



## **Complementarity in Practice: Politics-Administration Relations in the Governance of Road Infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency**

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### **Abstract**

This research aims to analyze and explain the dynamics of complementarity politics and administration in the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy in the road infrastructure governance process in Wonosobo Regency. This phenomenon is interesting to study because it involves political actors in the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD), as well as administrative actors from the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR) in Wonosobo Regency, all engaged in a complementary relationship regarding road infrastructure issues, an issue that has garnered significant attention from the community. The complementarity framework used in this study refers to the framework proposed by Svava (2001), which is based on three principles: interdependency, reciprocal influence, and extensive interaction. This study employs a qualitative method with a case study approach. The results indicate that efforts are being made to preserve democracy while avoiding subordination by Bappeda and the PUPR agency to DPRD control; there is an integral relationship between the DPRD, Bappeda, and the PUPR agency in maintaining public preferences regarding road infrastructure; parliamentary involvement in the inclusiveness of the administrative process; and other factors in the planning process for road infrastructure development in Wonosobo Regency.

**Keywords:** *Complementarity; Development Planning; Governance; Politics-Administration Relations; Road Infrastructure*

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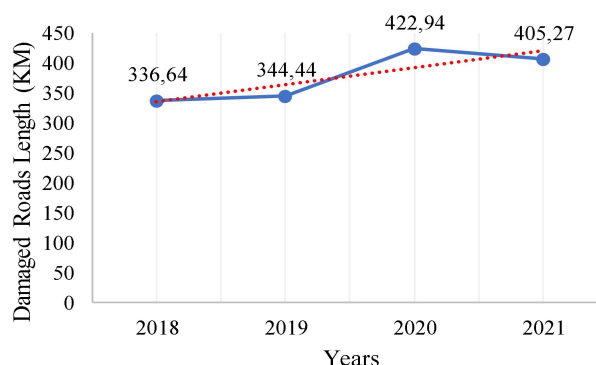
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### **Introduction**

In the era of decentralization in Indonesia, tensions in the politics-administration relationship have become increasingly pronounced at the local level (Tryatmoko, 2012). Conceptually, the democratic spirit and the Civil Servants Law (UU ASN) jointly constitute an interesting subject for analysis from the perspective of their mutual relationship. The convergence of these two distinct principles produces relations that influence policy practice, as exemplified in Wonosobo Regency, Central Java Province, which has long experienced persistent problems in road infrastructure. This argument is corroborated by data from the BPS-Statistics Indonesia of Wonosobo Regency (BPS Wonosobo, 2021) and Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR), which indicate a cumulative upward trend in the length of roads classified as lightly and severely damaged. This information is presented in the figure below.



**Figure 1. Increase in the Length of Lightly and Severely Damaged Roads in Wonosobo**

(Source: BPS-Statistics Indonesia of Wonosobo Regency and DPUPR Wonosobo Regency.)

In addition, the Wonosobo Regency Government has sought to maintain and improve road quality through annual budget allocations for regency road infrastructure. This is evident in the APBD (regional budget) allocations for road management in Wonosobo Regency, summarized in the figure below.



**Figure 2. Recapitulation of Road Infrastructure Development Budget in Wonosobo**

(Source: Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD) documents of Wonosobo Regency).

The data in the table above show that the Wonosobo Regency Government has undertaken annual efforts to develop regency road infrastructure. Furthermore, the local government enacted the “Ruas Tuntas” policy program, codified in Regent’s Regulation No. 12 of 2021 on the Acceleration of Road Infrastructure Development Planning in Wonosobo Regency, as an effort to optimize road infrastructure development. The Ruas Tuntas program was first implemented in 2022 with the objective of optimizing county-level road infrastructure development. In its inaugural year, the Wonosobo Regency Government allocated IDR 166 billion, sourced from the Special Allocation Fund (Dana Alokasi Khusus/DAK) from the central government, the Program Hubah Jalan Daerah (PHJD) from the central government, provincial assistance funds (Banprov), and the Wonosobo Regency APBD (Agus, 2021). However, even after one year of program implementation, many roads in Wonosobo Regency remained below expectations, generating numerous complaints from the public. Indeed, complaints concerning damaged roads constituted the largest category on the Lapor Bupati complaints portal in December 2022. This indicates that many areas with damaged roads were still untouched by the Ruas Tuntas program implemented in 2022. The citizen complaint data from the Lapor Bupati portal are as follows:

