

Policy of Local Head of Post Election (Study at The Office of Cooperatives and SMEs Regional Tomohon)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe the Post Regional Head Policy (Study at the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Service). This study uses qualitative research methods and uses data collection techniques: Interview, Observation and Documentation. The primary data sources in this study were the results of direct interviews and observations conducted by researchers on state civil apparatus at Tomohon Cooperative and SMEs Regional Office, and secondary data sources were official government documents, books, journal articles and internal organization records in this case the Cooperatives and Cooperatives Office. Tomohon Regional SMEs. The results of the study indicate that: The policy of the regional head greatly affects the running of the government, in this case the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Office. What happened at the Cooperatives and SMEs Regional Office of Tomohon was that the assignment of state civil apparatus positions was not in accordance with applicable regulations or rules based on elements of subjectivity and politics. What should be done based on the State civil apparatus performance assessment by prioritizing the achievement system and career system, in practice it is contrary to what is expected. The element of subjectivity and politics has a very high role in making regional head policies to determine the position of state civil apparatus in this service, in this case related to the granting of structural positions or dismissal from structural positions or even job transfers.

INTRODUCTION

In essence, the purpose of the state is for welfare and security. The context of the state here is different from that of the government. The state is a unity between the government, the people, the territory, a set of laws and regulations, and the recognition of other countries. Government is an institution/individual formed by a certain set of processes to manage the state.

The government as an institution that manages the state has a goal to achieve the general goals of the country. For Indonesia, the state's ob-

jectives are stated in the fourth paragraph of the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, namely "to protect the entire nation and the homeland of Indonesia and to promote general welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

Public policy is closely related to objects that are in the community, inclusive, and influential. Public policy in this understanding in terms of its objectives can take the form of two things, namely public policies made because they are needed to adapt to existing conditions and public policies

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made to create ideal conditions to be achieved. Public policy is an action or decision made by the government regarding the public interest which has a goal and a way to achieve that goal through a process of interaction with socio-political forces.

In the public policy formulation stage, the role of politics is very large, while in the implementation the role of the bureaucracy is very prominent. In the formulation and implementation stages, both politics and administration are actively involved in it. This is also due to the political system, namely the political and administrative processes are important activities in the conversion process (law-making).

Philosophically, democratic values have a close relationship or link with policy formulation. Literally, democracy means government that is carried out by making the people (demos) the highest power holder (kratos) (Harefa & Fatolosa, 2020). Formally, democracy can be defined as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In countries with small populations, democracy can work directly, namely the people directly determine what is good for themselves through the mechanism of public discussion. In countries with large populations, such as Indonesia, the people are represented by people who sit in the people's representatives, and they ensure that all government work is in the interests of the people. Based on this point of view, democracy presupposes certain moral values in practice,

In Indonesia since the enactment of Law no. 32 of 2004 as amended by Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, the election of regional heads is carried out directly ("[Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah,](#)" 2005). The direct election of regional heads is one of the manifestations of democratic instruments in the context of creating a more democratic government. With this system, the hope of realizing people's sovereignty in the government system is believed to be fully realized, considering that the democratic system is a direct order mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

As stated by Robert Dahl, the ideal democracy always demands various things so that no actual regime can fully understand: "when looking for an ideal democracy, there is no democratic regime". From Robert Dahl's view above, it can be understood that the true democratic process will continue to demand comprehensive change. No matter how democratic the government is and no matter how high the commitment to the realization of people's sovereignty is, the democratic process will never stop at the point of perfection. Various fundamental changes to a better position will always be hope. Therefore, it is not surprising that then many parties

assume that almost no country has reached the maturity level in implementing democracy.

In the context of presidential election, it has been decided quite early in recent election cycles, thereby eliminating several states from participating (Saltzman & Bradford, 2022). However, in a simpler level, the implementation of regional head elections in the country is part of the steps to realize the overall democratic agenda. The election of regional heads which is currently being held directly in Indonesia is one of the manifestations of the commitment of a democratic state as outlined in the constitution. With the democratic process at the local level, it is hoped that the election of local leaders will also reflect the real aspirations of the people.

In the implementation of regional elections, it is unavoidable that problems also grow like mushrooms in the rainy season. In practice in the field, the stage of direct democracy which has now become part of the power transfer process in the country has begun to raise a number of very complex problems. The hope for the realization of good governance after the transition of the democratic system from the old pattern that implemented indirect democracy to direct democracy has not been able to be implemented as well as what was aspired. Instead, the facts that occur are very contradictory or contradictory (Budi-man, 2018). The building of democracy with a direct election system has spawned a number of new problems.

Even the implementation of the direct democracy system has spawned small kings in the regions on behalf of the interests of the people. This relates to the authority and authority possessed by regional heads in this case transferring the state civil apparatus based on the political participation of the state civil apparatus. The initial concept related to the transfer of the position of the state civil apparatus is an important instrument for managing the state civil apparatus, to uphold competence, professionalism, transparency, accountability, and consideration of commensurate salary changes based on the existing political ties. at the time of the election.

Government Science Expert from Hasanudin University (*Unhas*), Dr. Hasrat Areif Saleh, MS, said in ([Jurnalost.com, 18/2/2016](#)) State civil apparatus are actually bureaucratic professions and not political positions. Thus, state civil apparatus should be in a neutral and impartial position. but in practice in the field it is just easy to say, and difficult to implement. in reality, there are still maneuvers to support regional head candidates during the regional election succession period. as a result, when the candidate they support loses, these state civil apparatus often become victims of the policies in the

mutation process and position shifts carried out by the new regional head.

Basically, state civil apparatus is prohibited from taking sides and conducting campaigns against a candidate for regional head. Because state civil apparatus who are caught campaigning will become victims of mutations and shifts in positions that are often carried out by regional heads. This is also stated in Government Regulation Number 37 of 2004 concerning the Prohibition of State civil apparatus from Being Members of Political Parties which states that the sanctions for state civil apparatus who are actively involved in political activities are dismissal with respect or with disrespect.

