



# Bureaucratic Politicization in the Process of Changing Bureaucratic Positions After the Vacancy of the Deputy Regent of Dharmasraya Regency in 2022

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## ABSTRACT

Bureaucratic politicization refers to introducing bureaucratic reform in the management of regional government. The regional head and deputy regional head posts are political roles that oversee administrative positions within a region, so political influence is inherently intertwined with the bureaucracy. Dharmasraya Regency exhibits signs of bureaucratic politics, as seen by a vacancy in the position of deputy regent. This vacancy has resulted in numerous examples of non-job ASN inside the government of Dharmasraya Regency. This thesis seeks to analyze the political dynamics involved in the transition of bureaucratic positions in Dharmasraya Regency, particularly after the vacancy of the deputy regent position. This study employs a qualitative research methodology utilizing a case study approach. This thesis uses the theory of bureaucratic politicization pioneered by Barbara Geddes. The findings of this study suggest that there are indicators of the techniques employed by the regent in his role as PPK to determine bureaucratic positions. The regent also has a vested interest in the bureaucracy, as he desires a loyal and efficient bureaucratic system to ensure continued control until the end of his term. The regent's politicization of the bureaucracy is seen in the ambiguous enforcement of heavy sanctions against ASN.

### Keyword:

Politicization, Bureaucratic,  
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## INTRODUCTION

The intricate political dynamics in Indonesia are intricately intertwined with its historical setting. Bureaucratic political

interactions are not spontaneous but somewhat influenced by preceding historical events (McDonnell, 2017; Yang,

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2021). Studying bureaucratic politics in Indonesia can provide insights into the bureaucratic phenomena, particularly the ongoing issue of bureaucratic politicization in the country.

Avoiding the contrast between politics and bureaucracy in Indonesia appears challenging. Politicians not only participate in policy-making but also influence within the bureaucratic workplace (Blom-Hansen et al., 2021). Avoiding meddling between politics and bureaucracy, particularly in the context of regional head elections (Pilkada), is an unattainable objective. Politics not only engages in the realm of social contracts but also competes in the realm of bureaucracy (Pramono & Mulia, 2023). This engagement is evident from the initial stages of establishing the organizational structure and bureaucratic institutions, exerting influence on goals, formulating strategies and programs, and making decisions on budget proposals. In addition, political intervention is also present in the recruitment and job placement procedures within government bureaucratic systems (Gans-Morse et al., 2018). Furthermore, allocating jobs following general elections at the national and local levels appears to be an ingrained tradition inherent to every political procedure.

Regarding governing, the regional head and deputy regional head are considered essential and interdependent (Kwamie et al., 2015). They serve as public officials responsible for managing the regional government and holding regional leadership positions. The political role of the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head entails holding a bureaucratic position within a region (Rochlitz et al., 2015). This situation poses a dilemma for the bureaucracy, as they are expected to maintain professionalism while the bureaucratic development officials heavily influence their career progression in the region. The Regional Head and Deputy

Regional Head hold significant control over bureaucratic politicization due to their authoritative powers. Bureaucracy is compelled to submit to the Regional Head unless they are willing to face potential career obstacles (Turner et al., 2022). This jurisdiction encompasses various responsibilities, including determining officials at different levels, the authority of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads to issue decrees for appointing government officials, and the authority to issue decrees for promotions within the bureaucracy.

The transfers of bureaucratic officials and promotions following the inauguration of a Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head are now primarily determined by proximity to the authorities rather than competence or capacity (Sahur et al., 2023). This phenomenon, known as the patron-client relationship pattern in political culture, has become more dominant. The contact between the two parties is characterized by reciprocity, which involves the exchange of resources owned by each party. This is solely attributable to the political motivations of the rulers. The election of regional heads and deputy regional heads supported by the bureaucracy would inevitably result in the regional heads and deputy regional heads engaging in political patronage of the relevant bureaucrats to secure or enhance their positions within the bureaucracy.

The transfer of the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head in this post may lead to discrepancies in appointing positions within the bureaucracy. The Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head have modified the composition of roles in the bureaucracy. The appointment of individuals by Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads to government institutions undoubtedly creates favorable conditions for the advancement of bureaucratic politicians (Suryaningsih et al., 2023).

The regional head elections (Pilkada) in 2020 will take place concurrently in 270 regions in Indonesia, comprising nine gubernatorial elections at the provincial level, 224 district elections for regents, and 37 mayoral elections in cities. West Sumatra Province is one of the regions where regional elections will take place in 2020. It consists of at least 13 districts/cities. The Dharmasraya Regency is among the districts scheduled to conduct regional elections in 2020. Sutan Riska, the incumbent Regent, is seeking re-election as the Regent of Dharmasraya Regency for the 2021-2024 term.

