



Dispersion In Job Rotation Policy Spectrum In The Public Sector In Indonesia

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Abstract: Job rotation is one of the employee development activities that aims to improve and maintain employee performance. Implementation of job rotation policies in the public sector in Indonesia experiences various challenges, including bureaucratic characteristics that prioritize compliance so that job rotations are associated as punishment and political factors that cause job rotations to be exploited by certain parties for their interests. Based on the phenomenon, this exploratory research seeks to explore the perspective of civil servants (PNS) in interpreting the job rotation policy. The findings in this research illustrate that job rotation policy is a dispersion that produces various spectrums. Job rotation has a pliable nature and paradoxical benefits indicate that the job rotation policy has not been implemented consistently across multiple government agencies. The five main perspectives in this research provide an overview of the contradictory perspectives of civil servants. Some civil servants think that job rotations have a positive impact, while others think otherwise. These contradictions show the richness of information and a wide variety of answers and show that job rotation policies are pliable and have paradoxical benefits.

Keyword: Civil Servant, Job Rotation, Perspective, Spectrum.

INTRODUCTION

'Papuanized' is a familiar term in the context of job rotation within the Civil Servant (PNS) environment. As part of performance management, job rotation should be one of the employee development activities aimed at improving and maintaining performance, preparing employees for career advancement to the next level, and enriching work experience (Aguinis, 2012), in line with the goal of performance management to align individual performance with sustainable organizational goals (Kreitner & Kinicki, 2001). Amid public demands for faster, better and cheaper public services (Tjiptoherijanto, 2019), the job rotation policy is expected to be one solution to improve the performance of civil servants because job rotation can reduce boredom at work due to monotonous work (Malinski, 2002), minimizing knowledge attrition and as a succession planning effort (Durst & Bruns, 2016), as a means of job rotationring knowledge between employees (Ni et al., 2021; Olaisen & Revang, 2018), as well as being one solution to reduce the potential corruption (De Vries & Sobis, 2016). However, in the context of civil servant job rotation in Indonesia, the term 'Papuanized' seems to make job rotation a threat, a term that was even thrown out by a minister in a public forum as a threat of punishment

to employees who were deemed to have violated his instructions (CNN Indonesia, 2021). It shows that job rotation is associated with punishment or used as an instrument to enforce employee discipline (Ekemam & Okpara, 2021).

Civil servant job rotation, which is closely perceived as punishment, is one of the challenges faced in implementing job rotation policies in Indonesia's public sector. Some of these challenges are caused, among other things, by bureaucratic characteristics and political factors. The characteristics of the bureaucracy in Indonesia uphold obedience and loyalty to leaders (Hartati, 2020) due to the militaristic culture embedded in the New Order era, where active military personnel occupied strategic positions in government (Ayu, 2022). These characteristics make the civil servant job rotation policy vulnerable to abuse of authority because civil servants are obliged to obey whatever orders the leaders give.

Regarding political factors, civil servant job rotation policies, which are closely linked to patronage and clientelism behavior, are commonly used by interested parties during regional election contestations (Andhika, 2019). This patronage and clientelism are proven by the increasing frequency of civil servant job rotation during regional elections, which are indicated to support certain groups' political goals (Pierskalla & Sacks, 2019).

The existence of power relations and political factors behind the civil servant job rotation policy is certainly different from the job rotation norms regulated in Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning ASN (ASN Law). The ASN Law, born as an effort to accelerate Bureaucratic Reform, regulates job rotation norms based on a merit system, one of which is that the implementation of job rotation must be based on planning, suitability of competency, and avoiding conflicts of interest.

The incompatibility of implementing the job rotation policy with the norms that regulate it is a phenomenon highlighted in this qualitative research with an interpretive approach. An interpretive approach is used to interpret subjective information, explore in-depth problems, and understand the context (Githens, 2015). This approach was taken to provide a different picture of research on employee job rotation, which is currently dominated by the functionalist paradigm, which views the phenomenon of employee job rotations from an objective perspective and focuses on measurable outcomes (Githens, 2015), such as the impact of job rotation on performance (Akbari & Maniei, 2017; Dhanraj & Parumasur, 2014), commitment (Khan et al., 2014; Mohsan et al., 2012), job satisfaction (Casad, 2012; Van Wyk et al., 2018), and knowledge (Moningka, 2012; Murni et al., 2020).