The initial concept related to the neutrality of state civil apparatus as regulated in the Law on state civil apparatus, in the Regional Election is only a discourse which in practice is very contradictory. state civil apparatus employees are in a dilemmatic position and are swayed by political interests. On the one hand, they are employees who are appointed, placed, transferred and dismissed by the Civil Service Supervisory Officer (*PPK*) with the status of a political official. Conditions like this made their careers often associated with KDP political interests. On the other hand, state civil apparatus must also remain neutral to maintain their professionalism in carrying out governance and public services (Hartini, 2008). State civil apparatus is the implementer of policies and the holder of power and authority in managing the budget and resources in the bureaucracy.

Neutrality is one of the important principles in the implementation of public service tasks, government tasks and development tasks. Every state civil apparatus must be neutral to be able to carry out his duties professionally. To enforce the neutrality of state civil apparatus, the government has issued a number of laws and regulations. However, the level of violation of the principle of neutrality among state civil apparatus is still high, especially ahead of the simultaneous regional elections. Meanwhile, the non-neutrality of state civil apparatus can lead to partiality or injustice in policy making and service delivery which in turn will cause harm to the wider community.

The implementation of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government makes regional heads as political and administrative officials (bureaucracies), regional heads who have democratic mandates and legitimacy because they are directly elected, require the support of professional and loyal administrative staff, in order to realize programs promised to the people. Employees are needed who have a mindset, a pattern of service

attitude, have a productive culture, and are able to carry out performance-based management oriented to excellent service to the community (Iskandar, 2016) in order to realize the regional vision and mission that must be achieved (Hasibuan, 2006).

The element of politics and subjectivity dominates in every filling of structural positions in state civil apparatus, which is related to the bureaucracy to intensify the spirit of gaining political support from the community or ethnic groups. This has increasingly triggered the public's negative view that placing an state civil apparatus in a structural position is more determined by the likes and dislikes of political officials and is also related to the culture of the Indonesian people.

Shifting or mutation of the positions of SKPD leaders within the district/city government after the implementation of the regional election has become a tradition. After the new regional heads were sworn in, not a few SKPD officials and leaders in the regions were transferred because at the time of the regional election they did not support the elected regional heads. To overcome and prevent this from happening, the Central Government through the Minister of Home Affairs. The Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo, has signed Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 73 of 2016 concerning Delegation of Authorities to Sign Written Agreements to Replace Officials in Local Governments. The regulation was made in the context of implementing Article 71 paragraph (2), Article 71 paragraph (4) and Article 162 paragraph (3) of the Law. (Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 2016, n.d.) concerning the Second Amendment to Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning Stipulation of Government Law No. 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors into Law. In the Ministry of Home Affairs regulation it is emphasized that the Governor or Deputy Governor, Regent or Deputy Regent, and Mayor or Deputy Mayor are prohibited from replacing officials six months before the date of determination of the pair of candidates until the end of the term of office unless written approval from the Minister. "Governors, Regents, or Mayors who will replace officials within the Provincial or Regency/Municipal Governments, within a period of six months from the date of inauguration must obtain written approval from the Minister," reads Article 2 paragraph (2).

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Mayors who will replace officials within the provincial or district/city government within a period of six months from the date of inauguration, must obtain written approval from the minister, reads article 2 paragraph (2) of the Permendagri. In this Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs, it is stated that the Minister delegates to the Director General of Regional Autonomy to give written approval to the proposed application of the Governor or Deputy Governor, Regent or Deputy Regent, and the Mayor or Deputy Mayor as intended for the replacement of administrative officials and functional officials. "The delegation of authority to grant written approval as intended also applies to proposals from the Acting Governor, Acting Regent, and Acting Mayor who replace officials," reads Article 3 paragraph (3) of this Permendagri. With this authority, the Minister delegates to the Director General of Regional Autonomy to give written approval to the proposed application by the Governor, Regent or Mayor for the replacement of administrative officials and functional officials. It is emphasized in this Permendagri that in carrying out the delegated authority as intended, the Director General of Regional Autonomy of the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible to the Minister.

According to [Janedri \(2012\)](#) the patron-client relationship is a pattern of deep, individual relationships between two individuals, namely between patron and client. The interaction between the two parties is reciprocal or reciprocal by exchanging resources (exchange of resources) owned by each party. This is none other than due to the political interests of the authorities. The election of a regional head who is mobilized by the state civil apparatus will certainly force the regional head to carry out a political reward for the bureaucrats concerned by securing or increasing his position in the bureaucracy. On the other hand, bureaucrats who are considered to be at odds with the elected regional head will have their careers threatened.

The replacement of regional heads in this case the Mayor and Deputy Mayor in Tomohon after the Regional election in December 2020 also undeniably brought influence and impact on policy products issued by the government, especially what happened at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Service. The form of policy that occurs is in the process of assigning positions or dismissing positions or even transferring positions to state civil apparatus in this service. The granting of positions or dismissals or even mutations of state civil apparatus positions that should be carried out based on state civil apparatus performance assessments, in practice, is carried out based on the political element of remuneration and subjectivity, which is

very far from the principles of professionalism and proportionality. This can be seen from the placement of officials who are not in accordance with educational qualifications,

The form of public policy that occurred at the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and UKM Office after the 2020 election, namely the replacement of Plt. The Head of Cooperatives from the old to the new which seemed very forced because it was based on political elements and subjectivity without considering the achievement and career system. The impact of this is that after a new SK is issued it only lasts a few days the SK is withdrawn because it does not comply with the applicable regulations. Where the Acting Head of Division is unable to carry out his duties because the career status of a staff employee immediately jumps to being an Acting Head of Division is not in accordance with applicable regulations. This causes government inconsistency, in this case the regional head, in making a policy related to filling in the position structure at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office.

