

# BIROCRACY POLITIZATION TYPOLOGY IN STRUCTURAL OFFICIAL REPLACEMENT (CASE STUDY IN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NORTH MALUKU PROVINCE)

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## ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of structural structural change in the regional government bureaucracy is still colored by the practice of politicization. This politicization is carried out with various types including functional types, formal types and administrative types. These various types are used to select and place people who are considered capable of securing and protecting the powers of regional heads. the study aims to find out Birocracy Politization Typology in Structural Official Replacement in terms of functional politicization types. This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. This study found out that the change of structural officials carried out after the election of regional heads and the deciding variable of bureaucratic politicization is the regulation that forms the legal basis for replacing structural officials with politicization indicators, which are practices, mechanisms and authority in the replacement of structural officials.

## INTRODUCTION

Politicization of the bureaucracy is political intervention carried out by the ruler (incumbent) into the bureaucracy in order to involve state civil servants in regional election affairs, with the aim of gaining political support and maintaining power (Rakhmawanto, 2020). This fact shows that regional heads are able to control the politicization of the bureaucracy because in this era of regional autonomy, regional heads have a set of authorities that can appoint and non-employ civil servants as desired. According to Rakhmawanto (2017) that, the implementation of the government system in the regions does not clearly distinguish between political positions and career positions. The development of the local bureaucracy still shows the strong political influence in the government bureaucracy in the regions (Jati, 2012). The problem of transfer and dismissal of positions without any rational reasons.

The political reality in the change of structural officials above is a phenomenon that can explain the meaning of politicization (Abas, 2018). First, it defines politicization as 'political control that the government acts as an administrative machine and civil servants of their participation in the process of policy making and implementation of policies (Administrative Politicization). Second, politicization refers to the process of appointing, dismissing, and promoting civil servants based on partisan criteria, not professional criteria (functional politicization). Three, politicization is a process of political involvement of civil servants both as voters and citizens (formal politicization) (Rouban, 2007). Rouban's opinion was used by researchers as an indicator to determine the type of bureaucratic politicization in the North Maluku Provincial Government after the 2014 local elections. Data is collected related to how the practice of replacing structural officials is carried out, what regulations and authorities underlie the replacement of structural officials, and how the mechanism for changing officials is used.

The replacement of structural officials in the Regional Government of North Maluku Province occurred almost every year after the 2014 Regional Head Election. According to data from the North Maluku Province Regional Civil Service Agency, there were approximately six changes in structural officials carried out within 5 years, namely between 2014 - 2017, there have even been three internal changes one year. High level of restructuring is an indication of greater politicization of the bureaucracy (Zankina, 2017).

In Government Regulation Number 5 of 2017 concerning the management of Civil Servants, the appointment of Civil Servants in structural positions is intended, among other things, to foster PNS careers in structural positions and ranks in accordance with the requirements stipulated in the applicable laws and regulations (Atsar, 2017). The appointment of civil servants in a position is carried out based on the principle of professionalism in accordance with the competence, work performance and rank level determined for that position as well as other objective requirements without discriminating against gender, ethnicity, religion, race or class (Rakhmawanto, 2007).

Structural positions can only be occupied by those with Civil Servants status. Structural positions, namely positions that are explicitly in the organizational structure. The position of structural positions is stratified from the lowest level (echelon IV/b) to the highest (echelon I/a). A list of structural positions that often experience mutations, rotations and demotions can be seen in the table below:

**Table 1. Echelon and Structural Position according to Government Regulation Number 13 of 2002**

NO.	ESELON	Structural Position and Rank			
		Lowest Rank	GOL/RU	Highest Rank	GOL/RU
1.	I a	Middle Administrator	IV/d	Senior Administrator	IV/e
2.	I b	Junior Administrator	IV/c	Senior Administrator	IV/e
3.	II a	Junior Administrator	IV/c	Middle Administrator	IV/d
4.	II b	First Class Administrator	IV/b	Junior Administrator	IV/c
5.	III a	Administrator	IV/a	First Class Administrator	IV/b
6.	III b	First Class Superintendent	III/d	Administrator	IV/a
7.	IV a	Superintendent	III/c	First Class Superintendent	III/d
8.	IV b	First Class Junior Superintendent	III/b	Superintendent	III/c
9.	V a	Junior Superintendent	III/a	First Class Junior Superintendent	III/b

Source: BKD North Maluku Province

Bureaucracy is an important instrument in this country as a bridge between society and government. However, the strength of the role and function of the bureaucracy often makes the rulers abuse the bureaucracy for political purposes, especially to restrain power (Yamin, 2017). The era of regional autonomy with direct regional head elections made regional heads have the right to determine bureaucratic officials in the regions (Assyayuti, 2022). Then, bureaucratic officials are also likely to be used to provide tools in the context of the general election that will follow for the next period. This was stated as the politicization of the bureaucracy to win local elections.

