Bureaucratic Politicization in the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor Election

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Abstract. This paper aims to explain how bureaucratic politicization occurs in elections. Bureaucratic politicization is rampant in contesting elections for power, especially in the local government, district/city, and province. There are various forms of bureaucratic politicization. However, the mobilization of bureaucratic networks by the ruler to support one of the candidates works best. The results showed this in the 2017 election of West Sulawesi's Governor and Deputy Governor. This study explains how the mobilization of bureaucratic networks was one of the factors for Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggraeni Anwar in winning the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor and Deputy Governor elections.

Keywords: Bureaucracy, Mobilization, Regional Head, West Sulawesi.

1   Introduction

Bureaucracy, a modern organization developed by sociologist Max Weber, means an ideal and rational organization running the government administration system. Weber's intelligence in presenting ideas about the perfect characteristics of legal-rational bureaucracy enables it to carry out organizational goals effectively and efficiently. Bureaucracy in Indonesia generally uses the Weberian concept, the ideal type of bureaucracy. The ideal type of bureaucracy is a bureaucracy or administration with a perfect form where all functions run rationally [1]. Some ideal kinds conceptualized by Weber are not easy to implement in a government bureaucracy. The reality of government bureaucracy in appointing officials is not professional qualification, quality, or capability. However, selecting officials is only based on subjectivity, emotional relationships, and political interests [2].

Based on Weber's view, a political role in bureaucracy can suggest the process of the ideal type of bureaucracy. The interpretation of bureaucracy as a service organ for the wider community certainly means an idealistic understanding. It would not be wrong if Max Weber viewed bureaucracy as a rational organization, a social mechanism that maximizes efficiency, and a distinctive form of social organization [3]. This country's long journey of bureaucratic life has always featured the dominance of political aspects under the control of the state. In Indonesia, the realization of bureaucracy refers to using state institutions in government existence. Civil Servants (PNS), or what is now considered the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), is the embodiment of bureaucracy playing a crucial role in the system of people's lives. The State Civil Apparatus (ASN) executes government and development tasks. Therefore, the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) must be neutral. Based on Law Number Five of 2014, the neutrality of the State

Civil Apparatus (ASN) is accessible from the influence and intervention of all groups and political parties. To maintain the objectivity of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) from the impact of political parties and to ensure the integrity, cohesiveness, and unity of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), and to be able to focus all attention, thoughts, and energy on the duties assigned, the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) may not become members or administrators of political parties [4].

Politics influences bureaucracy, which manifests in how politics controls public policy. Using existing power can influence the bureaucracy's work and behavior, so it is not surprising that it becomes a machine in carrying out political activities for the direct interests of political interests and the continuation of power. This condition also occurs in Indonesia; the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is currently unable to escape the influence of politics [5]. The State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is supposed to be a public servant, free from political activities, but inevitably, forced or not forced to be involved in politics because when the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is silent and does not support political officials, then sometimes the position/career of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is usually lowered or does not occupy strategic positions in the government.

In the current reform era, the politicization of the government bureaucracy is still ongoing, so it is not surprising that the number of alleged violations of the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) from regional head elections to regional head elections has increased significantly. In West Java, the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of West Java Province noted that the trend of violations of the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the first wave of simultaneous regional head elections ranked third. In the 2017 simultaneous regional head elections, the trend of violations of the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) rose to first place. Research Center for Politics and Government (PolGov), Department of Politics and Government (DPP) Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) through the Big Data Analytics Laboratory, conducted an extensive data analysis of the discourse on the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the 2020 simultaneous regional head elections. Data obtained through tracking online media portals spans seven months between April 4 and November 6, 2020. According to the analysis results, the neutrality issue of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) received relatively large media coverage, namely 8,662 articles from 189 online media portals in the data collection period. This data indicates the public solid attention to the neutrality info of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) [6].

The PolGov research report explains that the data proves that the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) with regional control has an excellent opportunity to take actions that violate the principle of neutrality. The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), an independent institution tasked with overseeing the implementation of elections in Indonesia, noted that there were 854 State Civil Apparatus (ASN) violating neutrality during the performance of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections, as well as the most campaigns on social media. The violations of the objectivity of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) consisted of 790 Bawaslu findings, 64 cases of community reports, and 87 cases, not including violations of the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN). Violations of the objectivity of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) did not only occur during the regional head election event; The State Civil Apparatus (ASN) also committed violations during the presidential election. The State Civil Apparatus (ASN) was

also involved in the practice of breaches in the context of using hoaxes and hate speech [7].