**Table 1. Citizen Complaints via the Lapor Bupati Portal - December 2022**

No	Complain Category	Percentage
1	Road Infrastructure	36%
2	Social assistance information (bansos)	19%
3	Main market	5%
4	Street lighting (PJU) and RTLH assistance	5%
5	Tower construction	4%
6	Medical cost assistance	4%
7	Irrigation system	4%
8	Distribution of social assistance (bansos)	4%
9	Others	19%

(Source: Communication and Informatics Office of Wonosobo Regency).

The dynamics of the politics–administration relationship in relation to this problem are a compelling subject for investigation because the effectiveness of the funded Ruas Tuntas policy has so far failed to resolve this enduring public problem. These dynamics can be identified in the nature of the regulating instrument and its implementation. Under Regent’s Regulation No. 12 of 2021 on the Acceleration of Road Infrastructure Development Planning in Wonosobo Regency, the planning of the Ruas Tuntas program is carried out by the regional apparatus with planning responsibilities, and is then incorporated into the Regional Government Work Plan (RKPD). This is because administrative actors, in practice, the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (PUPR), conceptually possess experience, professional competence, and the potential to monopolize information as a basis for formulating data-driven development plans (Dwiyanto, 2021).

Pada On the other hand, Article 5 of Regent’s Regulation No. 12 of 2021 states that the assessment and determination of the priority list for accelerated road infrastructure development in Wonosobo Regency shall be further stipulated by a decision of the Regent, who acts as a political actor. Another political actor involved in the planning process is the Regional People’s Representative Council (DPRD) of Wonosobo Regency. The considerable authority vested in these political actors stems from their democratic role, which entails constituency considerations, political consensus-building, and incremental coalition development (Lindblom, 1959). This phenomenon creates a crossroads between the distinct natures of politics and administration. Given the region’s limited resources and other accompanying dynamics, all stakeholders must ultimately produce a planning decision related to road infrastructure development in Wonosobo Regency. The relationship pattern between political and administrative actors, both of which possess high legitimacy, can be conceptually examined through three principles that serve as benchmarks of effective complementarity (Svara, n.d.): interdependence between political and administrative actors, reciprocal influence, and broad interaction. Accordingly, this study seeks to answer the question of how practices of political-administrative complementarity within the democracy–bureaucracy relationship affect the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency.

## Literature Review

### *The Relationship Between Democracy and Bureaucracy*

The paradigm of contemporary governance necessitates the collaborative application of democratic systems rooted in modern political culture alongside bureaucratic mechanisms that originate from monarchical traditions (Overeem, 2008.). Over time, the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy has given rise to multiple paradigms. Classical scholars of public administration tended to adopt a skeptical view toward democratic principles (Indiahono, 2019). As (Appleby, 1954) observed, classical studies of bureaucracy failed to clearly differentiate between democratic forms and processes and bureaucratic forms and processes.

This relationship was historically marked by a profound dilemma (Etzioni-Halevi, 2011). In the policy-making process, democratic actors have typically preferred decision-making grounded in democratic norms, while bureaucratic actors have insisted on emphasizing professionalism and expertise. Bureaucracy has also justified its role through the concept of bureaucratic representation, which suggests that bureaucrats can represent minority voices excluded from political processes (Indiahono, 2019). Yet this view has been criticized as unjust, since political actors derive their legitimacy directly from the people through electoral mechanisms.

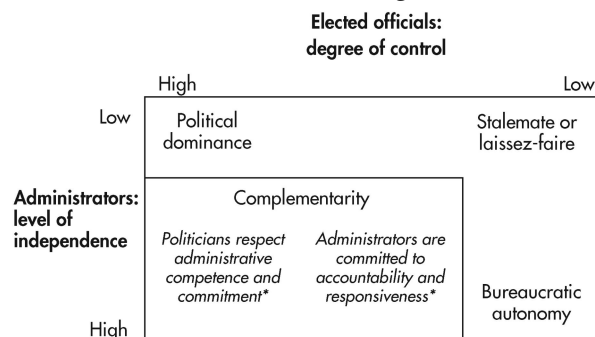
Such dilemmas eventually gave rise to conceptual frameworks that seek to articulate an ideal relationship between democracy and bureaucracy. The notion of bureaucratic impartiality argues that bureaucrats should minimize political intervention and refrain from involvement in practical political interests (Indiahono, 2019). In addition, Thorbjørnsrud (2014) introduced the concept of administrative loyalty, which underscores the obligation of administrators to adhere to political actors who embody public values, while at the same time protecting administration from entanglement in practical politics. This condition was later described by Miller (2015) as genuine neutrality.