The process of recruiting officials in the regions is still much colored by the practical political aspirations of the political leaders who serve as regional heads. Government career bureaucratic officials do not have discretion in carrying out and realizing political policies that have been carried out by regional heads (Dwiyanto, 2021). Promotion of positions and development of civil servants in local government is still carried out by regional heads which should be carried out by career officials who are superiors of civil servants. It is not uncommon for council members to intervene in determining the promotion and recruitment of civil servants in the regions (Thoha, 2012).

That is why regional heads who are nominated by political parties or coalitions of political parties have never had a rule stipulating that regional heads cannot have political connections with the political parties that carry them. The relationship between political parties through political officials in both central and regional government has not been thoroughly regulated (Natalia, 2015). Career positions held by civil servants can at

any time be shifted, removed, reassigned, non-jobs by political officials who don't like them. His political reason for not supporting himself as a regional head candidate during the campaign. Regional heads have the right to arrange the administration of their government like that, because they are the regional authorities or leaders (Thoha, 2012).

The politicization of the bureaucracy is one of the main causes of the decline in the performance of civil servants (Najam, 2019). Lack of job security due to politically motivated decisions in recruitment, transfer and promotion affects the bureaucracy. Lack of career planning perspective for competent and hardworking Civil Servants de-motivated staff. Political interference is a major contributor to the decreased efficiency of bureaucrats. The incentive to work hard, to be fair, to be eroding efficient in that context. Thus, the study aims to find out Birocracy Politization Typology in Structural Official Replacement in terms of functional politicization types.

## METHODS

This research was conducted at the Provincial Government of North Maluku. The object of research is the type of bureaucratic politicization in the process of changing structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government. The research subjects are related officials in the North Maluku Provincial government bureaucracy. The method used is a qualitative method (Creswell & Creswell, 2017) with a case study approach to the replacement of structural officials by the Governor of North Maluku during 2014-2017. Data collection used in-depth interviews and document observation. Then the interview data were analyzed using the Nvivo technique, and conclusions were then drawn.

## RESULTS

From the results of document processing and literature studies conducted by researchers, it was found that forms of bureaucratic politicization in the replacement of echelon III and IV structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government and the reactions caused to this change are grouped in the table below:

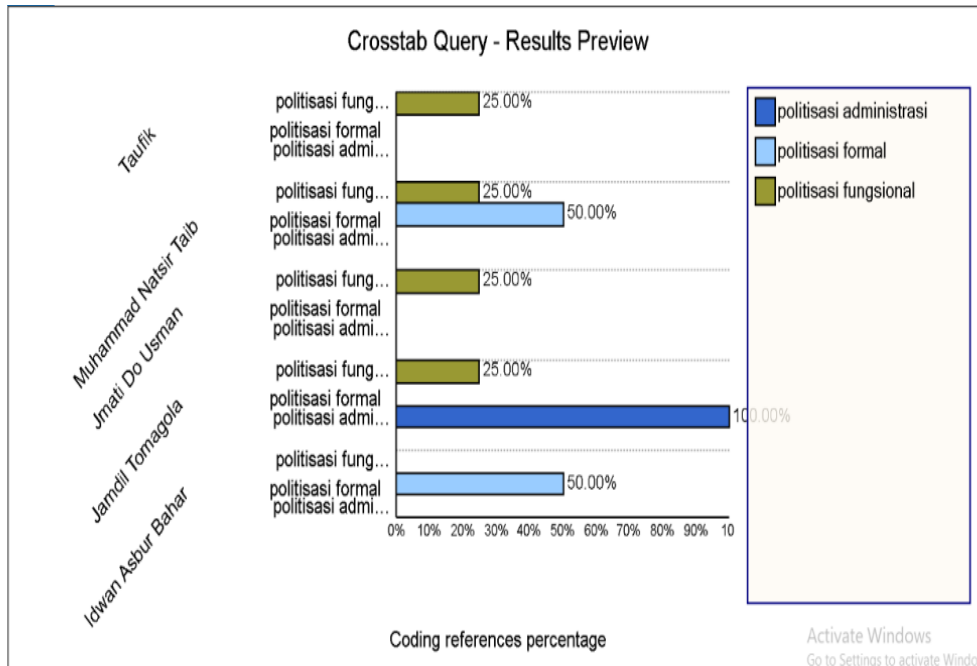
**Table 2. The form of bureaucratic politicization in the case of changing post-election structural officials**