Based on the results of research and interviews that have been conducted by the author, an example of the impact that occurred in the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Service after the election was the instability of the performance of state civil apparatus in this service. For six months after the inauguration of the elected regional heads, several state civil apparatus at the Cooperatives and UKM Office in the Tomohon area have no longer performed optimally or their performance is unstable, there tends to be a decline, this is because there are some people who feel that their position in the office is not good. will experience changes and there will even be an increase because they feel they have provided political support during the election. Different things happened to some state civil apparatus who felt they did not provide political participation during the elections, because of anxiety waiting for time to be dismissed from structural positions or even being transferred, there will be an increase in performance, because the person concerned is trying to keep his position safe in the office by trying as much as possible to improve performance with the aim of showing and showing it to superiors, with the hope of being a consideration for superiors in making decisions. a policy not to be dismissed from structural positions or even transferred. This certainly greatly affects the performance of state civil apparatus in carrying out their duties and functions in a government agency. state civil apparatus as human resources is a partner who also determines the growth and development of an organization in government. In connection with this,

the classification and quality of state civil apparatus as human resources determine the quality of service, image and trust that directly influence the level of professionalism that continues to the level of participation and contributes to the success of government agencies in achieving their goals. Humans behave in doing something because of the driving factor from within humans themselves or better known as motivation because human behavior is essentially goal-oriented. The final impact of all this is to affect the performance of the implementation of public services in the community, especially public servants at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office. Humans behave in doing something because of the driving factor from within humans themselves or better known as motivation because human behavior is essentially goal-oriented. The final impact of all this is to affect the performance of the implementation of public services in the community, especially public servants at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office.

Policy is basically a decision intended to overcome certain problems, to carry out certain activities, to carry out certain activities, or to achieve certain goals, which are carried out by authorized government institutions in the context of carrying out the tasks of state government and nation building. The limitation on public policy is given by Thomas R. Dye in (Ayuningtyas, 2014) who says that "public policy is whatever the government chooses to do or not to do (whatever governments choose to do or not to do). Another German expert, Crinson in (Ayuningtyas, 2014) stated that policy is a concept, not a specific or concrete phenomenon, so its definition will face many obstacles or in other words it is not easy.

According to Fredrich in Agustino (2017) policy is a series of actions or activities proposed by a person, group, or government in a certain environment where there are obstacles (difficulties) and possibilities (opportunities) where the policy is proposed to be useful in overcoming them to achieve the intended goals.

Meanwhile, Anderson in Agustino (2017) defines public policy as a series of activities that have a specific purpose that is followed and carried out by a person or group of actors related to a problem or thing that is being considered.

To understand the context of public policy, we can look at it from a variety of different perspectives, especially if we want to look at public policy contextually based on its substance, including economics, state administration/politics, law, and so on. In general, discussing public policy as a concept or theory, the perspectives that characterize it are more political, legal, formal, and administrative.

The policy development process takes place as a policy cycle that starts from setting the agenda with the determination or definition of public problems to the process of evaluating or assessing policies. The following is an explanation of the public policy development process as stated in Ayuningtyas (2014).

1) Agenda Making

In response to public problems, the legislative machine and government bureaucracy can move and be involved in the process of formulating, adopting, and implementing policies, including playing a role in overcoming problems that arise during the policy-making process. The involvement of actors, elites or stakeholders can continue at the policy effectiveness analysis stage, to show deficiencies in formulation and implementation so that it can be a proposal for a new policy agenda. Therefore, agenda-making ranks first in the policy development cycle.

2) Policy Formulation

The policy formulation process in general has stages including setting the policy development process, describing problems, setting goals and objectives, setting priorities, policy design, describing options, evaluating options, "turnover" for peer review and policy revision, and finally efforts to obtain formal support for the proposed or drafted policy.

3) Policy Adoption

After policy formulation, the next stage is policy adoption, which is a process to formally take or adopt alternative policy solutions that are determined as a regulation or policy product which will then be implemented. Policy adoption is largely determined by recommendations, which include information on the benefits and possible impacts of various policy alternatives that have been prepared and will be implemented.

4) Policy Implementation

Implementation is a way for the policy to achieve its objectives. The definition of implementation according to Dunn (2003) is the implementation of controlling policy actions within a certain period of time. There are two alternatives in implementing the policy:

implementing it in the form of a program or making derivative policies. Readiness for implementation will determine the effectiveness and success of a policy. Data or evidence-based policy formulation also has a major influence on the success or failure of policy implementation.

5) Policy Evaluation

Policy evaluation is an assessment of all stages in the policy cycle, especially when a policy that has been prepared has been implemented. The aim is to see whether the policy has succeeded in achieving its objectives and assess the extent to which the effectiveness of the policy can be accounted for by interested parties.

Conception of Regional Head Election

Elections can be formulated as a mechanism for delegating people's sovereignty to election participants and/or candidates for members of Regional Heads/Deputy Regional Heads, President and Vice President to make and implement political decisions in accordance with the will of the people. Election also means a mechanism for political change regarding the pattern and direction of public policy, and or regarding elite circulation, which is carried out periodically and in an orderly manner.

The General Election of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads, or often called *Pilkada* or *Pemilukada* (regional election), is part of the implementation of democracy. The regional head is a political position in charge of leading and moving the wheels of government. The term public office means that the regional head carries out the function of making decisions directly with the interests of the people or the public, having an impact on the people and being felt. Therefore, regional heads must be elected by the people and must be held accountable for them. While the meaning of political office is that the mechanism for recruiting regional heads is carried out politically, namely through elections that involve political elements, namely by selecting the people against figures who nominate as regional heads. In political life in the region,

Article 1 of the Regulation of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2016 concerning Stages, Programs, and Schedules for the Implementation of the Election of Governors and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regents, and/or Mayors and Deputy Mayors of 2017 explains the Election of Governors and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor, hereinafter referred to as Election, is the implementation of people's sovereignty in the province and district/city to elect the Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent

and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor directly and democratically.