Based on the phenomena, this research explores civil servants' perspectives on job rotation policies amidst all the circumstances described above using in-depth interviews with civil servants who work in central and regional agencies representing information from West, Central, and East Indonesia. This perspective is then compared with the regulations governing civil servant job rotation to see the extent of conformity between the implementation of the job rotation policy and the norms that regulate it. This step was taken to answer the questions in this research, namely how civil servants interpret the job rotation policy and how the implementation of the job rotation policy compares with the norms set out in the job rotation regulations. An additional analysis was carried out of news related to the civil servant job rotation issue raised by national media to strengthen the context. The results of this research will likely provide in-depth insight into civil servant job rotation policies in Indonesia based on the perspective of civil servants.

METHOD

This research is interpretive research that seeks to uncover problems that are not considered big or invisible to policymakers but are quite disturbing for employees at the grassroots (Githens, 2015). Interpretive research was chosen to explore the subjective side to gain a deep understanding using an evaluative approach to policies that apply contextually (Githens, 2015).

Several data were analyzed in this research, namely legal and regulatory documents related to civil servant job rotations, information from research participants, and news about job rotation issues raised by national media. Legal and regulatory documents regarding civil servant job rotation and news related to job rotation issues were analyzed using descriptive content analysis, adding news tone analysis using criteria compiled by Eisenmann (2012). The analysis of participant information was analyzed using a six-step thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Information from research participants was obtained using the in-depth interview method. The selection of research participants was carried out by first conducting a preliminary survey containing several questions to see the initial perspective of civil servants on job rotation policies, namely:

- a. job rotation as an effort to develop careers and competencies
- b. job rotation as a form of punishment for violations committed
- c. job rotation to silence employee voices
- d. job rotation to support the political interests of certain leaders/groups

Apart from these four answer choices, participants were free to answer if the four answer choices did not match what they felt.

Based on the preliminary survey results, criteria for potential participants to be interviewed were determined. Namely, participants who wrote open-ended answers were given priority. Selecting participants in this way is intended to obtain diverse and contextual information. Apart from that, the selection of participants also considered variations in participant backgrounds such as gender, age, length of service and position.

Referring to the established criteria of the 185 participants who participated in the preliminary survey, 28 met the criteria, and 18 could be interviewed. Interviews were conducted with 18 civil servants working in central and regional agencies, aged between 27 and 53 years old, working from 1 to 30 years, including Echelon II, III, IV, Functional, and Staff, and domiciles representing Western, Central, and Eastern Indonesia. Each interview ranged from 25 to 58 minutes, with a total duration of over 12 hours. Interviews are conducted by first preparing a framework of questions as a guide. However, interviews were conducted flexibly and were not too fixated on the interview guide. The questions are open-ended and basic so that the data produced is grounded and rich (Miles et al., 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings in this research began with an analysis of the regulations governing civil servant job rotations and news that raised the issue of civil servant job rotations. Analysis of regulations found that the civil servant job rotation norms are regulated to detail recently in the ASN Law. Before the ASN Law, the job rotation norms in the law regulated job rotation as limited to coaching and efforts to increase civil servant experience, not regulated regarding the need for planning, transfer tenure between two to five years, conformity between civil servant competencies and position requirements, position classification and career patterns, and not paying attention to the principle of prohibiting conflicts of interest. As a law intended to support bureaucratic reform efforts, the job rotation norms regulated in the ASN Law align with the merit system.

Regarding news about job rotation issues raised by national media, 183 news stories from 2010 to 2023 were analyzed. The news came from Antara, JPNN, Tempo, Kompas, Investor Daily, Suara Pembaruan, and Detik using the search term "civil servant job rotation." The analysis of news content and tone found that the most news about civil servant transfers occurred in 2022, with 25 news. The issue raised was the issuance of an announcement from the Minister of Home Affairs, which regulates the authority of acting regional heads (caretakers) to carry out job rotation of civil servants without the approval of the Minister of

Home Affairs. Furthermore, news spikes in 2017, 2018, and 2020 coincided with the simultaneous regional elections (Pilkada Serentak). Issues related to political factors and errors in job rotation procedures are issues that are often raised by the media, especially during the regional elections. Regarding the locus and tone of the news, 86.89% of news about civil servant job rotation occurred in regional agencies, divided into positive tones of 14.37%, neutral tones of 49.37% and negative tones of 36.25%. The discussion section will discuss the relationship between civil servant job rotation norms based on regulations and news related to job rotation issues with interview findings.