Sutan Riska was partnered with Dasril Panin Dt. Labuan, also known as SR-Labuan, in the regional elections of 2020. SR-Labuan became victorious in the regional elections held in Dharmasraya Regency. According to the voting results, SR-Labuan obtained 63.62% of the votes, while its competitor candidate pair, Panji Mursyidan-Yosrisal (Panji-Yos), received 36.38% of the votes. The SR-Labuan pair was officially appointed as the Regent and Deputy Regent of Dharmasraya Regency for the 2021-2024 term on February 26, 2021, in the West Sumatra Governor's building.

The success of the SR-Labuan duo is undoubtedly attributed to the diligent endeavors of the two candidate pairs, aided by the contributions of various parties involved, including the winning team, supportive party administrators, relatives, and all individuals engaged as political operatives, both in terms of physical and mental efforts. Individuals, as well as members of official and non-formal organizations, who have connections with the two candidates.

Unfortunately, after one year of serving as the Regent and Deputy Regent of Dharmasraya Regency, Dasril Panin Dt. Labuan, the leadership of SR-Labuan came to an end—regrettably, Dasril Panin Dt. Labuan passed away on February 13,

2021, as a result of an illness following the demise of Dasril Panin, Dt. In Labuan, the role of Deputy Regent of Dharmasraya Regency has been left unfilled since February 13, 2022. After calculating the duration of the regent and deputy regent's mandates in Dharmasraya, which began on February 26, 2021, it is determined that there are still almost 24 months remaining in the deputy regent's term, commencing from when the position became vacant. According to Article 176 of Law No. 10 of 2016, the position of deputy regional head can be filled if the remaining term of service is longer than 18 months from the vacancy. According to Article 23, Letter D of PP Number 12 of 2018, the functions and authority of the DPRD include the selection of regional heads and deputy regional leaders. This selection occurs when there is a vacancy in the office, and the remaining term of office is more than 18 months.

Constitutionally, the position of deputy regional head is not explained in detail. However, the position of a regional head is legally stated in Article 66, paragraph (1) of the Law on Regional Government Number 23 of 2014, which explains that the role and position of the deputy regional head is considered strategic with its duties and responsibilities in assisting regional heads to lead government affairs. Judging from this position, the deputy regent is equivalent to the Regent running the government, except in determining policy. In carrying out his duties, the deputy regent is responsible to the Regent and is given authority and functions to assist the Regent's duties and functions during his term of office. The tasks that have been regulated are responsibilities that the deputy regent must carry out; if a vacancy in the position occurs, it will impact the continuity of regional government and determine future policies. The supervisory function is one of the duties of the deputy regent that needs to be

underlined. The impact caused by a vacancy in the office impacts not only one party due to failure to fulfill or being hampered in fulfilling the duties required of the representative but also the entire system involved.

Furthermore, the regent and deputy regent have the power to appoint, transfer, and remove members of the bureaucracy. Without proper controls and monitoring, this can quickly become a tool for implementing bureaucratic politicization practices. Consequently, the vacancy in the deputy regent position in Dharmasraya Regency significantly influenced the government's performance. The authority held by the regent and deputy regent is highly influential in transferring roles within the bureaucratic environment, particularly in position changes or rotations. The political vacancy in the deputy regent's realm will undoubtedly impact the selection process for bureaucratic appointments. The ultimate authority to decide personnel transfers rests with the political office led by the regent and deputy regent. Before deciding on the transfer of civil servants, the local government must engage the Position and Rank Advisory Board (Baperjakat) to evaluate and deliberate on the civil servants who will be transferred. However, the ultimate decision still lies with the regent and deputy regent. Hence, the political roles of regent and deputy regent will significantly impact the current positions within the bureaucratic system, particularly in the event of a vacancy in either of these positions, which will intensify bureaucratic politics.

Regarding employee transfers within Dharmasraya Regency, there is a notable occurrence of high-ranking positions being transferred to lower-ranking positions in the bureaucratic hierarchy. This phenomenon occurred following the vacancy in the position of deputy regent in Dharmasraya Regency. Demoting

individuals from higher to lower positions raises concerns about the criteria used to determine jobs and ranks, as well as the qualifications and skills possessed by the bureaucracy. Is the transfer of positions in Dharmasraya district, which is currently only managed by the regent without a deputy regent, based on existing procedures or influenced by political factors?