No	Forms of Politicization	Reaction
1.	The inauguration of structural officials is not with the gubernatorial regulations	The boycott of government activities by a number of employees who protested because it was considered that the change was not based on rules.
2	Inauguration and removal of officials, not through SKPD and BAPERJAKAT proposals	
3	There are a number of officials appointed who are still active employees in the district/city	
4.	There are employees who were appointed 5 times in a row with different positions.	Cancellation of the governor's decree by the governor himself
5	Employees with class IVb become Head of Section and those with class IIIId and IIIc become Head of Division.	
6	There are indications of buying and selling positions before the appointment	
7	Some of the officials appointed have died	

The table above explains, in the case of replacement of echelon III and IV structural officials by KH. Abdul Gani Kasuba as Governor of North Maluku at the end of his term of office or ahead of the 2018 new regional head elections, has made changes in officials without a Governor Regulation as the basis for the inauguration. The appointment of the echelon III and IV officials was also carried out without going through the proposal of the Regional Apparatus Work Unit (SKPD) and the position and rank consideration board (Baperjakat) of North Maluku Province. Substitutions were made for a number of officials who were still active employees in the Regency and City, officials with class IVb were appointed as section heads and those with class III were promoted as section heads, there were indications of buying and selling positions, and the most fatal is the appointment of people who have died as officials. The reason for the change of structural officials was the result of an evaluation by the Baperjakat Team) and adjustments from several Regional Apparatus Organizations that had undergone nomenclature changes. In fact, before the Pilgub stage was still underway, the governor was also known to replace echelon II officials with a closed system and not with an open system,

forming a selection committee as stipulated in regulation number 11 of 2017 concerning management of Civil Servants.

Based on the results of research interviews that were analyzed using the Nvivo application, the following results were obtained:



**Figure 1. Interview Results with Sources**  
**Source: processed by the author using Nvivo**

From the results of Nvivo's analysis in the figure above, it shows that each of the interviewees' answers justified the politicization of the bureaucracy related to the process of changing structural officials in North Maluku Province after the 2014 regional elections. The results of the above analysis can be described as follows:

The type of functional politicization that was carried out and implemented in the replacement of structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government bureaucracy was 25%, while the formal politicization involving civil servants in the Pilkada was 50% and the type of administrative politicization carried out through regulations and the governor's authority was 10%.

From the findings of document observations about forms of bureaucratic politicization as well as research interviews with Nvivo, researchers divide the politicization actions that occur into several types by referring to the types of politicization divided by Rouban (2007) about three indicators that can explain the phenomenon of politicization in the bureaucracy, namely as follows:

### Types of Functional Politicization in Structural Officer Change Practices

From the forms of politicization carried out, not all politicized actions fall into the category of functional politicization. Functional politicization is a type of politicization that refers to the appointment, dismissal and promotion of civil servants based on participant criteria, not professional criteria. In the case of replacement of 663 structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government, the filling of structural positions was greatly influenced and dominated by the success team, in this case the loyalists of the incumbent governor. Filling in government structural positions is influenced by groups in society and filling positions is no longer based on competence, skills, rank and experience considerations but is determined more by old friends, blood relations, ethnic similarities and remuneration.

The act of placing officials in government is also based on the element of remuneration to loyalist civil servants without paying attention to the principles of a merit system, namely personnel management in the bureaucracy which focuses more on aspects of employee competence and competition as a basis for recruiting and promoting employees in the bureaucracy. The application of this merit system needs to be supported by policies regarding job classification, competency standards, performance standards, career patterns and remuneration that encourage performance achievement is a type of functional politicization.

The practice of replacing structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government after the 2014-2017 Pilkada did not work according to Government Regulation Number 100 of 2000 concerning the Appointment of Civil Servants in structural positions (Destiana, 2012). In Article 9 paragraph 2 it is stated that normally a transfer of duties and/or a transfer of work areas can be carried out between 2 (two) to 5 (five) years after a person is appointed to a structural position. However, the North Maluku Provincial Government does this once a year, even 3 (three) times a year. The practice of changing structural officials in the Provincial Government of North Maluku also shows the recruitment of 'political loyalists'.