The politicization of bureaucracy in Indonesia is not new but a process that has been going on since the first general election in Indonesia in 1955 [8]. The politicization of bureaucracy has been going on since the Old Order regime, the New Order regime, and the Reformation regime. And now, the politicization of bureaucracy is rampant in the contestation of regional head elections since the implementation of regional head elections directly elected by the people. The involvement of the bureaucracy in the political arena ahead of regional head elections is increasingly common. The strategic position of the bureaucracy, which has the advantage of mobilizing the masses and the ability to utilize every facility to support candidate pairs to become leaders, has resulted in the bureaucracy getting involved in the political process. This fact is known as the politicization of bureaucracy [9].

In the local context, the momentum of regional head elections is a betting ground for bureaucratic and political relations. In many cases, regional head candidates often use the bureaucracy as a very effective political tool. Many facts generally color the process of cooperation between bureaucracy and politics. In addition, sometimes the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is easily carried away by politics, or in other words when they get forced to be neutral for fear of being transferred or dismissed, they end up siding with one of the candidate pairs, especially if one of the candidate pairs is the incumbent [10].

In the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor and Deputy Governor elections, the politicization of the bureaucracy appeared in the implementation process. The victory of the Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggreni Anwar pairs over two other pairs, namely, Suhardi duka paired with Kalma Katta and Salim S. Mengga and Hasanuddin Mashud. is the result of strategies made and carried out by the Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggreni Anwar pairs, one of which mobilizes the bureaucracy. The mobilization of support from the bureaucracy for the Ali Baal Masdar pair becomes very clear when looking at the backgrounds of these two candidates. Ali Baal Masdar is the Regent of Polewali Mandar. Polewali Mandar is the district with the most permanent voters in West Sulawesi. Meanwhile, Enny Anggreni Anwar is the wife of the Governor of West Sulawesi, Mr. Anwar Adnan Saleh. This paper looks at the pattern of bureaucratic politicization that occurred in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. This study will analyze bureaucratic Politics by looking at symmetrical power relations in helping regional head candidates influence people's political choices.

2   Research Methods

This research uses descriptive research methods with a qualitative approach, which uses secondary and primary data to determine the pattern of bureaucratic politicization in the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor and Deputy Governor Elections—the determination of informants carried out by purposive sampling method. Respondents included Polewali Mandar Regency government bureaucrats and party officials supporting Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggreni Anwar, who understood and mastered the research topic.

Primary data are in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. Secondary data came from journals, books, and previous research [11]. Researchers also used data analysis techniques, including data presentation, reduction, and conclusion drawing.

3   Results

3.1   The Bureaucratic Network of Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggreni

Political-bureaucratic relations in Indonesia are currently an interesting topic to examine. The pattern of political-bureaucratic relations is like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated (inseparable) but relatively stand-alone (integrated). One symptom of bureaucratic politicization is the direct support of the bureaucracy to its leaders to obtain or maintain administrative authority. In the context of elections, political officials lead agencies to mobilize, use facilities, and exploit attributes to join certain parties [12]. At the same time, in regional head elections, there is the direct involvement of the bureaucracy (especially the State Civil Apparatus), which mobilizes to support regional head candidates to gain or maintain power in the provincial executive.

During local elections, the bureaucracy frequently gets involved in practical politics. As with the struggle for power in West Sulawesi, the neutrality of local government officials or institutions in West Sulawesi is challenging because many West Sulawesi provincial government officials or institutions are part of a pair of political forces. West Sulawesi Governor candidates Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggreni Anwar. The support base of this pair includes government officials or institutions from various agencies in the West Sulawesi Government and Polewali Mandal Regency. Bureaucratic politicization involves mobilizing or directing government officials or institutions to support the pair (mobilization) [13].

Mobilization of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) within the West Sulawesi Regional Government occurred ahead of the West Sulawesi Regent general election. The purpose of this mobilization is to gather a support base and concentrate the political power of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the hands of one of its officials. The candidates for West Sulawesi Governor are Bar Masdar and Enni Anglaiani Anwar. This mobilization of civil servants creates a very undesirable situation because certain circles or groups mobilize and direct bureaucrats as an integral part of the power struggle, which impacts the neutrality of officials or bureaucracy within the West Sulawesi provincial government agencies.