The researcher was intrigued by the initial data and sought to determine if the bureaucratic overhaul implemented by the regent of Dharmasraya Regency adhered to legal procedures or if there was evidence of a political motive behind it. The researchers are interested in examining the extent to which the deputy regent's office vacancy in Dharmasraya Regency affects the transfer of positions within the Dharmasraya Regency government. The problem statement of this research is to determine the nature of bureaucratic politicization in the reshuffling of bureaucratic positions in Dharmasraya Regency following the deputy regent's seat vacancy.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In the realm of bureaucratic political theory, this offers an elucidation of the function of policymakers within the realm of administration and bureaucracy (Rockman, 2020). This perspective directly challenges the notion of a separation between politics and administration that forms the basis of bureaucratic control theory. Explicitly, the text clarifies that when administration and politics are separated, it leads to a lack of knowledge about the bureaucracy's primary function in the political authority framework. The involvement of bureaucracy and bureaucrats in political activity necessitates the theoretical consideration of the political role of the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy plays a crucial role in a political system by facilitating government

administration. Bureaucracy has a vital role in upholding the political system. Terminologically, bureaucracy refers to the collective body of state officials within the realm of politics, explicitly encompassing all state officials within the executive branch.

At the administrative level, the state relies heavily on bureaucracy to ensure its capacity to address the implications arising from differentiation processes, which are a result of modernization (Cingolani et al., 2015). The state requires the capacity of bureaucrats to develop the necessary policies for the government. The interaction between political leaders and bureaucratic officials is an enduring association; hence, issues consistently emerge. Who has power over whom, and who has control, leadership, and dominance over whom? A problem that frequently arises is the dominance of political officials' leadership over the bureaucracy. Ultimately, as scientific advancements shape and impact the bureaucratic framework, it also evolve into the political, bureaucratic paradigm, leading to the emergence of new insights (Heidelberg, 2017). Bureaucracy serves as a platform for political negotiation and conflict between different actors who have varying interests and concerns in order to achieve a balance of power and mutual benefits.

Political interests pertains to the examination of bureaucratic politics or the phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization (Rockman, 2020). This refers explicitly to individual political actors or groups, organizations, or policies that are associated with the implementation of bureaucracy in the government sector. All actions and decisions made by bureaucracies are the outcome of political negotiations (Eckhard & Ege, 2016). The first paradigm, policy, arises from political negotiations that give rise to various types of compromise, coalition, competition, and anarchy among individuals involved in

addressing a policy matter (Belmonte & Cerny, 2021). Meanwhile, in the second model, bureaucracy functions as an organization where players in prominent positions within the bureaucracy engage in competitive interactions. An example pertains to the agenda for posting positions or structural position placement, which frequently serves as a platform for political authorities to engage in competitive behavior in order to advance specific objectives.

When discussing interests, several notions arise that explore the interests of individuals involved in power dynamics and political competition inside the bureaucracy. Geddes (2023), an expert in political science, argues that bureaucracy is inevitable and that political actors are interested in government bureaucratic issues. Geddes (2023) identifies a minimum of four factors that motivate politicians to exploit bureaucracy. One of the reasons is that bureaucracy provides specific advantages to its constituents. When political officials are thriving in a political competition, the bureaucracy is often utilized to distribute benefits to their supporters.

Additionally, the bureaucracy serves as a means for politicians to gain patronage and profits by supporting the interests of influential politicians (Jiang, 2018). Furthermore, politicians in power use the bureaucracy to fulfill their own needs by strategically placing individuals from opposing parties or external public organizations in critical positions within the bureaucratic system. Lastly, the bureaucracy is employed as a tool for actors to enact policies that favor interest groups, providing advantages in both the immediate and distant future.

In continuation of his previous argument, Geddes asserts that the four reasons above serve as the primary motivations for politicians in positions of power to employ bureaucracy in order to

achieve three key objectives, namely: 1) Sustaining their authority (ongoing existence). By actively engaging with and leveraging the benefits of the bureaucracy, political leaders can ensure their profitability and at least secure their position until the conclusion of their tenure. 2) Establishing a devoted political apparatus (establishment of a devoted political apparatus). Political authorities, in their role as policymakers, can considerably benefit from effectively utilizing human resources inside the bureaucratic sphere to achieve policy programs that serve political goals. 3) Assessing the efficacy of government. The objective is to use and leverage it for the purpose of acquiring support, both from constituents and political adversaries, in the upcoming election.