### *Politics-Administration Complementarity*

The complementarity model, introduced by Svvara (2001), highlights the mutually reinforcing relationship between political and administrative actors. This occurs when there is a partnership between politics and administration, wherein administrators can exert significant influence in policy-making, and political actors can have a strong impact on administrative processes (Indiahono, 2015). Svvara (1998) argues that a rigid separation between politics and administration may, in fact, be counterproductive. Rather than antagonistic or mutually exclusive, political and administrative actors interact in policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation (Azunu, 2015).

Definisi The logic of complementarity, according to Svvara, is consistent with Woodruff's (1919, in Azunu, 2015) observation that: "Politics and administration are not two antagonistic elements, each seeking to enlarge its sphere of action at the expense of the other. They are not even independent powers in government, each working in a distinct field, performing its appropriate acts, and having for these purposes an authority of its own. On the contrary, they are two parts of the same mechanism, related in much the same way as to two elements in one chemical compound whose combined qualities give the character to the substance. In a sense, politics and administration take part jointly in every act performed". In this view, politics and administration are not independent and antagonistic spheres operating in different domains; rather, they are two interrelated parts of the same governing mechanism.

Svvara (2001) further emphasizes that complementarity is not a new model that replaces earlier ones; instead, it is a deeply rooted and continually evolving model. To facilitate a better understanding of this concept, Svvara (2001) developed a framework illustrating the dynamics between politics and administration, as shown in the figure below:



*\*Reciprocating values that reinforce the position of other set of officials.*

**Figure 3. Understanding Politics-Administration Interaction**

*(Source: Svvara, 2001)*

From this framework, complementarity is understood to emerge when administrators enjoy a high level of independence and political actors exercise strong political control. According to Mafunisa (2003), this configuration arises from the differentiation of functions between politics and administration, each possessing distinct characteristics, but together contributing to the pursuit of good governance. Moreover, Svava (2001) explains that complementarity requires mutual reinforcement: political actors respecting administrators' competence and commitment, and administrators ensuring accountability and responsiveness. In addition to complementarity, Svava (2001) identifies three other relational patterns between politics and administration within his analytical framework:

1. Political Dominance

Political dominance arises when political control is high but administrative independence is low. This configuration assumes the necessity of a strict separation between politics and administration, as political actors, bearing the mandate of the people, hold legitimacy to closely supervise the bureaucracy (Indiahono, 2019). However, progressive reformers have long criticized this model due to its potential for political corruption and the erosion of bureaucratic competence (Svava, 2001).

2. Autonomous Bureaucracy

An autonomous bureaucracy occurs when administrative independence is high while political control is weak. In this arrangement, administrators, through their expertise, professionalism, and experience, become the principal actors in public policy processes, whereas political actors serve merely as symbols of sovereignty and public legitimacy (Indiahono, 2019). The main criticism of this model is that an overly independent bureaucracy risks prioritizing institutional interests over public interests (Svava, 2001).

3. Stalemate (Laissez-Faire)

A stalemate emerges when both political control and bureaucratic independence are weak. This condition produces a laissez-faire situation characterized by "live and let live." It reflects the absence of reciprocal accountability, in which political actors fail to respect administrators and administrators neglect their commitment to accountability (Svava, 2001).

The concept of complementarity offers a reconciliation of the contradictory, even paradoxical, elements within the politics-administration relationship (Harmon, 1995). It is built upon mutual respect and appreciation for political actors, adherence to legal principles, and a commitment to professional standards of governance (Azunu, 2015). More specifically, Svava (2001) outlines three core principles of complementarity:

1. Interdependence

Interdependence arises because administrative components require strategic direction from political actors, while political actors rely on administrators to translate political programs into public policies (Azunu, 2015). This involves compliance with political control while also striving to produce policies grounded in the public interest, respecting political authority while upholding the law, and maintaining professionalism in policy formulation and implementation.