The General Election for Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads or commonly referred to as *Pilkada* or *Pemilukada* is a general election to choose pairs of candidates for Regional Head proposed by political parties or a combination of political parties and individuals. *Pilkada* (Regional Head Election) is an election conducted directly by residents of the local administrative area who have met the requirements.

In Indonesia, at this time the election of regional heads can be carried out directly by residents of the local administrative area who have met the requirements. Regional head elections can also be carried out in a package together with deputy regional heads. The regional heads and deputy regional heads in question include the following:

- a) Governor and deputy governor for the province.
- b) Regent and deputy regent for the district.
- c) Mayor and deputy mayor for the city.

Regional Head Election System

The electoral system is a set of methods that regulate citizens to elect their representatives who will sit in the legislative and executive institutions. This electoral system is important in a representative democratic government system, because:

- a) The electoral system has consequences on the level of proportionality of election results
- b) The election system affects the form of the cabinet that will be formed
- c) The electoral system forms a party system, specifically related to the number of political parties in the party system
- d) The government system affects the accountability of government, especially the accountability of representatives to their electorate
- e) The electoral system has an impact on the level of cohesion of political parties
- f) The electoral system affects the form and level of citizens' political participation
- g) The electoral system is an element of democracy that is easier to manipulate than other elements of democracy, therefore, if a country intends to change the appearance or face of its democracy. This can be done easily through changes to the electoral system
- h) The electoral system can also be manipulated through various regulations that are not democratic at the level of implementation.

Voters' choices are normally analyzed as if they were making a single choice from a list of all competing parties or candidates (Oscarsson & Rosema, 2019). Likewise, the direct election system has

characteristics and tendencies that stand out from the type of competition being conducted, therefore the direct election should carefully take into account these tendencies and the factors that influence them. To find out the possibility of implementing the direct election system in Indonesia, it is necessary to review various types of direct election systems, including:

a) First Past the Post System

The first past the post system is known as a simple and efficient system. The regional head candidate who gets the most votes automatically wins the regional head election and occupies the regional head seat. Therefore, this system is also known as the simple majority system. Consequently, regional head candidates can win the regional head elections even though they only get less than half of the total number of voters, so their legitimacy is often questioned.

b) Preferential Voting System or Approval Voting System

The way the Preferential Voting System or Approval Voting System works is that voters give first, second, third and so on to the candidates for regional heads who are present at the time of election. A candidate will automatically win the direct election and be elected as the regional head if the number of votes reaches the highest first rank. This system is known as accommodating the simple majority system but can confuse the process of counting votes at each polling station so that vote counting may have to be done centrally.

c) Two Round System or Run-off system

As the name implies, the way the two-round system works is the election is carried out in two rounds (run-off) provided that no candidate obtains an absolute majority (more than 50 percent) of the total votes in the first round of elections. The two pairs of regional head candidates with the most votes must go through the second round sometime after the first round of elections. Typically, the minimum number of votes that candidates must get in the first round of elections in order to participate in the second round of elections varies from 20 percent to 30 percent. This system is most popular in presidential democracies.

d) Electoral College system

The way the Electoral College system works is that each electoral district (sub-district, and a combination of sub-districts for the Regent/Mayor; district/city and a combination of regencies/municipalities for governors) is given an allocation or voting booth for the

electoral college (Electoral College) according to the population. After the election, the total number of votes obtained by each candidate in each electoral district is calculated. The winner in each electoral district is entitled to receive the entire vote of the Electoral Council in the electoral district concerned. The candidate who gets the largest number of votes from the electoral college will win the direct election. Generally, candidates who win votes in constituencies with dense population are elected as regional heads.

Implementation of Regional Head Elections

Local government is part of the central government administration as a consequence of Indonesia using a presidential system of government. The President as the highest government administrator in Article 4 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has the obligation to carry out government obligations towards the goals of the Indonesian state as stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, paragraph IV. Because the president's duties and responsibilities are numerous, he requires assistance from the regional government, as a consequence of the form of a unitary state, the division of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia into large regions (provinces) and small regions (regencies/cities) as stated in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution.

In the context of Pilkada, the direct election of regional heads and deputy regional heads by the community has greater legitimacy than elections by Regional Representatives Council. The direct election is considered as a continuation of the ideals of reform that wants to return sovereignty to the people, because the mandate given is directly considered as a citizen's right guaranteed by the constitution.

Office of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) Basis for Establishing Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) Office

The establishment of the Office of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises is based on reference to Article 33 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that the economy is structured as a joint effort based on the principle of kinship. In addition, in the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia Number XVI/MPRRI/1998 concerning Economic Politics, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises need to be empowered as an integral part of the people's economy which has a stra-

tegic position, role, and potential to realize an increasingly national economic structure. balanced, developed, and just.

METHOD

This research is a long process, the research method in this case serves to answer the problems raised in the study to answer and find solutions to problems, this research will use qualitative research methods (Arikunto, 2013). The qualitative approach emphasizes the human element as a research instrument to facilitate adjustments to the reality that occurs in the field. The focus of research in this study consists of the form of regional head policies and the impact of policies on state civil apparatus performance. The research location is at the Department of Cooperatives and SMEs in the Tomohon Region and starts on June 15, 2021 until September 2021.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Results

1. Overview of Research Sites

Tomohon is a highland area with an average height of 768 meters above sea level, with an area of 147.21 km². Based on the results of the 2020 Population Census, the population of Tomohon is 100,587 people. Astronomically, Tomohon is located at 01 18' 51" North Latitude and 124 49' 40" East Longitude. Tomohon consists of five Districts namely South Tomohon District, Central Tomohon District, East Tomohon District, West Tomohon District, and North Tomohon District. With a geographical position entirely limited by the Minahasa Regency.

Policies are generally used to select and indicate the most important choices to strengthen life, both in the life of government and private organizations. Policies must be free from connotations or nuances that are included in the word political, which is often believed to contain the meaning of partisanship due to interests. The policy of a provision applies and is characterized by consistent and repeated behavior, both from those who make it and those who obey it (who are affected by the policy). Public policy is a series of more or less interconnected choices (including inaction decisions) made by government agencies and officials.