Considering Geddes (2023) complete explanation, researching the politicization of bureaucracy in government would greatly benefit from his insights. The emergence of bureaucratic problems, particularly in the post-reform regional government of Indonesia, poses a significant challenge for researchers and scientists in the fields of administration and politics. The concepts and ideas put forth by previous experts who studied the politicization of bureaucracy can serve as valuable references to address the current issues. Geddes (2023) ideas remain pertinent when applied to the problems that arise in Dharmasraya Regency. The objective of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia is to cultivate professionalism in response to the decline in bureaucratic performance caused by excessive political control. The proposed solution is to establish an efficient and transparent bureaucratic recruitment system that adheres to professional standards and maintains a high level of integrity. The effectiveness of this reform plan was ultimately demonstrated by the enactment of legislation that governs the processes for

recruiting bureaucrats, specifically legislation no. 5 of 2014 regarding the State Civil Apparatus. In Indonesia, there is a clear intention to establish a merit-based system for appointing bureaucratic career professionals to appropriate positions while granting the ability to regional leaders who hold political positions. The execution of bureaucratic recruitment within the government realm gives rise to chances for intervention and interests with political overtones.

Researchers in this study have chosen to adopt Geddes' concept to examine the phenomena of bureaucratic politicization that arises during the implementation of position transfers in Dharmasraya Regency, based on existing theories and ideas. Geddes (2023) opinions are relevant to the research phenomena raised by the researcher. In this context, the researcher discusses the authority of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads in the process of changing bureaucratic positions within the government bureaucracy. This aligns with Geddes (2023) conception, which emphasizes the interests of political officials in structuring governmental bureaucratic systems.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

Every research endeavor is undeniably driven by the goal of advancing or uncovering knowledge. In addition, research endeavors to discover and formulate techniques that can be employed to resolve a problem. Subsequently, research-related approaches were introduced. An approach similar to the qualitative approach is a methodology that offers instruments for comprehending the profound meaning associated with intricate events and their processes in the realm of social existence (Creswell, 2014). Researchers play a crucial role in explaining the politicization of bureaucracy in the job transfer procedure inside the

Dharmasraya Regency government. The obtained data comprises descriptive information in the form of written or spoken words provided by individuals who served as informants during the investigation. In addition, in relation to this study, researchers employed qualitative methodologies utilizing a case study framework. Case studies are a method used in qualitative research to investigate scientific phenomena. In this approach, the researcher aims to elucidate the phenomena that constitute the study problem, specifically pertaining to the outcomes of the auction for posts within the Dharmasraya Regency government. The focus is on the empty position of Deputy Regent. A research case study seeks to investigate interconnected research inquiries and challenges that cannot be disentangled, encompassing both the phenomenon under investigation and the surrounding context in which the phenomenon takes place.

An instrumental case study was implemented in this investigation. They are utilizing a case as a tool to illustrate an issue. One type of case in qualitative research is instrumental case studies (Sugiyono, 2016). Researchers must identify the most suitable case type before commencing their research. The case may be a single case or collective, centered on a single case or an issue, or occurring in multiple locations or within specific locations. Instrumental case studies emphasize individual cases that are intended to be described in detail in order to form a construct or enhance a theory. Job transfers are a prevalent occurrence in government circles today; however, the vacancy in the Deputy Regent position in Dharmasraya Regency has raised intriguing issues regarding job transfers. Consequently, researchers are interested in investigating the phenomenon of job transfers.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This investigation into the implementation of changes in bureaucratic positions in Dharmasraya Regency undoubtedly commences with the issues that present themselves. Subsequently, the researcher endeavors to establish a connection between these issues and the current laws and regulations and subsequently investigates the phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization in the context of studying bureaucratic politics. In practice, bureaucracy and politics are inextricably linked despite their significant distinctions, as previously stated. Consequently, numerous variables impact political dynamics throughout a government. The researcher initially addressed the factors that resulted in the deputy regent's position becoming vacant in Dharmasraya Regency when discussing the process of altering bureaucratic positions. The vacancy in the deputy regent position was caused by the demise of Dasril Painan, who served as the deputy regent of Dharmasraya Regency, as the researcher elucidated in the problem statement dated February 13, 2022. The researcher inquired of the regent as to why the deputy regent position had not been filled, as it had been vacant for over a year. In addition to representing the regional head in the event that he is unable to fulfill his responsibilities and functions, the deputy regional head is responsible for assisting the regional head in the administration of the government, particularly in the areas of supervision and population control, as well as helping the regional head in the completion of the regional head's work—a highly expansive region.