### **Types of Politicization of Bureaucratic Administration in Regulations, Authorities and Mechanisms for Changing Structural Officials Authority**

The governor's authority to replace structural officials is regulated in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning regional autonomy (Andrea, 2020). Where the governor is given the authority to regulate his own area as long as it does not conflict with applicable regulations.

The mechanism for appointing regional government officials is fully handed over to the governor, mayor or regent as regional heads who have full authority in appointing and appointing officials or assistants. The full authority of regional heads in appointing structural officials can be seen from the formation of the Position and Rank Judgment Board Team which is tasked with inventorying employees. who have the qualifications to occupy certain positions and propose to the regional head.

His position as regional head has the right to approve or reject proposals from the Baperjakat Team. The replacement of structural officials is a very important policy in the implementation of governance by regional heads. However, the authority to change structural officials is an absolute policy for regional heads as Civil Service Development Officers in the regions. In fact, this authority is often assumed to be like a "prerogative right" which is not limited to Regional Heads to appoint, transfer or dismiss (non-job) officials. Regional heads have the right to arrange the administration of their government like that, because they are the regional authorities or leaders (Thoha, 2012).

### **Regulation**

The regulation on the replacement of structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government bureaucracy refers to a number of regulations including Law number 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatuses, Government Regulation number 11 of 2017 concerning Management of Civil Servants, Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, and Government Regulation Number 100 of 2000 concerning the appointment of civil servants in structural positions (Negara, 2014).

Referring to government regulation number 100 of 2000 concerning the Appointment of Structural Officers it is stated that a structural position is a position that shows the duties, responsibilities, authorities and rights of a Civil Servant in order to lead a state organizational unit.

In the same regulation, it is stated that the requirements for Civil Servants to be appointed to structural positions include having the status of a Civil Servant, having at least one rank below the specified rank, having the specified qualifications and level of education, all elements of work performance appraisal are of value. both in the last two years, Has the required position competencies, Physically and mentally healthy. In addition to these requirements, Personnel Development Officials need to pay attention to the following factors: Seniority in rank, Age, Education and Training Position, and Experience.

Specifically, for the appointment of the Regency/ City Regional Secretary, it is stipulated by the Regency/ City Regional Personnel Development Officer after obtaining approval from the leadership of the Regency/ Municipal DPRD, after prior consultation in writing with the Governor. In every decision regarding appointment to a structural position, the number and date of consideration of Baperjakat, echelon and the amount of structural position allowance must be included.



Dismissal of civil servants from structural positions is determined by a decision of an authorized official after going through the considerations of the State Personnel Commission/Baperjakat accompanied by clear reasons for the dismissal. Civil servants who died were considered to have been dismissed from their structural positions. To optimize the performance, discipline and accountability of structural officials and to be aware of the limitations of human capabilities, civil servants who occupy structural positions cannot hold multiple positions, either with other structural positions or functional positions. Concurrent positions are only permitted if the provision for concurrent positions is regulated by law or government regulation.

In Government Regulation Number 11 of 2017 concerning Management of Civil Servants, article 5 states that each government agency is required to compile the number and type of civil servant positions based on job analysis and workload analysis (Rasjid et al., 2020). Compilation of the requirements for the number and type of civil servant positions is carried out for at least a period of 5 years, broken down by year based on priority needs. Fundamentally, the preparation of the needs of civil servants must support the achievement of the goals of government agencies by taking into account the dynamics or development of existing organizations.

The regulations governing the granting of authority to governors to determine structural officials in the regions, both Law number 23 of 2014 and Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus, show that the government (governor) and civil servants are administrative machines where governors make policies and civil servants participate in implementation of the policy. In this process, the bureaucratic politicization that is formed is a type of administrative politicization.

### **Mechanism**

The mechanism stipulated in the replacement of structural officials in the North Maluku provincial government based on law number 5 of 2014 and government regulation number 11 of 2017 is that the determination of structural officials in this case high officials (echelon II) is carried out by an open selection held by the selection committee (Pasiak, 2020). A different mechanism can be applied if you refer to the Minister of Home Affairs Decree No. 16 of 2003, where regional heads can select, appoint and place high-ranking civil servants through closed selection. In echelon II positions and below, the placement of officials can be done by the governor. The appointment of echelon III and IV structural officials was preceded by a proposal for a Regional Work Unit to the Position and Rank Consideration Agency (Baperjakat) which has now changed its name to the Performance Assessment Team. Based on the SKPD's proposal, the TPK Team will carry out considerations based on the results of the performance evaluation of the proposed officials, the results of the considerations in the form of recommendations will be submitted to the Governor as Personnel Development Officer.