Regional heads often utilize bureaucracy in every political election at the district/city, provincial, and even presidential levels. Not least in Polewali Mandar Regency, bureaucratic mobilization took place in the 2017 governor election contestation. Generally, the politicization of bureaucracy is carried out by those who have power, such as regents and governors. Ali Baal Masdar's bureaucratic network became one of the most influential social capitals in winning the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor Election. Using the Polewali Mandar leadership bureaucratic network further strengthened

Ali Baal Masdar's relationship. The compliance and bureaucratic support given to Ali Baal Masdar can only explained by the fact that he is the ruler of Polewali Mandar. The bureaucracy's support for Ali Baal Masdar also arises through long-term relationships. However, it is also possible that this support stems from a genuine fear that the bureaucracy will impede his work.

In regional elections in several regions in Indonesia, the bureaucracy is often the most widely used political machine. Bureaucratic mobilization within the Polewali Mandar District Government to support Ali Baal Masdar was indirectly confirmed by one of the informants in this study, who said that bureaucratic support within the Polewali Mandar District Government was a driver of Ali Baal Masdar's political power in winning the West Sulawesi Gubernatorial Election in 2017. Although the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) is expected to remain neutral in the election, there is no guarantee that the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) will target one of the candidates because it is run as a political machine to gain bureaucratic support. [14].

Regarding the bureaucratic support given to Ali Baal Masdar, the Chairman of the West Sulawesi Gerindra Party regional representative council, they said that the strength of the bureaucratic network in Polewali Mandar Regency has enormous power. Ali Baal Masdar's victory in the 2017 gubernatorial election was very effective in the behavior of West Sulawesi voters. Ali Baal Masdar's presence in the Governor Election is the presence of Polewali Mandar Regency representatives. Ali Baal Masdar is one of the community leaders of the Polewali Mandar Regency. Since 1995, the Masdar family has significantly influenced the politics of the Polewali Mandar Regent.

Candidates who win in Polewali Mandar or get the most votes certainly have a great chance of winning the West Sulawesi Governor Election. In the 2017 West Sulawesi regional head election, the political situation, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency, greatly influenced Ali Baal Masdar Enny's victory in Polewali Mandar Regency and his re-election as Governor of West Sulawesi. Polewali Mandar Regency is an electoral district in West Sulawesi. Therefore, the political power built by the Regent of Polewali Mandar will significantly impact Ali Baal Masdar's victory in the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor Election. In addition, the presence of Enny Anggraeni was also a contributing factor to the couple's victory in West Sulawesi. Sulawesi in 2017. Governor Election. The figure of Enny, the wife of the then Governor of West Sulawesi, Anwar Adnan Saleh, to some extent influenced the bureaucracy in making its choice. In particular, the bureaucracy operates under the local government of West Sulawesi province. Anwar Adnan Saleh's political influence at that time was significant enough to influence the election of state officials in the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor Election. In particular, state officials residing in Mamuju Regency, which is the district with the second most extensive voter list in West Sulawesi,

3.2. Bureaucratic Mobilization in the 2017 West Sulawesi governor election

Bureaucratic politicization means a condition that makes the bureaucratic situation political. This situation results from some politicians seeing the bureaucracy as a tool to

help them win local elections and keep their leaders in power. It contains several tools, such as people, money, and infrastructure, which can make it possible to pave the way to victory in a local election battle. In this relationship, the bureaucracy becomes a tool for power struggles and a place to draw the benefits of power. Politicians use bureaucratic networks in the political sphere, at least to hold or maintain political power. Meanwhile, bureaucrats increasingly open their doors to the political arena, at least to achieve higher positions or maintain strategic positions in bureaucratic positions.

The politicization of the bureaucracy in the 2017 West Sulawesi Governor Election created a condition where the bureaucracy played a dual role. The first is the motivation factor. Second, there is also a mobilization factor. In this discussion, we will only discuss the first item. Politicization in the form of mobilization was a concrete step in the struggle for power in the regions, with candidates using the bureaucracy as one of the elements in mobilizing their support. The results of this study show that elite officials in West Sulawesi Province actively mobilize their subordinates to garner support for the regional leader candidates they support. The bureaucracy is often regarded as the embodiment of the state because it has access to information in the region. Undeniably, a bureaucracy's success lies in mobilizing capital from and within the public sector (the area) [15]. No institution, be it the legislature or the judiciary, has the luxury of access to information, as does the bureaucracy; therefore, the bureaucracy is considered a great source of power for prospective regional head candidates.

