be to develop leadership science, to offer leadership education, to promote leadership research, and to facilitate leadership publications. The Center could be attached to a university, a research institution or an independent enterprise. Second, there is a need for the establishment of a research program on leadership and for the accumulation of research resources. Third, to improve work ways, the
country requires government leadership training programs for Indonesian leaders and private sector managers. Hopefully, such programs would not only develop leadership science but will also produce more sophisticated and wiser future Indonesian leaders.
Appendix A

English Translation of Pancasila Behavior Norms
English Translation of
Pancasila Behavior Norms

1. Belief in God Principle
   a. Belief in and devotion to God according to religion and mysticism based on a just and civilized humanity
   b. Respect and cooperation among different religious adherents and those who believe in mysticism so that harmony prevails
   c. Respect for religious services, and freedom for the religious adherents and mystics
   d. Never forcing a religion or mysticism on others

2. Just and Civilized Humanity Principle
   a. Acknowledge the equal right and responsibility of all human beings
   b. Love every human being
   c. Develop considerate attitudes
   d. Avoid being be high-handed to others
   f. Fond of doing humanitarian activity
   g. Have courageous in defending truth and justice
   h. Feel that the Indonesian nation is a member of the international community, therefore develop respectful attitudes and cooperation with other nations
3. **Indonesian Unity Principle**
   a. Placing indivisibility, unity, well-being and safety of the nation and motherland above self-interest or group-interest
   b. Willing to make a sacrifice for the well-being of the nation and mother-land
   c. Loving the Indonesian motherland and nation.
   d. Taking pride in being a member of the Indonesian nation and the Indonesia mother-land
   e. Developing fellowship for the sake of national unity based on Unity in Diversity

4. **Democracy Guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation and Representation Principle**
   a. Prioritizing the interest of the country and society
   b. Never force a desire on others
   c. Emphasizing deliberation when making a decision for mutual interest
   d. Deliberation for an agreement is done from a familial spirit
   e. Accepting and implementing the deliberation results with good intention and responsibility.
   f. Deliberation is conducted rationally and from a noble conscience
   g. Decision which is made is morally justifiable to God, with respect for human values, truth, and justice

5. **Social Justice for all of Indonesians Principle**
a. Develop noble behaviors that reflect familial attitudes and an atmosphere of mutual cooperation
b. Behave justly
c. Maintain the balance between right and responsibility
d. Respect the right of others
e. Love to help others
f. Avoid exploiting others
g. Guard against waste
h. Guard against extravagance
i. Avoid damaging the public interests
j. Love hard work
k. Appreciate the work of others
l. Cooperate to create social justice development for all people
Appendix B

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval
Date: April 15, 1991
To: Wirawan
From: Mary Anne Bunda, Chair
Re: HSIRB Project Number: 91-04-23

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research protocol, "The Relationship between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of the Indonesian Formal Leaders," has been approved under the exempt category of review by the HSIRB. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the approval application.

You must seek reapproval for any changes in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

xc: Patrick M. Jenlink, Educational Leadership

Approval Termination: April 15, 1992
Appendix C

Cover Letter
Dear Madame/ Sir,

I am currently writing my dissertation entitled "The Relationship between Power Bases and Conflict Management Styles of the Indonesian Formal Leaders." For this purpose I request your assistance and cooperation to fill the enclosed instruments. The instruments consist of "Power Bases Inventory, Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument, and Demographic Questionnaire."

Please read and answer the instrument carefully. Every answer is the same -- there is no right or wrong answer. This survey is fully confidential, you do not need to write your name on your answer.

In order to analyze the data on time, I would pick up the filled questionnaires 10 days after they are delivered to you. Your participation is extremely important to obtain meaningful results and in this regard I do hope you would response timely.

By participating in this survey you are not only helping me but also developing Leadership study in Indonesia. If you have any question regarding this study, please be free to call me at 9-510-655.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and time.

Sincerely,

Wirawan
Appendix D

Demographic Questionnaire
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the asterisk " * " in front of the statement that describes your characteristic.