Reflecting on the phenomenon of the mechanism for replacing structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial government, especially the case of replacing 663 structural officials which resulted in the governor annulling or canceling the decree after being inaugurated and forming an investigation team, it is understandable that the mechanism for changing structural officials was carried out by the Regional Personnel Agency as the Performance Assessment Team actually vulnerable to violations of the principles of merit or not in accordance with the objectives of bureaucratic reform itself.

The mechanism for replacing structural officials by the elected governor is in fact often a way for regional heads to place people who are deemed to be in line with their political interests. This method, even though at the proposing stage it was not intended to do so, is often used by regional heads to replace structural officials according to likes and dislikes. This method also maintains the politics of patronage and nepotism within the existing bureaucracy and government. If the mechanism for appointing and placing structural officials is a procedural activity based on law, then this mechanism should also work according to the mechanism by maintaining the objectivity values of the mechanism itself. Based on the mechanism for replacing structural officials with reference to the case of changing structural officials for 663 officials, the politicization of administration is used in the mechanism for changing structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government. Where government policy, in this case the governor, still plays an important role in determining structural officials and ASN can only follow and carry out this policy.

### **Types of Formal Politicization in the Change of Structural Officials**

The typology of formal politicization can be found in the case of the replacement of 663 structural officials in the North Maluku Provincial Government. Formal politicization is a type of politicization in which the political involvement of civil servants as voters and citizens is evidenced by the involvement of civil servants in regional elections. Based on the analysis of interviews with informants, formal politicization reached 50%. This means that formal politicization is often carried out by incumbent governors.

The voice of civil servants is one of the promising assets. The use of civil servant votes is clearly very easy for the incumbent candidate. With the lure of promises to be given positions or orders to support their superiors, the mobilization of civil servants during general elections and local elections occurs at the provincial level, is nothing new. The involvement of civil servants has a bargaining value in the form of strategic positions for loyalist civil servants.

Political intervention by the ruler (incumbent) into the bureaucracy in order to involve civil servants in election matters, is with the aim of gaining political support and maintaining power that is paid for by a position. politicization is seen as an alternative to pave the way to the position. So even though professional education and training have been organized, once they start carrying out their work, the bureaucrats return to taking politicized steps to secure their positions.

According to Ahmad Yamin in the Journal International Journal of Innovation and Economic Development about Politicization Bureaucracy in the Implementation of Regional Chief Election. Say Bureaucracy is an important instrument in this country as a bridge between society and government. However, the strength of the role and function of the bureaucracy often makes the rulers abuse the bureaucracy for political purposes, especially to restrain power. The era of regional autonomy with direct regional head elections made regional heads have the right to determine bureaucratic officials in the regions. Then, bureaucratic officials are also likely to be used to provide tools in the context of the general election that will follow for the next period. This was stated as the politicization of the bureaucracy to win local elections. The election of regional heads in North Maluku city is an example of the phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization. Gani Kasuba's victory in the 2014 North Maluku Pilkada formed the politicization of the bureaucracy which allowed power to be continued in the next period. This happened because the existing bureaucratic position had intervened previously to follow the will of the political authorities in North Maluku. Bureaucratic officials themselves follow the wishes of the Governor of North Maluku and maintain positions or positions in government institutions.

### **CONCLUSION**

Type of Functional Politicization in the Practice of Structural Officer Changes which refers to the appointment, dismissal and promotion of civil servants based on participant criteria, not professional criteria. The form of politicization is placing officials not based on Bapjikat evaluation results, replacement of officials not based on SKPD proposals,

The type of formal politicization in the practice of changing structural officials is a type of politicization in which the political involvement of civil servants as both voters and citizens is evidenced by the involvement of state civil servants in regional elections. The form of this politicization action is that there are officials who are appointed 5 times in a row, buying and selling positions, and there are officials who are appointed in two positions at once,

The type of administration in the Regulation on the Change of Structural Officials and the Governor's Authority in the Change of Structural Officers in the regions, namely the government (governor) and civil servants, is an administrative machine where the governor makes policies and civil servants participate in the implementation of these policies. The form of politicization is that a number of officials who are sworn in are still active employees in the district/city, the inauguration is carried out without a governor's regulation.

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