Moving on to the interview findings, civil servants' perspectives on job rotation are divided into five main perspectives. The main perspective, referred to as the theme, is formed by other, more specific perspectives. These themes are: Job rotations Support Organizational Sustainability, Job rotations are Beneficial for Employees, Job rotations to Return to the Home Base, Job rotations Due to Incompetence in Human Resource Management (Mismanagement), and Job rotations Abused for the Benefits of the Authorities.

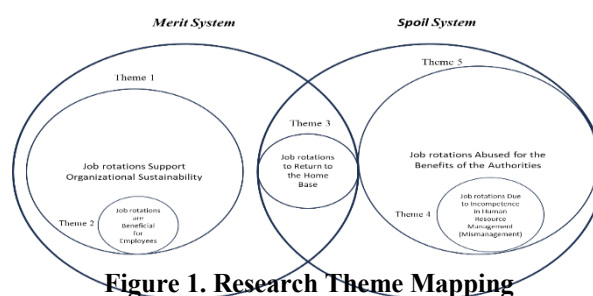


Figure 1. Research Theme Mapping
Source: Authors (2023)

Figure 1. illustrates a theme map to see the relationship between themes. Themes 1 and 2 describe job rotation as having a positive impact, while themes 4 and 5 show the negative impact of job rotation. Theme 3 is between two sets of merit systems and spoil systems, showing the existence of a wedge between the two. The positive impact of job rotation shows that the policy aligns with the merit system. The negative impacts indicate a spoil system. The intersection between the two occurs because job rotation has a positive impact on employees but a negative impact on the organization. The figure also shows that Theme 2 is part of Theme 1, which means that although they both have a positive impact because they are both part of the merit system, Theme 1 has a bigger impact than Theme 2. The same thing also happens to themes 4 and 5. Theme 4 is part of theme 5. Therefore, the negative impact is smaller than theme 5. It is because theme 5 emphasizes the intention of the authorities to abuse the transfer policy, while theme 4 occurs more because of mismanagement of HR management caused by the officials' incompetence.

Theme 1, Mutations Support Organizational Sustainability

In this theme, civil servant job rotation has a big role in supporting the organization's sustainability because the job rotation policy is utilized optimally according to its function based on applicable norms. This theme was formed by the informants' perspectives, which supported the formation of this theme.

"We have signed, if we are willing to be placed throughout Indonesia. That's a risk, a position risk, a task risk, that's what we have to do, we have to carry on with it." (Anto)

From this perspective, Anto illustrates that the job rotation policy is part of the job and the risks of the position. This situation implies that awareness has been formed to conduct job rotations as civil servants.

"If, for example, we are asked what we want, of course, we want to be in a good place. But is that fair? Is it good for the organization? That's good for us, too, right? That was a matter of

experience. As for the problem, it's possible that staying in a place for too long could lead to fraud and all kinds of things." (Anto) "If he is not moved and stays in his old place for a long time, he will become a tiny king (raja kecil) because he feels very senior." (Ali)

The next perspective shows that job rotations can minimize fraud due to employees staying in one particular position and location for too long, as stated by Anto. According to Ali, staying in one position for too long without moving can make employees like tiny kings (*raja-raja kecil*) because of the seniority factor. The term "*raja kecil*" refers to the heads of regional governments which has no responsibility to the central government (Hofman & Kaiser, 2022), but, to this context, "*raja kecil*" means as employees who feel senior in their workplace because they have been there for a very long time. Thus, this perspective shows that job rotations are used to avoid fraud and the formation of tiny kings (*raja-raja kecil*).

"...as for the staff, in the past, it (the movement) was only regionally between regional offices... Only now, over time, as time goes by, the staff is also located nationally throughout Indonesia. So the job rotation is national." (Kinan)

This perspective illustrates the change in internal job rotation regulations, which resulted in all positions carrying out job rotations nationally, whereas previously, some were only carried out regionally. Job rotations from this perspective indicate a transformation of job rotation regulation in a better direction.