The job of deputy regional head is one level down to the position of regional head. Hence, this role holds significant importance and serves as a crucial asset within the framework of regional governance. The deputy regional head has a prominent position as the second

highest-ranking official within the regional leadership structure. The position of deputy regent in Dharmasraya Regency remains vacant due to the lack of agreement within the SR-Labuan party regarding the nomination of two candidates for the position. According to Article 176 of Law Number 10 of 2016 on the Election of Regional Heads, the process for filling the position of deputy regent is determined by a specific method. The DPRD conducts elections to fill the empty deputy regional head position based on proposals from political parties or coalitions of supporting political parties. Subsequently, the political party or coalition of supporting parties presents two nominees for the position of deputy regional head to the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) through the current regional head, who will be elected during the DPRD plenary session. Currently, the deputy regent position in Dharmasraya Regency remains unfilled. As a result, the regent is solely responsible for governing the territory without any oversight from a deputy.

The regional government entities have not demonstrated comprehensive knowledge in handling the vacancy for the position of Regent of Dharmasraya Regency. Considering that the process of filling the vacancy requires a coalition of political parties, it is essential to note that each party has distinct objectives. Consequently, there is disagreement among the parties when it comes to making judgments on selecting a new deputy regent candidate. In addition to that, it is essential to realize that the Regent's remaining term of office is limited to a few months, indicating that it will conclude soon. This is undoubtedly a factor to be taken into account when formulating the policies that need to be implemented by different stakeholders. The Regent faces a challenging assignment as he must continue leading the region without a deputy regent, a position that remains

unfilled until today. The regional government must maintain its proper functioning in order to fulfill the vision and objective set by the regional head. A regional leader cannot do his obligations single-handedly, given the multitude of tasks that need to be fulfilled. The Dharmasraya Regency government is now functioning effectively, even in the absence of a deputy regent. Undoubtedly, the regent faces a formidable struggle in fulfilling all of his responsibilities and obligations as the regional leader. When a regent fulfills his responsibilities and acts as a regional leader, he likely requires assistance and support from numerous entities, including those within the government institution itself. The unfilled deputy position may potentially create issues within the regional government, given its direct subordination to the role of the Regent. Although a regional secretary currently assists the Regent in performing his duties, it is essential to note that the regional secretary also has distinct primary responsibilities. According to West Sumatra Governor Regulation Number 69 of 2018, the primary duties and functions of the regional secretariat of West Sumatra Province are described. The regional secretary is responsible for formulating, determining, leading, coordinating, and controlling the implementation of the main tasks of the regional secretariat.

Given the primary responsibilities of the regional secretary, it is undeniably a formidable task for them to support the Regent's duties. It would be optimal to have a deputy regent available to assist the Regent. Nevertheless, due to the vacant position, the regional secretary is fulfilling the responsibilities of the deputy regent. In addition to the researcher's explanation of the issue surrounding the unfilled position of deputy regent in Dharmasraya Regency, researchers must focus on observing the bureaucratic transition process within the government of Dharmasraya Regency.



Researchers claim that following the vacancy of the deputy regent position, there was evidence that the Regent, acting as PPK, completed steps to Regentment non-employment for many ASNs. Bureaucratic politics emerge when the factors of preferences, aversions, loyalty, and disloyalty towards bureaucratic officials are given priority. The statements acquired from ASN and individuals impacted by non-job impacts were subjective, reflecting their respective perspectives, influenced by the decisions of the Regent as PPK. Subsequently, the research was conducted to ascertain the objectives and motives of the Regent in performing non-occupational roles during that period. Due to divergent viewpoints, academics also hold varying beliefs about the political implications of job vacancies on non-job positions. The researcher's hypotheses are corroborated by previously acquired data and then validated by multiple perspectives gained from various informants.

Researchers observe that the Regent's decision as PPK is influenced by personal preferences when making this non-employment decision. Asrinaldi acknowledged the presence of bureaucratic politics being conducted by the Regent, but further investigation is needed to understand the underlying reasons for the Regent's unemployment. There have been numerous incidences involving the assignment of individuals specially requested by a regional leader to fill particular jobs. The concept of an entrusted person is evolving throughout regional governments in the field of bureaucracy. While laws and government regulations offer direction to regional leaders such as PPK, the ultimate decision will still be significantly influenced by the progressive rights of regional heads. This will inevitably depend on whether bureaucrats should retain political neutrality or engage in politics to sustain

their jobs. Choosing this decision is a complex task that falls upon bureaucrats who are responsible for delivering public services. It is pretty regrettable if a policy is not executed in compliance with statutory regulations. ASNs are impacted by policies implemented by regional leaders that prioritize political considerations above the merit-based system when hiring, transferring, and dismissing ASNs. Consequently, ASNs are the ones who suffer the effects of this politicization.