2. Reciprocal Influence

Reciprocal influence is closely linked to interdependence. It reflects conditions where political actors, drawing legitimacy from the electoral process, may engage in administrative processes but within boundaries of respect for administrative competence and commitment. Conversely, administrators, through their resources, expertise, and professionalism, maintain independence while ensuring accountability and responsiveness.

3. Extensive Interaction

Ultimately, the politics-administration relationship can only be understood through the interaction between political control and bureaucratic independence, each operating at different levels. Political control grants political actors the authority to set policy direction and exercise oversight, while administrative independence emphasizes professionalism in policymaking and implementation standards.

## Method

This study employs a qualitative research design with a case study approach. Qualitative research may be understood as a set of procedures that produce descriptive data about phenomena derived from the actors being observed (Moleong, 2000). The case study approach, as articulated by Creswell (2012), requires the researcher to undertake an in-depth exploration of a program, event, activity, or process involving one or more individuals, which renders it appropriate for the present study. Furthermore, the case study approach is a standard method for research in public management and administrative law (Rosenbloom, 1995).

The study will be conducted within the local government of Wonosobo Regency. To assess the state of political-administrative complementarity in the governance process, the research will involve several informants selected through purposive sampling: the chair and one member of Commission C of the Wonosobo Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD); the Head of the Division for Planning, Control, Evaluation, and Research & Development at the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of Wonosobo Regency and the Functional Regional Infrastructure Planner in Bappeda Wonosobo; and the Head of the Program Development Division at the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR) of Wonosobo Regency. Techniques to ensure data validity will be based on source triangulation. Data sources comprise primary data-interviews and documentation, and secondary data, defined as pre-existing written information that supports the primary data. Data analysis will follow the procedure proposed by Miles and Huberman (1984), namely: data collection, data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions.

## Result and Discussions

### *Interdependence*

The findings and discussion below concerning the interdependent relationship between political and administrative actors are derived from analysis of two sub-indicators: compliance with political control and respect for the public interest.

### *Compliance with Political Control*

The study's findings indicate that a deepening of democratic quality has increased the degree of political control in the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency. This dynamic is characterised by bureaucratic impartiality accompanied by an absence of administrative subordination. Such a condition departs markedly from the model of neutrality combined with administrative isolation (O'Toole, 1987), because there is no comprehensive dichotomy that would obstruct interaction between political actors in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Wonosobo and administrative actors in Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR). Political and administrative actors alike recognise the importance of each other's role in road infrastructure planning. From the political actors' perspective, democratic legitimacy is operationalised through specific directives and a series of mechanisms intended to influence the planning process.

In the specific case of the 2023 infrastructure planning process, four funding sources, each governed by its own regulations, were utilised: Regional Own-Source Revenue (*Pendapatan Asli Daerah, PAD*), which is a component of the Local Government Budget (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah, APBD*); Special Allocation Funds (*Dana Alokasi Khusus, DAK*); Provincial Assistance (*Banprov*); and the Regional Road Grant Program (*Program Hibah Jalan Daerah, PHJD*). Each funding source carried its own target allocation for road infrastructure development, as distributed in the 2023 Work Plan and Budget (*Rencana Kerja Anggaran, RKA*), shown in Table 2.



**Table 2. Allocation of Road Development by Funding Source (2023)**

No.	Funding Source	Number of Road/Bridge Segments
1	Local Government Budget (APBD)	133
2	Special Allocation Funds (DAK)	9
3	Provincial Grants (Banprov)	7
4	Regional Road Grant Program (PHJD)	3

(Source: RKA 2023)

The case study suggests that administrative actors demonstrate compliance with political control by differentiating funding sources as a basis for setting priorities. Because DAK is thematic in nature and must be used in strict accordance with central government instructions, administrative actors tend to allocate DAK funds in accordance with those prescribed themes. By contrast, political actors seek to prioritise the DPRD's policy preferences primarily through PAD, which is perceived as relatively more flexible and less tightly constrained by statutory usage mechanisms.