"...with a job rotation, it's a turn, for example, if he's been away from home base for a long time, it's his turn to go to home base." (Kinan)

"...does not differentiate between genders. Women get it too." (Kinan)

Another perspective states that job rotations are carried out periodically, each employee will feel the job rotation away from their home base, and one day, they will return to their home base. Job rotations also do not differentiate gender. This situation reflects that the job rotation was carried out for justice.

In theme 1, Job rotations support the organization's sustainability. Job rotations have a positive impact on the organization through the formation of employee awareness of job rotations so that job rotations are considered normal things and part of the job. It is also realized that working in one place for too long will increase the potential for fraud and the formation of tiny kings (*raja-raja kecil*). The organization is also actively improving its job rotation policy so that job rotations run more effectively and ultimately create fairness for employees.

Theme 2, Job rotations are Beneficial for Employees

The second theme raised based on the interview results was that job rotations benefit employees. Basically, the job rotation policy implemented is beneficial for individual employees.

"More towards the need for refreshing, move regularly... As a refreshing and ultimately, the hope is to be able to implement the goodness from health facility A to health facility B." (Ali)

From this perspective, according to Ali, periodical job rotations will fulfill the need for refreshment over the boredom of the work environment. Apart from that, through job rotations, employees can bring and implement the goodness of their previous workplace to their new workplace.

"People with mental disorders are transferred if it is in their interests to find a lighter workplace and a lighter workload." (Ali)

Another perspective on this theme is that job rotations are given to employees who experience health problems, both physical health and mental health. Employees with health problems are retained by the organization for humanitarian reasons and are relieved by being placed in units with lighter workloads.

The perspective on Theme 2 regarding job rotation benefits employees, showing that employees feel the positive impact of job rotation through increasing experience and knowledge because it allows employees to bring goodness from their previous place and apply

it to a new place. Regarding humanity, job rotations also benefit employees with health problems by allowing them to continue working in units with a lighter workload.

Theme 3, Job Rotations to Return to Home Base

Employees using job rotation to return to home base is a phenomenon that occurs in civil servants' environments even though there is a work contract in which one of the clauses states *"willing to be placed in all regions of the Republic of Indonesia."* However, information obtained from interviews reveals otherwise.

"Now, 40 people are queuing, 40 people want to move to Java, Sumatra, basically outside xxx province... So who wants to work here, right?" (Diah)

"The phenomenon may be that some people want to be accepted as civil servants in the East (Eastern Indonesia), right? For many people, it is important that they become civil servants. It is important to become civil servants first, and then they can ask for job rotation to return to their home base." (Diah)

Job rotation is one mechanism that civil servants can use to return to their home base or move from their current work location. Diah conveys information about an employee requesting a job rotation from his current work location in the outermost, foremost and disadvantaged areas (Daerah 3T) to return to their home base or another location with better infrastructure and facilities. This phenomenon occurs partly due to the national scope of civil servant recruitment, so applicants can choose civil servant vacancies everywhere, including in 3T areas where competition is lower. After successfully becoming a civil servant in the 3T area, the employee concerned requested a job rotation to leave the area.

"The proof alone is that almost half of the quota required is all comers... Meanwhile, for people from the xxx ethnic group, for example, if they have been around for more than 10 years, they will ask to go to their home base." (Dita)

The next perspective shows the strong tradition of returning home. The information conveyed by Dita shows that tradition and culture play an important role in an employee's decision-making. The tradition of returning home/not being able to be far from their hometown is a factor in the strong desire for job rotations to return to a home base for certain groups. Related to the perspective on Theme 3 regarding job rotations to return to home base, this situation generally occurs in 3T areas with limited infrastructure and facilities. Not all employees can survive and end up asking for a job rotation. Apart from that, generally, the competition to become civil servants in 3T areas tends to be lower, so it is used as a stepping stone for job applicants to become civil servants and afterward ask to be transferred to their home base. Tradition and cultural factors are also the reasons behind the informant's perspective regarding job rotations to return to home base.

Theme 4, Job rotations Due to Incompetence in Human Resource Management (Mismanagement)

In this theme, job rotations occur due to the incompetence of HR officials, resulting in mismanagement. This error resulted in the implementation of a job rotation policy that could have been more optimal.

"The CPNS (civil servant recruitment) was indeed appointed as position xxx. Only the organization disbanded... I was transferred to analyst, analyst xxx. Only as far as I know, xxx analysts were meant for 2d (refer to rank)." (Rinda)

The first perspective on this theme conveyed by Rinda is poor job planning, resulting in losing the employee's position in the second year of his tenure. The employee concerned was then forced to be transferred, but his transfer resulted in decreased income because he was placed in a lower position.