Researchers have observed that the existing procedure for appointing, transferring, and dismissing bureaucrats no longer adheres to legal statutes, government regulations, Baperjakat guidelines, or the merit system as a standard. According to the research findings, the regent did not prioritize a competency test before assigning non-jobs to multiple ASNs. Furthermore, the regent failed to provide clear explanations for the mistakes made by the ASNs, which resulted in their receiving non-jobs. Moreover, the lack of a deputy regent to serve as a companion and supervisor leads to an imbalance in the management of governmental matters. The problem of non-job positions in the government of Dharmasraya Regency is currently being analyzed from the standpoint of bureaucratic politics and the regent's role as a Commitment Making Officer (PPK) towards the bureaucracy in the government of Dharmasraya Regency. The regent's decision in the non-work bureaucracy appears to be made unilaterally and in violation of multiple relevant regulations. Law Number 5 of 2014, which pertains to State Civil Apparatus (ASN), assigns the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the implementation of ASN policies and management to BKPSDM. Additionally, it aims to establish a merit system that enables regents to efficiently determine policies for transferring ASN structural

positions within the Regional Government. Government Regulation Number 53 of 2010 outlines the types of penalties that can be imposed on civil servants (ASN) for breaching disciplinary regulations. In this discussion, we will explain the data analysis and findings, as well as provide a chronological account of instances where the implementation of bureaucratic recruitment deviates from the relevant legislation. It is necessary to have a clear understanding and identification of purposes and objectives, which should be founded on factual information, statistics, and well-defined conceptual frameworks.

#### 1. Perpetuating/Maintaining Power

Currently, regional chiefs and deputy regional leaders possess complete authority to govern the government. When it comes to politics, the role of the regional head and deputy regional head is undeniably intertwined with the authority in governing. The authority wielded by regional chiefs as Leadership Officials (PPK) sometimes leads to the pursuit of personal interests. According to Geddes, as quoted in Syaiful, one of the primary concerns of the bureaucracy is to preserve its authority, ensuring its longevity either until the end of the current term or for subsequent periods. Sutan Riska, the current regional head, and Dasril Painan were victorious once again in winning the regional head election (Pilkada) in Dharmasraya Regency. It is conceivable for this duo to utilize bureaucrats as a political instrument to secure victory, given the substantial number of votes they can potentially garner from bureaucrats. The utilization of bureaucrats' votes in regional elections is inherently linked to endeavors aimed at retaining political control. The researcher concludes that based on the information received from Sarbaini and Romi as ASN, the participation of bureaucrats in politics is indeed evident. Bureaucracy is utilized as a means for politicians to generate income and secure

the support of regional heads and deputy regional leaders in order to further their own goals. Sarbaini and Romi lost their posts following the vacancy in the deputy regional head's power.

Researchers have evaluated that the vacant ASN positions will likely be filled by individuals, possibly recommended by the regent. Given the current circumstances, the regent is effectively governing independently, with a particular focus on maintaining leadership as the regional head. Bureaucracy serves as an instrument for regional heads and deputy regional chiefs to carry out policies, hence influencing the dynamics of relationships among officials. The elected regional head and deputy regional head will select trustworthy individuals to oversee the government operations in alignment with the plans and objectives of the vision and mission. Conversely, bureaucrats have a vested incentive in securing a more advantageous position than they previously had. Currently, researchers have observed an intriguing phenomenon in Dharmasraya Regency. The issue at hand is the abundance of non-job instances arising from the vacant position of Deputy Regent. There are differing perspectives on the matter of the Deputy Regent's position being vacant and the non-job situations that are interconnected. The placement, appointment, and dismissal of ASNs from their jobs can occur due to two factors: firstly, the lack of competency of the ASNs in that particular field, and secondly, a specific request from the regional head. However, the current situation is a consequence of political interference in the selection, appointment, and removal of ASNs.

Furthermore, the issue in Dharmasraya Regency stemmed from the vacant position of the deputy regent, which subsequently led to various problems. The absence of a deputy regent resulted in an imbalance in leadership positions, as the

regent was expected to govern the region with the assistance and oversight of the deputy regent. However, due to the vacancy, the regent had to manage the government single-handedly, causing the deputy's supervisory role to be neglected.