#### ***Respect for Public Interests***

There are multiple definitions of the public interest. The public itself comprises various social strata, which produces a high degree of heterogeneity in views and preferences among individuals and communities. Organized communities enable political actors to engage with the values that represent those preferences in a more structured manner. However, when applied to the issue of road infrastructure, persistent patterns of need become more evident when populations are classified according to territorial criteria. Political actors possess legally sanctioned means for eliciting public needs through direct and political channels. At the same time, it should be noted that not all communities are organized or responsive to the political mechanisms offered by the council. This condition is particularly visible in political bases with strong parochial cultures, where civic needs remain high despite limited political engagement.

Accordingly, an integral relational pattern emerges between political and administrative actors in pursuit of sound governance that is attentive to the preferences of unorganized publics. In this domain, administrative actors, emphasizing general values and impartiality, take on the role of facilitating public proposals via Musrenbang, the development planning forum. The use of Musrenbang by administrative actors addresses the commitment to public responsiveness and aligns closely with the broad public orientation conceptualized by Wilson in 1887. Conducted at territorial levels, Musrenbang generally functions as a supporting mechanism to ensure that all interests are heard, including those of unorganized communities.

The case study of the road infrastructure planning process shows that heterogeneity in public preferences is accompanied by differences in the qualification of proposals that actors can accommodate. As a practical implication, if a public proposal cannot be accommodated through the Musrenbang process organized by administrative actors, citizens may submit it through the DPRD recess channel facilitated by political actors. If the DPRD recess mechanism is also unable to accommodate the proposal, citizens may present it at forums organized by the relevant regional government agencies, namely the DPUPR, which is an administrative actor. In addition to DPUPR forums, there is a mechanism for direct submission of proposals by community leaders or village heads to DPUPR.

The direct submission mechanism is intended to simplify communication but does not confer special priority to those proposals. Administrative actors, as implementers and guardians of regulation, continue to adhere to applicable rules. The planning process is also technically supported by electronic platforms, specifically the Regional Government Information System (Sistem Informasi Pemerintahan Daerah or SIPD), which makes proposal submission and priority setting more structured and helps minimize the potential for abuse of authority because all proposals must undergo multi stakeholder consideration and approval.

#### ***Reciprocal Influence***

The reciprocal influence between political and administrative actors can be conceptually divided into four subphenomena: the involvement of political actors in administrative processes, political

actors' respect for administrative competence and commitment, administrative independence, and accountability and responsiveness. The analysis of these reciprocal influences is presented below.

#### *Political actor involvement in administrative processes*

The road infrastructure planning process in Wonosobo Regency, carried out in accordance with Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86 of 2017 concerning procedures for regional development planning, control and evaluation, procedures for evaluating draft regional regulations on regional long term development plans and medium term development plans, and procedures for amending regional long term development plans, regional medium term development plans, and the Regional Government Work Plan, opens the possibility for involvement across sectors in planning. Three principal actor categories participate in this process: political actors, technocratic administrative actors, and community participants, each of which follows its own procedural logic in the infrastructure planning process.

Administrative actors, who function as technocrats in the implementation of planning, operate within complex mechanisms and conduct their activities in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. This technocratic complexity does not, however, produce an autonomous bureaucracy characterized by very high administrative independence combined with weak political oversight by the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Rather, administrators are required to be accountable in serving the public and to support democratic processes, which gives rise to an inclusive administrative approach capable of accommodating the involvement of other actors, including political representatives.

Political involvement in the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency can be identified through several mechanisms, including the following:

1. Engaging administrative actors in legislative forums

The DPRD's practice of summoning administrative actors to its forums provides a venue for information exchange between political and administrative actors during the formulation of priority scales in infrastructure planning. At this stage, political actors articulate political priorities that respond to citizen needs gathered through recess sessions, while administrative actors present development priorities grounded in funding regulations and technocratic forecasting. This mechanism indicates political and administrative parity rather than the establishment of an autonomous bureaucracy.

Limited resources amid extensive development needs lead political and administrative actors to negotiate proportional allocations of resources within the road infrastructure planning process. Both political and administrative actors possess priority funding sources that can be used to formulate and finance road development agendas. Such agreements contribute to greater stability in the planning process.

2. Involvement through the SIPD application

A further technical mechanism for political engagement is the provision by administrative actors of a channel to accommodate political participation through the Regional Government Information System (Sistem Informasi Pemerintahan Daerah, SIPD). The use of this application is consistent with Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 70 of 2019 on the Regional Government Information System and Ministerial Circular No. 130/736/SJ dated 27 January 2020 regarding the acceleration of SIPD implementation.