"...for example, if we want to apply for a transfer, then we have asked to submit a transfer application. Then, other units (target units) agree to receive it. However, it cannot be done in the end, so what else can I do? It just provides a disincentive, demotivation." (Arya)

The next perspective shows that there is a ban on transfers for employees. Arya conveyed that he had applied for a transfer, and the target unit had also received it, but the transfer failed to take place because the head of his unit did not permit the transfer. The job rotation ban is a disincentive and demotivation.

"So, I was rejected (the transfer proposal), right? Anyway, April, April 2022. Well, suddenly, May, on May 1, 2022, from department xxx, 16 people moved to unit yyy." (Insan)

"The approach is not to follow the rules. It is like who is stronger, the one who pulls or holds it." (Renda)

The next perspective is related to the non-transparent job rotation process. The information conveyed by Insan was that his transfer proposal was rejected, but not long afterward, from the same unit, there were several employees whose transfers were granted. The inconsistency of transfer decisions without clear reasons gave rise to the perspective that the job rotation process needed to be carried out more transparently and seemed to depend on the subjectivity of the leadership without following procedures, as stated by Rendra.

"...job rotations are more like punishment. Oh, what did I do wrong that I was transferred?" (Sakti) *"Every time someone is transferred here, the news is that the person is no longer used in another place."* (Arwen)

Another perspective forming Theme 4 is that job rotation is considered a punishment. The information conveyed by Sakti occurred because employees did not know the reasons behind the transfer process. Job rotations that often occur suddenly and without any reason raise questions in employees' minds. Without any explanation given to transferred employees, it can give rise to the perspective that they are no longer "used" in their work unit, as stated by Arwen.

"Yes Actually, many people have moved from the xxx department, because, because it is a mess, what is it called, the head of the department... Many employees want to transfer out because the head department is kinda lacking (of competencies)." (Insan)

Leadership incompetence is the next perspective. Insan said that there was a situation where many employees asked to move from their unit because of the incompetence of the leadership in that unit. In other words, leadership incompetence can trigger job rotations.

"... in the past, for example, the new regent or new governor did not use the head of a department, so they went to functional position. So, the functional position is a place for people no longer used in their recent positions." (Sandi) *"Because they want to extend it (retirement), if the Main Functional Expert is 65 (years), while their as JPT (High Leadership Position) is 60 years."* (Sandi)

The final perspective in this theme focuses on functional positions used as an escape. This phenomenon occurs when functional positions are used as anchorages for structural officials who are no longer "used." Sandi added that job rotations are also used to extend the retirement age because the retirement period for functional positions is longer than for structural positions. In Theme 4, regarding Job rotations due to incompetence in HR officials (mismanagement), several negative feelings are formed, such as disappointment and confusion due to the incompetence of HR officials in carrying out job rotations. Disappointment arose in the case of an informant who was transferred because his position was lost in his second year of work. Feelings of confusion arose when there was a ban on transfers, and the job rotation process was not transparent, giving rise to the perspective of leadership subjectivity in job rotation policies, including the assumption that job rotation was a punishment. The information is closed with a job rotation, which extends the working period by moving from a structural position to a functional one with a longer working period. It is detrimental to career functional officials because former structural officials take away their position slots.

Theme 5, Job rotations Abused for the Benefits of the Authorities

In this theme, the job rotation policy, which should positively impact the organization and employees, is being misused by a number of irresponsible parties for their personal/group interests. *"Imagine that I am a Kasi (Head of Section) at department xxx because I was proposed to department yyy, but I was blacklisted by xxx. Firstly, I could not enter because it was xxx's family, his nephew and his sister-in-law who entered there."* (Fahri)

The first perspective in this theme is that kinship factors, in this case, the family, can influence decision-making in job rotation policies. Fahri experienced being refused entry to a certain unit because a relative of the ruler would occupy the position in that work unit. This situation shows the existence of nepotism in the job rotation process. *"So, after he got on, he immediately changed the echelons below him, in other words, take the carriage (gerbong)."* (Insan)