After the election, the government, in this case the elected regional head, made various policies for the running of the new government process. One of them is the regional head's policy regarding job transfers or job rotations at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office. Job rotation is a natural thing to do in a government organization with the aim of increasing work productivity, giving birth to creativity and rekindling work spirit for every state civil apparatus. Job rotation if carried out with a good purpose will also have a good impact on the development of government organizations, in order to improve public services in the community.

Furthermore, to find out the post-election policy of the regional head at the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Office in accordance with the problems that the researchers have described in the problem formulation. In the implementation of regional elections, it is unavoidable that problems also grow like mushrooms in the rainy season. In practice in the field, the stage of direct democracy which has now become part of the process of power transfer in the country has begun to raise a number of very complex problems, including in the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Service. From this, the researcher conducted an interview by asking the question "What is your attitude towards the 2020 Tomohon Regional Head Election?" to the informant "AT" as the Secretary of the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office, the answer is:

"Faced with ease and continue to carry out their duties as state civil apparatus as well as possible. But in practice, there is suppression of the power of political opponents, usually through emphasizing the opponents' supporters and their families, environment, and groups, by dominating the government functions that are carried out which are feared to exceed the duties and authorities as regional heads and as heads of government (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the results of the interview, it can be seen that the practice of political suppression still occurs in the field. Even though there are regulations that stipulate that state civil apparatus must be neutral in the elections. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "AR" as the Head of empowerment and

development of cooperatives & small businesses, the answer is:

"Yes, just focus on the job well done, not being too fanatical about any party" (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the description of the interview above, AR's answer has similarities with AT's, which still tries to carry out its main tasks as well as possible, even though there are political pressures. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "RK" as the Acting Head of Cooperatives, the answer is:

"Faced with relaxation and not showing clearly what our political choices are" (15 Sept 2021).

From the description of the interview above, it is explained that the RK informant is also trying to relax in facing the 2020 election. As regulated in Law no. 5 of 2014 concerning state civil apparatus that they must be neutral in elections. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "SW" as Treasurer, the answer is:

"Showing a political choice even though the rules governing state civil apparatus must be neutral, but yes, that's a political risk. Because I see the strength or chance of winning from the regional head candidate that I support" (15 Sept 2021).

A different answer emerged from the informant SW, where this informant openly and openly showed political choices, he did not care about the applicable rules, in fact he was ready to take risks from what he did. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "SS" as the general function of the secretariat, the answer is:

"I'm dealing with it as usual and not too bigoted. should beThe power possessed by the regional head should be used to direct the bureaucracy in order to produce higher quality service products to the community (15 Sept 2021).

From the description of the SS informant's answer above, it is clear that this informant seems to understand his duties and functions properly and correctly. This informant understands how the bureaucracy should produce quality service products for the community.

Based on the answers given by the five informants AT, AR, RK, SW and SS above, most of the state civil apparatus in the Cooperatives and SMEs Regional Office of Tomohon are relaxed in facing the 2020

elections, although there are informants who openly show political choices. because he feels he is in a strong political choice will win in the pilkada, thus making him feel safe in his position later.

In the context of the researcher wanting to get deeper information about the form of post-election regional head policies at the Tomohon City Cooperative and SMEs Regional Office, the researchers continued the interview, the next question was "What kind of post-election policies do you know have been made by the Mayor and Deputy Mayor in This service?" to the informant "AT" as the Secretary of the Tomohon City Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office, the answer is:

"The policy that I know has occurred is related to the replacement of Plt. The Head of Cooperatives from the old to the new which seemed very forced because it was based on political elements and subjectivity without considering the achievement and career system. The impact of this is that after a new decree is issued it only lasts a few days the decree is withdrawn because it does not comply with the applicable rules" (15 Sept 2021).

From the description of interviews with AT informants, it can be seen that there are policies carried out by the elected regional heads that do not seem to be in accordance with applicable regulations. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "AR" as the Head of empowerment and development of cooperatives & small businesses, the answer is:

"The policy that I know has occurred is related to the replacement of Plt. Head of Cooperatives from the old to the new. The new decree issued only lasted a few days. The decree was withdrawn because it did not comply with the applicable regulations. But what I know about this policy is 6 months after the inauguration" (15 Sept 2021).

The interview with the AR informant explained that the form of the policy was the same as the AT informant's answer, but in addition to this, the AR informant knew that this policy emerged after 6 months after the inauguration of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor who were elected in the 2020 election. Furthermore, based on the AR informant's answer, it appears the occurrence of government inconsistency in this case the

regional head in making a policy related to filling in the position structure at the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Office. Furthermore, the same question was asked to the informant "DB" as the Head of General Staff Planning and Law, the answer was:

"What I know is that there is a policy regarding the replacement of the Acting Head of Cooperatives, and there is also the preparation of a BPUM working group (Presidential Assistance for Medium Enterprises) consisting of 3 people which should be filled by the Head of the District, Secretary, and Fields related to SMEs, but in reality it is filled by 3 people. employees whose main duties are not responsible in the SME sector. All based on directions from superiors in this case, the elected Mayor and Deputy Mayor" (15 Sept 2021).

The answers from DB informants can be analyzed that there are several policies in this service that do not seem to be in accordance with the applicable regulations. It is clear how the elements of politics and subjectivity occur or apply in the making of several policies in this service. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "RK" as the Acting Head of Cooperatives, the answer is:

"One of the policies that happened in this service, I personally experienced it. I was replaced or removed from my position as plt. The head of the cooperative, and I clearly know the reason why I was removed from office, because indeed I do not share the political views of the elected regional head" (15 Sept 2021).

From the description of the RK informant's answer, it is clear that state civil apparatus who do not agree with the politics of the elected regional head, will indeed be replaced in structural positions with state civil apparatus who have political affinity and subjectivity with the elected regional head.