Following the departure of the deputy regent, numerous civil servants were terminated from their positions. This indicates a clear connection between this vacancy and the authorities held by the regent as the regional leader. Failure to provide supervision will have a direct effect on the ASNs. The presence of politically affiliated individuals in the offices of Regent and Deputy Regent increases the likelihood of bureaucratic politics influencing the selection, employment, and removal of civil servants in regional government. When researchers identified interconnections between various issues, such as the execution of job transfers, the reduction in the number of ASNs who were laid off, and the absence of deputy regents. The researcher evaluates whether there are further aspirations, such as preserving his position as regent or consolidating his authority inside the PDIP party, while also seeking to limit the influence of other political parties. These interests are undoubtedly interconnected with the indicator of power preservation. Building upon the regent's desire to maintain power within the government, particularly in terms of ensuring their survival, it is imperative to cultivate the loyalty of bureaucrats towards the leadership. Upon receiving information from the pertinent informants, the researcher observed that the indicator presented by Geddes regarding politicians' interests in the bureaucracy was prominently evident in the implementation of non-job positions in Dharmasraya Regency. There are signs that the regent, acting as PPK, chose to take on a non-occupational role in order to collaborate with individuals who matched

his specific qualifications or, in this instance, were generally loyal to him.

## 2. Creating a Loyal Political Machine

Bureaucracy is employed as a mechanism to generate substantial backing during the regional elections. Given the extensive quantity of ASNs, potential candidates are inclined to utilize bureaucracy as a means to establish political influence by garnering support in regional elections. Regional leaders utilize bureaucratic processes to expedite the implementation of many programs. In order to properly use bureaucracy, regional leaders must establish specific criteria, such as selecting knowledgeable and capable administrators who are impartial and, of course, loyal to them. Then, these reliable civil servants can assist local leaders in obtaining additional support from other politicians to enhance their prospects of maintaining their authority. Evidence of bureaucratic politics in Dharmasraya Regency following the vacancy of the deputy regent's seat is seen in the high number of unemployed civil servants. The vacancy in this office has elicited diverse sentiments, both in favor and against.

Nevertheless, during its execution, numerous impediments arose that affected all factions within the bureaucracy, resulting in the repercussions of this void being felt. The occurrence of bureaucratic politics in Dharmasraya Regency is evident from the significant number of civil servants who were terminated due to the vacancy in the deputy regent position. Therefore, the issue at hand pertains to the procedure of replacing bureaucratic positions within the government of Dharmasraya Regency following the vacancy in the deputy regent position. It raises the question of whether the regent exhibits any signs of loyalty or disloyalty, given that the regent is no longer under supervision and does not receive input from the deputy regent.

There are instances where proper protocols are not adhered to when administering disciplinary actions on the relevant ASN. In the context of the current merit system, the mentioned ASN is not necessarily subject to an instant severe consequence. Researchers argue that the lack of transparent disclosure regarding errors is grounds for mistrust, as there is no oversight of the Regent in the process of appointing, assigning, and dismissing ASNs. Political implications have also gained significant influence for the Regent in light of the vacancy in the office of Deputy Regent. Regional heads indirectly require the establishment of a loyal political machine. Following the departure of the deputy regent, a predicament arose in the Dharmasraya Regency government environment. Sutan Riska, who had served as deputy regent for a year, was now responsible for managing the government single-handedly. Therefore, it is inevitable to transfer ASNs (civil servants) who are less loyal and do not meet the stated criteria, as the monitoring role that should be fulfilled by the current representative no longer exists. The correlation between this indicator and the preceding indicator indicates that the retention of power necessitates a cohesive and devoted bureaucracy. This bureaucracy must not only address the requirements of forthcoming government initiatives but also serve the personal political agendas of the Regent and his political party.

### 3. Realizing Government Effectiveness

Examining and discussing the government's effectiveness in governing is crucial, as effectiveness is a vital indicator of the government's success in its performance. Given the power vacuum in the position of the deputy regent of Dharmasraya Regency, it is imperative to have an efficient approach to governing in order to ensure the continued execution of the deputy regent's responsibilities. Geddes contends that government

effectiveness serves as a pretext for advancing political goals within the bureaucracy. Effectiveness, as a manifestation of good administration or good governance, refers to the ability of a government to efficiently and successfully carry out its functions. In addition, Geddes disclosed that the concept of government effectiveness also seeks to garner backing from constituents or political adversaries. A politician, as an individual with power and authority, undoubtedly requires support from all factions, including the opposition, who will anticipate the potential outcomes and challenges that would arise throughout their tenure in government. This is an additional piece of evidence that supports the research conducted by the author. As a regional leader, the Regent possesses extensive powers that allow for unrestricted political activity inside the realm of bureaucracy. The allocation of key positions occupied by bureaucratic officials is crucial for regional leaders. These officials, such as the PPK, serve as a direct representation of the Regent in governing the region, aligning with the Regent's personal vision, mission, and political party's objectives.