As stated by Insan, the next perspective is that the authorities often carry out job rotations to include trusted people in their ranks, thereby forming factions (gerbong). This job rotation pattern occurs when an employee gets promoted to a higher position and then brings other employees who support him as carriages (gerbong). *"When a regent changes, the regent's person will be placed in a good place. The wet place (tempat basah). Well, those that do not, the old-timers, will be moved. Like yesterday, many people from BKD (human resources agency) were transferred to Satpol PP (municipal police), even though they already knew enough about human resource management. Instead, they were transferred to Satpol PP."* (Bowo)

Another perspective that forms theme 5 is the political factors behind the job rotation policy, as stated by Bowo. The information conveyed illustrates that supporters of the authorities will fill strategic positions, while old-timers and those who do not support the authorities will be exiled. *"I was threatened that if I made too much noise, I would be moved to a remote place like that. That is an ever-present threat here."* (Bowo)

The final perspective in this theme is job rotations used to threaten critical employees. The information conveyed by Bowo explains that parties in authority often use job rotation as a threat to critical employees.

Theme 5, regarding Job rotations being misused for the authorities' interests, is the final theme in this section of findings. This theme captures the perspective that the job rotation process will be smoother if the employee concerned is close to or is a relative of the ruler. This factor brings about job rotations, which are considered to only benefit parties who have authority because they can carry 'carriages' that support their power, get rid of opposing parties during political contestation, and even be used to threaten employees who are critical of voicing their rights.

Discussion

Based on the findings, which contain five themes as representations of the main perspectives of participants in this research, these five themes represent rich and varied information. The diversity of information obtained is illustrated by the variety of informants' perspectives regarding the impact of job rotation they felt. Some informants said the job rotation had a positive impact, and others said the opposite. The author then analogizes the extent of this variation as rays, which at first appear only one color but, after dispersion, produce a wide spectrum of colors.

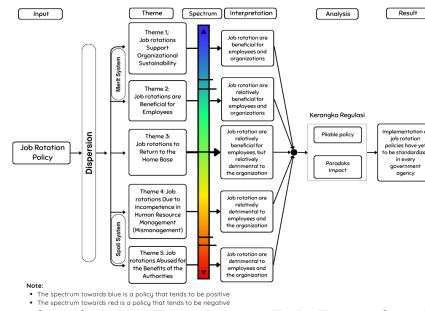


Figure 2. Dispersion in the Employee Job Rotation Policy Spectrum

Source: Authors (2023)

Figure 2. shows the civil servants' perspective on job rotation policy, resulting in five themes of findings, which are illustrated as a spectrum ranging from red to blue. The color gradations in the spectrum are interpreted as the benefits of job rotation. The blue color and the color gradation towards blue means that the job rotation policy has positive benefits for employees and the organization, while the red color and the color gradation towards red illustrate the job rotation policy, which has a negative impact on employees and the organization.

The positive impact of job rotations in this research is represented by the findings in Theme 1 and Theme 2. These two themes illustrate that job rotations are normal and transfers from one position to another, whether structural or functional, occur fluidly, describing an agile organization. This situation aligns with the purpose of job rotation, which increases competitive advantage through flexibility over the organizational hierarchy (Burke & Moore, 2000). Job rotations are also a tool to minimize corruption practices because job rotations will expose employees to new environments constantly and reduce the potential for corrupt networks to form in a unit (De Vries & Sobis, 2016). For individual employees, job rotation is used to implement goodness from the old place to the new place to transfer knowledge (Durst & Bruns, 2016; Ni et al., 2021; Olaisen & Revang, 2018). Apart from that, the feeling of refreshment by employees indicates that job rotation is useful for reducing boredom at work due to monotonous work (Malinski, 2002).

The various positive impacts of job rotation felt by employees show that the implementation of job rotation policies in Theme 1 and Theme 2 is in line with the norms regulated in the ASN Law. Job rotations are carried out with good planning, held periodically, and assessed competence and the principle of prohibiting conflicts of interest. The positive impact of job rotations was supported by news in the national media, which included stories about large-scale job rotations within the Supreme Court (MA) in anticipation of playing cases by civil servants of the Supreme Court (published on Detik.com on 17 May 2016).