Based on the answers given by the four informants above, in this case the informants AT, AT, DB, and RK, explained that after the election, the government, in this case the elected regional heads, did several rotations or rolling positions on several state civil apparatus working in this service. Indeed, there are policies that have been made by the government that was elected after the election, which are very visible in their political elements and

subjectivity. There are also policies that seem to illustrate the government's inconsistency regarding policies that are not in accordance with applicable regulations, have been issued and withdrawn in a short time, only a few days apart. The government in this case is expected to be able to make policies that are constructive in the public interest and free from partiality and elements of personal interest.

The researcher then conducted interviews with other informants with the next question "What is your view regarding the current government system?" to the informant "CW" as Head of Small Business Empowerment & Facilities, the answer is:

"The current government system cannot be separated from political intervention, both the bureaucracy and the leaders. Bureaucrats are controlled by the regional head in this case the Mayor and Deputy Mayor. (15 Sept 2021)

Based on the results of the interviews above, it shows that political influence still occurs in the government system or bureaucracy. The government system that should run clean and free from political interventions is still far from expectations, because in reality it is still very contradictory. Furthermore, the same question was asked to the informant "SS" as the general function of the secretariat, the answer was:

"Yes, the current government system cannot be separated from the politics of remuneration and closeness to the elected regional head, because of relatives and friends. But what is very clear is that related to politics, state civil apparatus who agree with politics during the regional elections are safe because their structural positions in the office are sure to be safe, some will even be promoted. This is something that usually happens after the election. Job rotation or job transfer is common" (15 Sept 2021).

From the results of interviews with CW and SS informants, it can be analyzed that it is clear that political elements and subjectivity dominate the government system in Tomohon, especially in the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Office. There are several policies related to job rotation or job transfers in this service which are very clearly political and subjectivity elements. In fact, we all know that understanding the dynamics of public policy means understanding its changes. The focus lies on

policy formulation and the policy implementation process. Not all systems are dynamic, but dynamics can occur within a system. Robert Jervis defines the system as a series of interrelated element units so that changes in one element will change the entire system (Jervis, 1997).

2. Policy Impact Against STATE CIVIL APPARATUS Performance

Every policy made by the government or authorized official in a government organization must have an impact, be it a positive impact or a negative impact. In this case, the researcher will conduct interviews with several state civil apparatus informants who work at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office, regarding the impact of the policies made by the government, in this case the Mayor and Deputy Mayor who were elected after the 2020 elections. After the replacement of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Tomohon affect your work motivation? To the informant "RK" as the Head of Cooperatives, the answer is:

"Yes, of course it really affects because it is related to the position of office, is it still safe or how. But yes I try to improve my performance as best as possible. I hope that by improving my performance, it will be a consideration for my superiors not to remove me from the structural position I occupy. But even though for 6 months after the inauguration a new policy was issued, I was still removed from my position as plt. Cooperative Head. This has become my risk because indeed I do not have the same understanding of politics as the elected regional head" (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the results of the interview above, it can be analyzed that the post-replacement of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Tomohon greatly affects the performance of RK's informants. However, it is clear that his work motivation is due to personal interests, namely to maintain his structural position, not because it is based on his awareness of his duties and responsibilities as a state civil apparatus who is paid by the state to serve the community. Furthermore, the same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "AR" as the Head of empowerment and development of cooperatives & small businesses, the answer is:

"yes of course very influential. I was threatened with being transferred because I felt I was not in the same boat as the regional head who was elected during the election. I try to be

more diligent in carrying out my main tasks" (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the interview above, AR informant also feels affected, he tries to improve his performance, because he feels threatened by his position in the office. It is seen that there is an increase in performance because there is a triggering motivation. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "SW" as Treasurer, the answer is:

"I just take it easy. Because I feel I agree politically with the elected regional heads. In fact, I am more relaxed at work, because even though I am lazy, my position is still secure. There is even a political promise from the elected regional head that I will be promoted" (15 Sept 2021).

Seeing the description of the answers from the SW informant where he felt that even though he was lazy in carrying out his work, he still felt safe in his position and his future work career. The political ties that were formed during the Pilkada with the elected regional head became the basis for him to act in carrying out his work in this service. That post-election political transactions do not only occur in political parties before the elections, but also occur after elections occur in bureaucratic bodies. The existence of a reciprocal agreement and the power of money at the time of the regional election made the selected candidate pairs have to follow the flow of the game in politics. Furthermore, with the same question to the informant "CW" as Head of Small Business Empowerment & Facilities, the answer is:

"Because I feel I support the elected regional heads in politics, so I just work and don't just work. After all, my position is definitely safe, maybe it will even go up, because that's the political promise of my head" (15 Sept 2021)

So the replacement of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor greatly affects the work motivation of the RK, AR, SW and CW informants. Some have increased performance and some have decreased, depending on their motivation. And his motivation is strongly influenced by political participation at the time of the election. It was very clear that the informants were involved in practical politics during the pilkada, and that violated the applicable regulations.

To get more information, the researcher conducted another interview with the question: "What is the impact of public policy regarding the replacement of the plt. head of cooperatives for state civil apparatus working in this service?"

to the informant "DB" as the Head of General Staffing and Legal Planning, the answer is:

"Regarding this policy, we can assess how the elements of politics and subjectivity have a very large role and position. For six months after the inauguration of regional heads I tried to maintain the stability of my performance, even I tried to improve my performance, to keep my position safe. Hopefully, because my performance is good, my position will not be replaced by someone else. I hope so" (15 Sept 2021)

Based on the results of interviews with DB informants, it is clear how he is trying to improve his performance as an state civil apparatus in this service, with the hope that he can continue to develop his career based on an assessment of his performance and abilities, not because of political participation. If the bureaucratic reform is carried out by a government full of politicization interests, it will have an impact on the functioning of the government system not optimally. Where only people who are pro-elected leaders will take office, later it will form a government dynasty. And if this happens, it will close the opportunity for new generations who are smarter, more agile, and loyal to the region. The same question to the informant "RK" as the Head of Cooperatives, the answer is:

"Of course it has had an impact on my career development as an state civil apparatus. I strongly object to this policy. But what can I do, everything has been determined by superiors. I feel very disadvantaged by this policy. But I don't give up, I keep trying to keep my performance stable, I even try to improve my performance. For me service to the community is my duty and responsibility. Keep the spirit at work" (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the description above, it shows that the strength of the party which from the beginning had post-election power can affect the compliance of a state apparatus. The next question to other informants is . Next is the question "What is the impact of public policies related to the preparation of the *BPUM* (Presidential Assistance for Medium Enterprises) working team for state civil apparatus working in this service?" submitted to the informant "SS" as the general function of the secretariat, the answer is:

"Of course it has an impact, I am personally very worried about this kind of policy. What is said is a directive from superiors. Wow, this made me try to improve my performance, because I was afraid that my position would be

removed or replaced by someone else. I know this policy is not in accordance with the applicable rules, but yes, if it is a directive from superiors, it must be implemented" (15 Sept 2021)

Seeing the results of interviews with SS informants, it can be analyzed that there are several policies that occur in this service. And of course it has an impact on the performance of state civil apparatus in this service. The same question was also asked to other informants, in this case "SW" as Treasurer, the answer is:

"This policy has made me understand that it is not in vain that I relax at work, because politics and subjectivity play an important role here. The proof is that I have been lazy to work for six months, my position is still safe. Everything depends on political participation" (15 Sept 2021).

Based on the description of the results of interviews with the four informants DB, RK, SS and SW, it can be analyzed that it turns out that the policies made above really have an impact on the performance of the informants, in this case the state civil apparatus who work in the Tomohon City Regional Cooperative and UKM Office. The sustainability of an organization is strongly influenced by human resources (HR) both in quality and quantity, as mandated by law that state civil apparatus is tasked with implementing public policies made by staffing officers in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, namely providing professional and professional services. quality.

One of the steps to increase the capacity of human resources in accordance with the needs of the organization is the existence of professional human resource management, experience and in accordance with the knowledge of education that has been obtained so that they are able to carry out their responsibilities as apparatus in government organizations. There are several factors in the bureaucracy that cause the performance of state civil apparatus to look ineffective, namely the arrogance of power, weak team work and excessive intervention from institutions and politics, especially from those in power.

DISCUSSION

1. Post- Regional Head Election Policy (Study at Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SME Office)

The government as an institution that manages the state has a goal to achieve the general goals of the country. For Indonesia, the

state's goals are stated in the fourth paragraph of the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, namely "to protect the entire nation and the homeland of Indonesia and to promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice".

Public policy is closely related to objects that are in the community, inclusive, and influential. Public policy in this understanding in terms of its objectives can take the form of two things, namely public policies made because they are needed to adapt to existing conditions and public policies made to create ideal conditions to be achieved.

Public policy is an action or decision made by the government regarding the public interest which has a goal and a way to achieve that goal through a process of interaction with socio-political forces.

In the public policy formulation stage, the role of politics is very large, while in the implementation the role of the bureaucracy is very prominent. In the formulation and implementation stages, both politics and administration are actively involved in it. This is also due to the political system, namely the political and administrative processes are important activities in the conversion process (law-making).

In running a government there must be problems that arise. A problem is defined as a condition or situation that creates a need or dissatisfaction in some people, who want help or improvement. Meanwhile, a problem will become a public problem if it involves many people and has an impact not only on the people who are directly involved, but also a group of people who are indirectly involved.

Discussions on public issues are endless because each individual has different interests. These different interests make the interested parties (stakeholders) voice and participate in "entrusting" their voices. The process of bargaining (bargaining) between policy-making actors by using their freedom and authority, is often misused not to synchronize the interests of the people, but for power.

The many interests that enter make policy-making actors busy in formulating policies that will be implemented. The actors must select the problems one by one. It takes extra time and energy from policy-making institutions (executive, legislative, and judicial) to make policies. Every policy that comes out is the result of an assessment of public problems.

Administrators are expected to be able to provide satisfactory service to customers, in this case the community. The public has high hopes for public administrators, namely the hope that public administrators will provide good service to them (Islamy, 1997).

Understanding the dynamics of public policy means understanding its changes. The focus lies on policy formulation and the policy implementation process. Not all systems are dynamic, but dynamics can occur within a system. Robert Jervis defines the system as a series of interrelated element units so that changes in one element will change the entire system (Jervis, 1997). Regarding dynamics, there are open and closed systems. A closed system is a system that is responsive to changes that start from within the system. An open system is a system that is not only responsive from within, but also from the surrounding environment. The structure of a system consists of its constituents, the rules that govern certain inputs into the system, and information needed by the system to implement the regulations. Implementation of the system creates feedback that changes the structure of the system.

In Indonesia since the enactment of Law no. 32 of 2004 as amended by Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, the election of regional heads is carried out directly. The direct election of regional heads is one of the manifestations of democratic instruments in the context of creating a more democratic government. With this system, the hope of realizing people's sovereignty in the government system is believed to be fully realized, considering that the democratic system is a direct order mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Philosophically, democratic values have a close relationship or link with policy formulation. Literally, democracy means government that is carried out by making the people (demos) the highest power holder (kratos). Formally, democracy can be defined as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In countries with small populations, democracy can work directly, namely the people directly determine what is good for themselves through the mechanism of public discussion. In countries with large populations, such as Indonesia, the people are represented by people who sit in the people's representatives, and they ensure that all government work is in the interests of the people. Based on this point of view, democracy presupposes certain moral values in practice,

In the implementation of regional elections, it is unavoidable that problems also grow like mushrooms in the rainy season. In practice in the field, the stage of direct democracy which has now become part of the power transfer process in the country has begun to raise a number of very complex problems. The hope for the realization of good governance after the transition of the democratic system from the old pattern that implemented indirect democracy to direct democracy has not been able to be implemented as well as what was aspired. Instead, the facts that occur are very contradictory or contradictory. The building of democracy with a direct election system has spawned a number of new problems.