Explicit and stringent restrictions govern the execution of work transfers. Nevertheless, when engaged in politics, these decisions have the potential to deviate from rationality. The Regent, in addition to serving as a Civil Service Development Officer (PPK), is also a member of a specific political party. Thus, Geddes' perspective aligns with the notion that politicians invariably have interests that seek to exert influence or exploit governmental management, particularly when they hold positions of authority. According to the researchers' findings, which were then linked to metrics of government effectiveness, they were unable to offer a comprehensive explanation or determine if the non-job positions contributed to government effectiveness.

Given the importance placed on these indicators, the government can enhance its effectiveness by revitalizing the bureaucratic structure through the introduction of non-job positions overseen by the Regent. However, this proposition needs to be substantiated by conducting thorough research on civil servants who are not employed and their motivations.

While the regent possesses the rightful power and authority to select, relocate, and terminate bureaucrats, it would be pretty regrettable if this privilege were to favor one party at the expense of numerous others. ASNs who have diligently established their jobs must allow those careers to go away without any explicit indication. The regent, acting as PPK, shall issue a letter of reprimand and warning to individuals who are found to have made a mistake in their job in accordance with the relevant laws and government rules. However, non-job ASNs did not accept this, and there was no apparent reason provided for why non-jobs were not supplied information. The sentence received is promptly categorized as a severe penalty. Unfortunately, the regent's authority continues to supersede the stipulations of current laws and regulations. Researchers observe that Weber's assertion regarding bureaucracy as a self-governing bureaucratic apparatus is no longer prevalent in government as a whole since the actualities of contemporary political existence have invalidated this perspective. The bureaucracy, once comprised of non-political players engaged in competition, has now become a tool or political instrument utilized by those in power. If the phenomenon currently being investigated by researchers is relevant, Weber's argument will likely be disproven. This is because in the present context of regional governance, particularly in Indonesia, regional leaders, known as PPKs, tend to prioritize loyalty over basic

competence when appointing bureaucrats to positions.

## CONCLUSION

The beginning issue for this research was the vacant position of the deputy regent in Dharmasraya Regency. After identifying the problem based on initial data results, the research proceeded with data collection through interviews and recording. Data analysis was conducted using Barbara Geddes' conceptual framework as a guiding principle. This research concludes that the assumption made by the researcher, which focuses on bureaucratic political issues that arise after the deputy regent's position becomes vacant, has an impact on the number of non-job cases in bureaucratic positions. These cases are decided by the regent himself, who serves as the civil service development officer for the bureaucracy. This impact can be overlooked. The current Regent of Dharmasraya Regency, who holds the position of PPK in the government structure, has engaged in bureaucratic politics by involving himself in matters unrelated to his official duties. While the regent has the authority to appoint, transfer, and dismiss individuals, if there is a deputy regent present, non-employment factors are taken into consideration. This employment position allows for discussion and consideration of recommendations and feedback from the deputy regent, who serves as the regent's companion. If the regent assumes office unilaterally, there is a high likelihood that political factors will be entangled in this non-work issue. Barbara Geddes proposed that regents, as political officials, use bureaucracy to achieve three primary objectives: (1) Maintaining their authority, (2) Establishing a loyal political network, and (3) Achieving effective governance. Geddes has indeed demonstrated that the regent indirectly carries out the three interests by

implementing non-job positions in Dharmasraya Regency.

Researchers have identified two indicators that dominate the regent's interests when it comes to carrying out non-job roles based on the three interests of the regent. The regent's desire to retain power is evident in the absence of a replacement for the deputy regent. Given that a deputy regent typically accompanies the regent for only a year, this indicates a deliberate effort to maintain control until the end of the term. Furthermore, it established a steadfast political apparatus. The Regent's primary requirement is to secure the resources necessary to sustain his power and ensure successful governance. As a political figure in a position of authority, he relies heavily on support from inside the bureaucracy.

There are indications that the procedures for placing, appointing, and dismissing civil servants (ASN) are not in accordance with the applicable Law and Government Regulations. This is based on the numerous cases of non-job positions carried out by the regent as PPK, as well as the lack of warnings and clear information received by ASNs who were assigned non-jobs. Additionally, the regent has not conducted a job fit process prior to these placements. This is a manifestation of bureaucratic politics executed by the regent. However, when it comes to measuring government effectiveness, researchers believe that this question cannot be fully answered using data collected in the field or secondary data, as there is a lack of reasons and explanations for the non-employment of the ASN.

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