Political actors legitimately hold authority to participate in the technocratic planning process, but such participation must align with their institutional mandate and other applicable regulations. In practice, political involvement via SIPD takes the form of submitting infrastructure proposals through the system. This mechanism allows political and administrative actors to interact without direct face to face meetings. Importantly, this participation is not absolute or unilateral in the sense of fully intervening in technocratic administrative mechanisms and producing administrative subordination to political influence. Instead, it constitutes a complementary interaction in which political actors



channel citizen demands in a political manner, communities participate through deliberative means, and administrative actors fulfil regulatory and budgetary requirements.

### *Respect of Political Actors for Administrative Competence and Commitment*

Every actor within government possesses distinct characteristics, which in turn generate relational dynamics between political and administrative actors. This dynamic is marked by the conceptual possibility of politics dominating administrative practice, yet such dominance is constrained by respect for the competence and commitment of administrative actors. This respect prevents the emergence of a regime of political domination characterized by high political control and low administrative independence. Findings from this case study address the problem of dualism between relying on technocratic administrative facts and privileging political values within democratic principles. The overlapping application of fact and value is manifested in specific domains, where the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) demonstrates respect for the technocratic methods employed by Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR). The DPRD's awareness to honor non-subjective factual considerations reflects recognition of the potential to accommodate the interests of unorganized communities as well as those in politically non-governmental base areas.

Technocratic development mechanisms in Wonosobo are oriented toward the THIS (Thematic, Holistic, Integrated, Spatial) approach, which is expected to generate significant impacts in road infrastructure governance. The implementation of THIS in road infrastructure governance is characterized as follows:

1. Emphasis on outcomes

Outcome in this context refers to the impact of growth on targeted areas. For example, within the framework of development planning, certain regions may qualify as *Priority Tourism Areas (DPP)* or *Agricultural Production Center Areas (KSPP)*. This is because road infrastructure functions as a fundamental medium for facilitating all economic and social development activities in society. For instance, in the 2023 development plan, Kalianget, Dieng, and the surrounding areas were designated as *Priority Tourism Areas*, while Kalikajar and Watumalang were designated as *Agricultural Production Center Areas*. Accordingly, the 2023 development plan prioritized road infrastructure in these regions.

2. Divergence of interests with parliamentary values

The technocratic THIS approach supports positive growth in priority areas, yet it carries the potential for conflict with the DPRD's normative value of equity. As parliamentary representatives, DPRD members are expected to advocate for development across the entire Wonosobo Regency. This representative mandate strengthens the emphasis on equitable distribution, since each member champions the development needs of their own constituencies.

3. Dialectical political-administrative reactions

Divergent orientations between technocratic priorities based on THIS and political priorities based on equity generate dialectical reactions. Within the framework of complementarity observed in Wonosobo's governance process, such dialectical reactions manifest in the overlapping and negotiated consolidation of priorities. Political actors, as partners of administrative actors, regard THIS as a sound and implementable mechanism. Nevertheless, joint deliberation remains essential to reconcile differences and reach consensus.

The DPRD's respect for administrative professionalism aligns with its own commitment to professional conduct. However, the locus of professionalism differs. Administrative actors rely on professional competence, while political actors emphasize professionalism in budget management and adherence to established political mechanisms and regulations.

### *Administrative Independence*

The existence of an isolated space for administrative actors in the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency does not indicate isolation in the literal sense. Rather, it reflects a reality in which there is a separate space from political actors, yet this space remains within the same corridor of interaction. In this regard, the independence of Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR) signifies compliance with the political oversight of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) while maintaining technocratic schemes and mechanisms that can be applied in governance processes. These mechanisms also accommodate the need for political oversight through facilities provided by administrative actors themselves. Such a reality generates overlapping yet complementary interactions.