2. Forms of Regional Head Policy Post-Regional Election

The implementation of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government makes regional heads as political and administrative officials (bureaucracies), regional heads who have democratic mandates and legitimacy because they are directly elected, require the support of professional and loyal administrative staff, in order to realize programs promised to the people. Employees are needed who have a mindset, a pattern of service attitude, have a productive culture, and are able to carry out performance-based management oriented to excellent service to the community (Iskandar, 2016) in order to realize the regional vision and mission that must be achieved.

The element of politics and subjectivity dominates in every filling of structural positions in state civil apparatus, which is related to the bureaucracy to intensify the spirit of gaining political support from the community or ethnic groups. This has increasingly triggered the public's negative view that placing an state civil apparatus in a structural position is more determined by the likes and dislikes of political officials and is also related to the culture of the Indonesian people.

Based on the results of observations and research after the election of regional heads, rotation or mutation of structural officials often occurs. The mutations carried out are not based on the basic principle of the right man in the right place, so that the mutations carried out are less effective and efficient, employee changes are often related to political content, emotional relations and political rewards, so that the merit system is often forgotten. In principle, the merit system is a measuring tool that produces competent, professional and quality employees.

Thus, job analysis plays an important role in employee placement, with job analysis it will produce employees who are able to work effectively and efficiently in achieving organizational goals.

Based on the results of the study, it shows that mutation activities (regulated in the provisions of Paragraph 7 concerning Mutations of Article 73 of Law No. 5 of 2014 concerning state civil apparatus) are carried out based on employee loyalty, where an employee who is loyal to work will bring progress to the bureaucracy, while other intelligent people without loyalty will only become a stumbling block for the bureaucracy. What is meant by loyalty here is related to performance appraisal carried out based on performance planning at the individual level and unit or organizational level, taking into account targets, achievements, results and benefits achieved as well as behavior. Performance appraisal is carried out in an objective, measurable, accountable, participatory and transparent manner (regulated in Articles 75-78 of Law No. 5 of 2014 concerning state civil apparatus).

3. Impact of Policy on State Civil Apparatus Performance

Every policy made by the government must have an impact on the recipient of the policy or the object of the policy. The impact can be positive or negative depending on the content of the policy made.

Based on the results of research and interviews that have been conducted by the author, the impact that occurred in the Tomohon Regional Cooperative and SMEs Office after the election was the instability of the performance of state civil apparatus in this service. For six months after the inauguration of the elected regional heads, several state civil apparatus personnel at the Cooperatives and SMEs Office in the Tomohon area have no longer performed optimally or their performance is unstable, there tends to be a decline, this is because there are some people who feel that their position in the office is not good. will experience changes and there will even be an increase because they feel they have provided political support during the election. Different things happened to some state civil apparatus who felt they did not provide political participation during the elections, because of anxiety waiting for time to be dismissed from structural positions or even being transferred, there will be an increase in performance, because the person concerned is trying to keep his position safe in the office by trying as much as possible to improve

performance with the aim of showing and showing it to superiors, with the hope of being a consideration for superiors in making decisions. a policy not to be dismissed from structural positions or even transferred. This certainly greatly affects the performance of state civil apparatus in carrying out their duties and functions in a government agency state civil apparatus as human resources is a partner who also determines the growth and development of an organization in government. In connection with this, the classification and quality of state civil apparatus as human resources determine the quality of service, image and trust that directly influence the level of professionalism that continues to the level of participation and contributes to the success of government agencies in achieving their goals. Humans behave in doing something because of the driving factor from within humans themselves or better known as motivation because human behavior is essentially goal-oriented. The final impact of all this is to affect the performance of the implementation of public services in the community, especially public servants at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office. Humans behave in doing something because of the driving factor from within humans themselves or better known as motivation because human behavior is essentially goal-oriented. The final impact of all this is to affect the performance of the implementation of public services in the community, especially public servants at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office. Humans behave in doing something because of the driving factor from within humans themselves or better known as motivation because human behavior is essentially goal-oriented. The final impact of all this is to affect the performance of the implementation of public services in the community, especially public servants at the Tomohon Regional Cooperatives and SMEs Office.

In connection with the attitude and service which is very important in determining the service quality of an institution/government agency to determine the superior/prime service. Superior and excellent attitude is an attitude or way of employees in serving clients or the community well so that people are satisfied. To get an excellent or superior level of service, every employee must have certain skills including attractive and neat appearance, being friendly at every service, calm at work, and not being arrogant because of the interdependence between

the community and the employee himself. Mastering work both tasks related to the department or department and other parts to be able to communicate well, can understand customer sign language and have the ability to deal with customer or client complaints in a professional manner, which is a technical way of meeting, responding to the interests of needs and complaints of others. In order for the services provided to be successful, the behavior of a person in serving is very decisive. Such behavior can be in the form of a body or organization that is responsible for its implementation and its human being as an employee, either individually or in groups.

CONCLUSION

State civil apparatus as civil servants is a work unit that runs and provides public services to the community. The implementation of government public services is an important matter that is of concern to the community in the context of achieving national development, it is necessary to develop human resources first, meaning that development is carried out more on the human factor, because the main basis for achieving goals is the quality of the people who are implementing the program. which is a joint decision. Human resources are the most important factor determining the achievement of organizational goals. Therefore, the main thing in the program is the provision of services to members as well as possible so that the people served are satisfied with the services provided.

The government, in this case the Cooperatives and SMEs Regional Office of Tomohon, must put the public and public services at the forefront, so that they must be more responsive to what constitutes innovation in meeting the needs and desires of the public, in order to achieve what the work plan as stated in the *RENSTRA*. *RENSTRA* is. Strategic Plan of Tomohon Small and Medium Enterprises Cooperative Office for 2016-2021 (*RENSTRA*, 2021).

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