Because bureaucratic capacity is essential, election candidates want to use the bureaucracy to generate political power through electoral support in elections, including calling on high-ranking officials to mobilize support from lower-ranking officials. Lower-level officials are always used as mobilization factors in elections because the amount of power held by upper-level officials forces lower-level officials to submit, subject to sanctions for violations. The 2017 regional head election in West Sulawesi province illustrated the existence of groups mobilized to garner political support. These groups were primarily civil servants who did not hold strategic positions in the government, such as UPTD employees, junior staff, principals, and school teachers in West Sulawesi province. Bureaucratic politicization in the form of mobilization is a severe problem in efforts to increase professionalism in the bureaucracy. Regional head elections make officials a political machine politicians use to win the struggle for power in regional head elections. Mobilization often serves as a basis of support for individuals who hold political power outside of political parties. Arguably, petty kings have formed during regional autonomy [16].

Bureaucratic loyalty is no longer loyalty to providing services to the community but to the group that dominates local political power. Bureaucratic mobilization is considered an effective way to win elections, which is possible because of the perspective of the bureaucracy, which can take the form of two groups that play a role in each other. The bureaucracy functions as an advocacy group that can freely use its power because it is mighty. And the bureaucracy that acts as a mobilized group can take advantage of this opportunity to get rewards in the form of promotions. Empirical evidence shows a bureaucratic mobilization model that tends to illustrate the separation between mobilization tools by considering senior officials as advocates and lower officials as mobilization tools. These instruments are separated due to differences in jurisdiction so that

lower-level officials, whose jurisdiction appears small, are built up to generate solid political support. This tendency was evident in the 2017 West Sulawesi Provincial Head Election, which involved several high-ranking officials such as Assistant III, heads of departments, deputy regents, village heads, and village heads. The leader acts as a mobilizer of the support of his subordinates to build support for the regent candidate he supports.

Bureaucratic political theory predicts that in any situation and condition, the bureaucracy will always intersect with politics, even at different levels. On the one hand, bureaucracy is an instrument for the government to implement policies from political products. On the other hand, bureaucracy is a character and behavior that has a desire or rationale and is irrational to hold power in playing its role in carrying out official duties. Government bureaucracy cannot be separated from political processes and activities. Every cluster of society that forms a government order cannot be separated from this political aspect. Politics, as we all know, consists of people who behave and act politically (consists of people working politically) and who are politically organized by interest groups and try to influence the government to take and implement policies and actions that can promote their interests. These groups have interests that are fought for so that the government is controlled. The government bureaucracy, directly or indirectly, will always be in contact with interest groups in society. It will not be possible to separate the bureaucracy from political influence or the political system in a country.

Of course, this research is limited in providing the desired knowledge to explain the relationship between bureaucracy and politics. This research does not detail the most minor practices of the bureaucratic politicization process in local government. Instead, this research only explains that the political power held by regional head candidates can be their strength in moving the bureaucracy in the area where they are competing. It is hoped that future research can explain the patterns and strategies carried out by candidate pairs competing in political contestation directing the bureaucracy.

4. Conclusions

Politics can influence the bureaucracy's activities, so what politicians want tends always to be obeyed by the bureaucracy. There was bureaucratic politicization in the 2017 West Sulawesi Provincial Head Election in the form of bureaucratic support for competing candidates for regional leaders. This is evidenced by several motives or activities that gather several West Sulawesi Provincial Government officials to be mobilized into political power through support for regional leadership candidates. In this case, what is evident is the mobilization of the bureaucracy by the pair Ali Baal Masdar and Enny Anggraeni Anwar. Politicians need the bureaucracy as a political machine, and the bureaucracy needs the support of politicians as a means to develop their careers. Bureaucracy becomes a negotiating arena for local elite interests. This condition confirms Weber's conception of patriarchal bureaucracy in Indonesia's local government bureaucracy. If this situation continues, the behavior of bureaucratic officials who are subservient to the authorities emerges.

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