The norm of independence exercised by Bappeda and the PUPR Office in governance can be identified through their commitment to regulatory enforcement. One of the key aspects lies in the structure of the regional budget (APBD) of Wonosobo Regency. In particular, the allocation for road infrastructure development is largely derived from transfer funds, including the General Allocation Fund (DAU), the Special Allocation Fund (DAK), the Regional Road Grant Program (PHJD), and provincial aid (Banprov), in addition to revenue from local own-source funds (PAD). Because transfer funds structurally dominate the APBD, their use is bound by specific regulations. Due to the regulations governing the use of transfer funds and the policies on KSP (Agricultural Production Center Areas) and DPP (Tourism Priority Areas), for example, within the 2023 development plan, administrative actors need to adjust the budget to the priority scale defined for these areas.

Evidence of technocratic approaches in road governance can also be observed during the planning process itself. Administrative independence in this stage is reinforced by the use of the Regional Government Information System (SIPD), which integrates proposals across sectors including political, administrative, and community participation. The SIPD application functions as an instrument to systematize proposals and objections, thereby providing a safeguard for administrative actors in carrying out their duties and responsibilities without direct intervention from political actors.

Another element that strengthens administrative independence is the capacity of administrative institutions to direct their own course of action based on available resources, factual orientation, and professional standards. Nevertheless, this self-directing capacity cannot serve as the sole basis for governance. Since fact-based approaches implemented by administrative actors must still undergo further deliberation with political actors, the scope of self-direction remains limited. Certain areas, such as planning corridor analysis, fall within the autonomous capacity of administrative actors, while other matters require approval from political counterparts, especially when collective decision-making is necessary. This indicates that administrative independence is relative and operates within a framework of complementarity between politics and administration.

#### *Accountability and Responsiveness*

The complementary nature of politics and administration emphasizes the existence of a seemingly absolute differentiation between partisan values with responsiveness and nonpartisan scientific values within the same corridor of governance. The principle of responsiveness is inherently attached to political actors as guardians of representative democracy, which in the case of Wonosobo Regency is carried out by the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) through the recess mechanism. For example, in the context of road infrastructure development in 2023, the planning process had already begun in 2022. The role of political actors in gathering community aspirations on various local issues, including road infrastructure, provides the DPRD with opportunities to gain a deeper understanding of public problems and needs. This reinforces the application of the principle of responsiveness by the DPRD. However, this study reveals an overlapping role between political and administrative actors, where administrative actors also

have their own mechanisms for collecting community aspirations in the spirit of government responsiveness, while simultaneously upholding regulatory compliance. Consequently, administrative actors perform a complex role in ensuring accountability and responsiveness, which can be described in the following dimensions.

1. Collecting Aspirations through Musrenbang

The mechanism for collecting public aspirations by administrative actors is carried out through Musrenbang (Development Planning Deliberation), coordinated by the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda). This mechanism begins at the lowest level of government, namely the village, then proceeds to the subdistrict level, and finally to the regency level. Through this process, administrators support the articulation and realization of public goals in a participatory manner. Thus, administrative actors play a concrete role in strengthening the democratic regime.

2. Accountability through Technocratic and Regulatory Mechanisms

One of the findings that illustrates the application of technocratic-based accountability by administrative actors in the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency is the use of the Regional Government Information System (SIPD). The use of this application enhances transparency in governance processes, particularly in development planning conducted by Bappeda, and makes the information accessible to all stakeholders involved. Furthermore, administrative accountability is also reinforced by several instruments: the Key Performance Indicators (IKU) which measure the performance of government institutions, the Government Performance Accountability System (SAKIP) which integrates planning, budgeting, and performance reporting systems, the Regional Government Financial Report (LKPD) which records financial management by the government, and the Minimum Service Standards (SPM) which regulate the provision and quality of basic services for users of public services

### *Extensive Interaction*

Political and administrative actors interact extensively. Political actors, valuing political control, help set policy and maintain oversight. Administrative actors, whose independence depends on professionalism in policymaking, focus on implementing policy.