1. I am male * female *

2. My age is between
   25-35 years old *
   36-46 years old *
   47 or over *

3. My position as manager, director or head of:
   Echelon 1 *
   Echelon 2 *
   Echelon 3 *
   Echelon 4 *

4. My years in the job is:
   5 years or less *
   6-15 years *
   16-26 years *
   27 or over *

5. My highest education degree is:
   High school or Associate degree *
   Bachelor *
   Master degree *
   Doctorate degree *
Appendix E

Indonesian Terms Index
INDONESIAN TERMS INDEX

Alon-alon asal kelakon: a Javanese proverb that means slowly but surely in achieving an intended goal.

Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila: an Indonesian government agency that supervises Pancasila Moral Education and the implementation of Pancasila behavior norms.

Bhineka Tunggal Ika: a Javanese proverb that means Diversity in Unity.

Direktorat Pembinaan Penghayat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa: an organization unit of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture that oversees and regulates the mysticism movement after 1966.

Gotong royong: a Javanese proverb that means mutually cooperating to achieve given goals.

Holopis kuntul baris: a Javanese proverb that means mutual cooperation and unity to go to a given direction.

Ing madyo mangun karso: a Javanese proverb that means in the middle motivating.

Ing ngarso sung tulodo: a Javanese proverb that means in front function as an example.

Javanism: Javanese philosophy, way of life, beliefs, and culture.
**Javanologi:** (1) a branch of knowledge that investigates the Javanese philosophy, way of life, beliefs and culture; (2) a Javanese cultural organization to develop Javanism through research, seminar, restoration, and publications.

**Jumbuhing kawula gusti:** a Javanese proverb that refer to the mixture between leaders and their followers.

**Kepercayaan kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa** see Mysticism.

**Lelana brata:** traveling and meditating in holy places such as a holy cemetery, forest or mountain.

**Mikul duwur mendem jero:** a Javanese proverb that means followers must fully respect, trust, and have confidence on their leaders.

**Mysticism:** a way of life inspired by a belief in God that is not based on a specific religion, but rather on ethics, way of thinking or philosophy.

**New Order:** political, economic and social systems in Indonesia after 1966, based on a pure implementation of the Indonesian Constitution 1945 and Pancasila behavior norms.

**Old order:** the political, economic, and social systems in Indonesia before 1966, based on guided democracy.

**Pancasila:** the five principles of the Indonesian constitution, which include, (1) Believe in God, (2) Just and Civilized Humanity, (3) Indonesian Unity, (4) Democracy Guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation, and (5) Social Justice for all Indonesians.

**Pancasila behavior norms:** a set of norms derived from Pancasila principles, used
as a behavior guidelines for all Indonesians in conducting their social relationships.

**Pancasila leadership:** Indonesian cultural leadership in which the interaction between leaders and their followers is based on Pancasila behavior norms.

**Pancasila Moral Education:** an educational program to teach Indonesians about Pancasila behavior norms.

**Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila** see Pancasila Behavior Norm

**Pengawasan Kepercayaan Masyarakat:** an Indonesian Department of Religion organization unit that oversees the mysticism movement before 1966.

**Principle of harmony** see Rukun principle.

**Ratu adil:** Javanese phrase that means just king.

**Respect principle:** a belief that every human being must respect each other regarding status and position.

**Rukun principle:** (1) a belief that the universe is created with harmonious attributes, which unless disturbed, remain always in a harmonious state; (2) a belief that human beings will have happy lives if they maintain harmonious relationships.

**Rukun situation:** a situation in which all of society's members live harmoniously without conflict and by helping each other.

**Sakti:** a supernatural power that protects a person from getting hurt.

**Tapa brata:** fasting, not sleeping, moving nor talking for certain period of time to
attain supernatural power.

*Tata tentrem karta raharja*: (1) A Javanese proverb that means harmony, peace, justice, and prosperity for all Indonesians; (2) the Indonesians' leadership vision.

*Teja*: a round-blue radiance in the sky.

*Tut wuri handayani*: a Javanese proverb that means from the back influencing.

*Wahyu*: a divine revelation—in the form of teja—that a person has gained a power.

*Wayang kulit*: a Javanese shadow puppet show.
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