On the other hand, the findings in this study also show the negative impact of job rotations Themes 4 and 5 describe the occurrence of a spoil system in the job rotation policy. In Theme 4, poor job planning, non-transparent processes, and prohibitions on job rotation result in disincentives in the form of reduced motivation and job satisfaction (Campion et al., 1994), increased work-related pressure and stress (Foroutan et al., 2021), as well as the emergence of the perception of job rotation as punishment (Ekemam & Okpara, 2021). Regarding job rotation being used as punishment, this situation can occur because job rotations have been used as an instrument of disciplinary punishment from 1961 to 2014. This norm, which has been implemented for decades, may have remained in the minds of policymakers in the field of job rotation. So, until now, unconsciously, job rotations are still often used as punishment.

If in Theme 4, job rotations have a negative impact on employees, in Theme 5, job rotations have a dangerous impact on the organization. Nepotism in the job rotation process and the formation of factions (gerbong) show favoritism behind the job rotation process.

Favoritism makes organizations fail to see the importance of transfer policies for employee development (Ekemam & Okpara, 2021). Favoritism also causes a loss of transparency and fosters nepotism, which ultimately causes organizations to fail to implement performance management (Cunha et al., 2018).

The political factors behind the transfer policy are the next perspective on this theme. This perspective emerged due to large-scale job rotations that often occur during regional election contestations, where elected regional heads will bring their supporters to occupy important positions in their government, while employees who support their political opponents will be "thrown" to non-strategic places. (Pierskalla & Sacks, 2019). Job rotations in the region during the Pilkada became an issue widely raised by the national media. One example is the Ombudsman representing South Sulawesi, who summoned the Takalar Regional Secretary regarding irregularities in the job rotation process carried out after the Pilkada with the alleged motive of revenge (published in Antara on 28 August 2018). The political issues behind the job rotation process illustrate that systems in the public sector can be disrupted due to political pressure (Franco & Bourne, 2003).

The final perspective on Theme 5 is that job rotation are used as a threat to silence employee voices. The threat of job rotation has always been a weapon for those in authority to silence the voices of critical employees. Threats received by employees can make the employee concerned ultimately silence. In this condition, the organization experiences losses because the employee's voice dies, reflecting the loss of employee trust (distrust) in the organization (Gambarotto & Cammozzo, 2010).

Linked to job rotation norms, a spoil system in the job rotation policy contradicts the laws and regulations governing job rotation norms. The job rotation policy does not look at competence, is not planned well, does not meet the organization's needs, and violates provisions regarding conflicts of interest.

Variations in the implementation of job rotation policies with applicable norms show that from the same regulation (the ASN Law), the implementation of job rotation policies can be interpreted differently by civil servants in their respective agencies. Wide spectrum coverage describes the job rotation policy as pliable, which can be used for various things according to the authority holder. In terms of benefits, there is a paradox that even though job rotations have a positive impact, they also have a negative impact. The flexibility in implementing the job rotation policy and its paradoxical impact indicates that it has yet to be implemented standardly in every government agency and is subjective depending on the leadership with authority. The lack of optimal implementation of the job rotation policy following applicable norms could reduce its effectiveness in improving the performance of civil servants.

CONCLUSION

The five main perspectives in this research provide an overview of the contradictory perspectives of civil servants. Some civil servants think that job rotations have a positive impact, while others think otherwise. These contradictions show the richness of information and a wide variety of answers and show that job rotation policies are pliable and have paradoxical benefits. The author analogizes the extent of this variation as rays that at first appear only one color but, after dispersion, produce a wide spectrum of colors. Thus, job rotation policy cannot be interpreted as a positive or negative dichotomy but needs to be interpreted as a relative spectrum. Eventually, all the variations in civil servant perspectives that are formed regarding the job rotations and contradictions that occur originate from the same regulation, namely the ASN Law. The flexibility of job rotation policy implementation and its paradoxical impact, as well as the varying implementation of job rotation policies, indicates that job rotation policies have yet to be standardized in every government agency.

Based on the conclusions obtained in this research, it is known that civil servant job rotation has yet to be implemented standardly in every government agency. This situation

certainly needs to concern policymakers in civil servant management, as there are still gaps that can be exploited by irresponsible parties to utilize the job rotation policy according to their interests. In line with this, a control mechanism is needed to scrutinize the implementation of job rotation policies carried out by each government agency in the form of internal and external audits. Internal supervision and audits can be carried out by the government's internal supervisory apparatus (APIP) on the HR unit in each agency, while external audits can be carried out by parties who are competent in conducting personnel audits.

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