### *Supervision of Political Actors*

Selain The study of road infrastructure governance in Wonosobo Regency identified a constant oversight mechanism. This was seen in the technical scheme of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) overseeing the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the Public Works and Housing Agency (Dinas PUPR). Notably, oversight actors are also involved in the development planning process. Thus, the DPRD has had the authority to carry out oversight since the initial stages of development planning. The technical mechanism for supervision carried out by the DPRD involves inviting stakeholders to request information regarding specific ongoing processes. Furthermore, there is linear information regarding the planning mechanism by political actors to the PUPR Service, which is implemented through deliberations or sessions held by the DPRD by inviting the PUPR Service, with the DPRD as a political actor carrying out its oversight process by requesting information at the forum. From the perspective of political actors, oversight of infrastructure planning is primarily carried out by Commission C of DPRD, which specifically handles development affairs. This mechanism of checks and balances functions as a means of alignment with established guidelines, including political visions and missions, the values advanced by each political faction, and other political considerations oriented toward constituencies. The presence of a shared standard of values among members of Commission C enhances the solidity of the oversight mechanism. This condition differs from situations in which internal conflicts of interest among political actors emerge, leading to internal disputes that undermine effective oversight.

In addition, the oversight mechanism carried out by political actors is not conducted solely by DPRD. DPRD also coordinates with other stakeholders considered capable of

supporting the supervisory process. This becomes particularly noteworthy when political actors collaborate with law enforcement agencies (APH) in exercising oversight. Although law enforcement agencies may or may not be directly involved in the technical process of infrastructure planning, their participation is subject to multiple interpretations. It may indicate that political actors are increasingly attentive to regulations and legal consequences in the planning process, while at the same time demonstrating efforts to expand participation by involving a wider range of stakeholders across Wonosobo Regency.

### *The Application of Administrative Professionalism*

Administrative actors, represented by Bappeda of Wonosobo Regency and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency of Wonosobo Regency, possess legitimacy in their ability to direct themselves in the governance of road infrastructure. The notion of self-direction here connotes that administrative actors, based on their technocratic and scientific competence as well as the resources available to them, are capable of formulating independent planning within the categorization of administrative authority. Accordingly, Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency hold bargaining power in influencing political decisions through the technocratic recommendations they prepare. Findings of this study indicate several phenomena arising from the application of administrative professionalism, which include the following:

1. Self Service Power of Administrative Actors

The ability to direct oneself through a technocratic and professional approach can generate a scientifically based governance logic consistent with existing regulations. This mechanism has been attempted, for example, in the context of the 2023 development planning, where the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) implemented it by exploring regional potential, with the potential to receive development resource allocations from the central government. This strategic step was taken because the region requires substantial resources, and based on experiences from previous years, the Wonosobo Regency Government has remained dependent on resources provided by higher levels of government, namely the provincial and central governments.

2. Neutrality and Reliance on Regulation in Influencing Political Decisions

The principle of neutrality is formulated as a practical effort by administrative actors, in their professional capacity as public officials, to refrain from siding with political controversies. Nevertheless, governance of road infrastructure, being an issue of significant public concern, is inevitably accompanied by complex dynamics. From the perspective of administrative neutrality, actors from Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency are confronted with narratives of urgency in addressing road infrastructure, which ultimately relate to the constituencies of parliamentary actors. On the other hand, administrative actors are required to act as primary enforcers of regulation.

The dynamics of determining priorities in road infrastructure development become particularly evident when both political and administrative actors possess equally strong legitimacy to propose initiatives. In such contexts, administrative neutrality based on regulation plays a crucial role in resolving these tensions, namely by persuading and providing political actors with information regarding the regulations and administrative authorities of local government in carrying out future road development.

## **Conclusion**

The model of complementarity in the relationship between political actors and administrative actors emerges when political actors possess a high degree of political control and administrative actors hold a strong level of administrative independence. The case of Wonosobo Regency illustrates this through democratic processes in which citizens directly elect political actors, namely members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) and even the regent, thereby strengthening political legitimacy and political control within governance. At the same time, administrative actors enjoy substantial legitimacy to direct themselves while remaining

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insulated from political interference. This administrative independence has become more pronounced since the enactment of Law Number 5 of 2014 on the State Civil Apparatus.

The dynamics of complementarity between political and administrative actors in the governance of road infrastructure in Wonosobo Regency can be identified through three major patterns. First is interdependence, which reflects compliance with the control of the DPRD while simultaneously honoring public interests. Second is reciprocal influence, which involves the participation of the DPRD in the technocratic processes of Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency (Dinas PUPR), coupled with the DPRD's recognition of their commitment and competence, their independence, and their accountability alongside DPRD's responsiveness. Third is broad interaction, which reflects the constant oversight exercised by the DPRD accompanied by the professional application of administrative principles by Bappeda and the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency.

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