The Problem of Neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the 2020 Regional Head Election

Problematika Netralitas Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN) dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Tahun 2020



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ARTICLE INFORMATIO Keywords Bureaucratic Neutrality; Elections; State Civil Apparatus; Patron-Client;	N ABSTRACT This article will discuss the neutrality of bureaucracy in Indonesia with the perspective of data collection from online media. Where the purpose of this paper is to find out the involvement of ASN in the power struggle in the implementation of regional head elections. If we look at the many cases of neutrality violations that occurred in the 2020 regional head elections, this is also justified by the State Civil Affairs Commission which records cases of violations of bureaucratic neutrality. The implementation of regional head elections conducted in 2020 is indeed full of pros and cons, besides that almost every regional head election always arises the issue of bureaucratic neutrality. In 2020, there were 694 ASNs who committed violations and have been reported to the State Civil Apparatus Commission.				
Kata Kunci	 This shows that the implementation of regional head elections is one of the momentums for candidates for regional heads and ASNs to conduct patron-client practices. In addition, the implementation of regional head elections is also carried out during the covid-19 pandemic so that it is possible to have ASN involvement in the implementation of campaigns and so on. Because in 2020 there is a lot of involvement of civil apparatus that shows open support to one of the candidates. ABSTRAK 				
Netralitas Birokrasi; Pilkada; Aparatur Sipil Negara; Patron-Client;	Artikel ini akan membahas tentang netralitas birokrasi di Indonesia dengan perspektif pengambilan data dari media online. Dimana tujuan dari tulisan ini adalah untuk mengetahui keterlibatan ASN dalam perebutak kekuasaan pada pelaksanaan pemilihan kepala daerah. Jika kita lihat banyak sekali kasus pelanggaran netralitas yang terjadi pada pemilihan kepala daerah tahun 2020 kemaren, hal ini juga dibenarkan oleh Komisi Aaratur Sipil Negara yang mencatat kasu-kasus pelanggaran netralitas birokrasi. Pelaksanaan pemilihan kepala daerah yang dilakukan pada tahun 2020 memang penuh dengan pro dan kontra, selain itu hampir setiap pelaksanaan pemilihan kepala daerah selalu muncul permasalahan tentang netralitas birokrasi. Dimana pada tahun 2020 terdapat 694 ASN yang melakukan pelanggaran dan telah dilaporkan pada Komisi Aparatur Sipil Negara. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa pelaksanaan pemilihan kepala daerah merupakan salah satu momentum bagi calon kepala daerah dan ASN untuk melakukan praktik patron-client. Selain itu pelaksanaan pemilihan kepala daerah juga dilakukan di masa pandemic covid-19 sehingga, sangat memungkinkan adanya keterlibatan ASN dalam pelaksanaan kampanye dan lain sebagainya. Karena pada tahun 2020 banyak sekali keterlibatan aparatur sipil yang menunjukkan dukungan secara terbuka kepada salah satu calon				
Article History Send 37 ^h November 2022 Review 29 th December 2022 Accepted 23 th March 2023	Copyright ©2023 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the <u>CC–BY-NC-SA</u> license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model <u>CC–BY-NC-SA</u> sebagai lisensinya.				
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Introduction

The problem of the neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus in Indonesia's so-called ASN seems to be still a big homework for the Government of Indonesia. This is because the issue of ASN neutrality has grown and developed since the New Orde era, which was marked by ASN's alignment with the Golkar Party through its involvement in the campaign process ahead of the general election (election). Along the way, violations of ASN's neutrality have mushroomed even in regional head elections (pilkada). This phenomenon further proves Max Weber's thinking about the concept of bureaucracy which is divided into three indicators, namely (1) bureaucracy as a technical instrument, (2) bureaucracy in society in general which carries out its function as a technical instrument, (3) bureaucracy tends to prioritize personal interests over personal interests. the interests of the community even though the bureaucracy is a public servant. From these indicators, it can be indicated that the bureaucracy does not fully stand for the community and cannot be separated from political dynamics as explained by Thoha in (Sanjaya, H., Yulianti, R., & Habibi, 2020).

As this has been shown by (Atmojo, M. E., Yusuf, M., & Darmawan, 2021) who mentions the opinion of Karl Marx who emphasizes that the bureaucracy will never be neutral it tends to only prioritize personal interests and groups that have great influence. Coupled with its very strategic position, being between politics and society, as it is known that politics is the actor of policymakers as well as coaches in regional agencies which of course every step must have an interest, these political actors come from regional heads which include governors and regents. Meanwhile, the community is also one of the parties who are closely related to the bureaucracy, as the concept develops that the bureaucracy is the implementer of policies in the field and serves the community which of course will easily take personal approaches, lead opinions, and even the masses. Bureaucracy has a dilemmatic position to be neutral with a dichotomy system of the spheres of administration and politics (Hustedt & Salomonsen, 2018).

Although the Government has established several regulations to maintain the neutrality of ASN, such as Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus, Government Regulation Number 42 of 2004 concerning the Guidance of Corps Spirit and Code of Ethics for Civil Servants, and PP Number 53 of 2010 concerning Discipline Government employees. However, in its implementation, the regulation has not resulted in significant changes to the violation of ASN neutrality. This is also evidenced by the increase in cases of violations of the neutrality of ASN which were reported to the State Civil Apparatus Commission in Indonesia so-called KASN in the implementation of regional elections in recent years, as follows:

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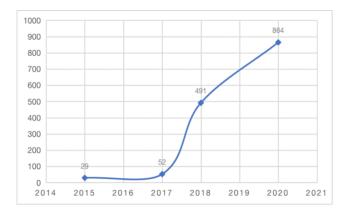


Chart 1. Increasing Number of ASN Neutrality Complaints in 2015 – 2020 Regional Head Elections

Source: Data processed by researchers (2021)

Based on the figure above, it can be seen that from the implementation of the 2015 Pilkada to the 2020 region head election, there was a significant increase in cases, even in 2020 reaching its peak. When detailed, it shows that in the 2015 elections there were 29 violations of ASN neutrality, and in the 2017 elections the number of these violations increased to 52 cases of violations (Hernawan, 2020). Then in the 2018 regional elections, violation cases increased even more significantly to 491 violations, and in the 2020 elections, the highest number of cases compared to the previous three years, which reached 864 cases as of 19 November 2020 based on updates from KASN data. The increase in neutrality cases shows that the regulations that regulate the neutrality of ASN have not been effective, which is marked by the absence of a significant impact on the case. The 2020 region head election was marked by cases of violations of ASN neutrality carried out in various regions and agencies.

According to the National Civil Service Agency in Indonesia so-called BKN, it was recorded that of the various violating agencies, there were 5 agencies with the highest violation cases based on the number of employees who violated them, namely Purbalingga Regency as many as 56 non-neutral ASN, Wakatobi Regency there were 33 ASN, Bima Regency consisted of 24 ASN, then Kediri Regency as many as 21 ASN (Damayanti, 2020). The highest violation data is at the provincial level, namely Southeast Sulawesi Province with 90 ASN violators, NTB (West Nusa Tenggara) Province with 83 ASN, and Central Java Province with 74 ASN (cnnindonesia.com., 2020c). This issue will also become even more interesting when compared to the number of regions that participated in the regional elections from 2015 to 2020, which shows how sad and ironic the issue of ASN neutrality is today, along with the number of regions that have conducted regional elections from the last three years:

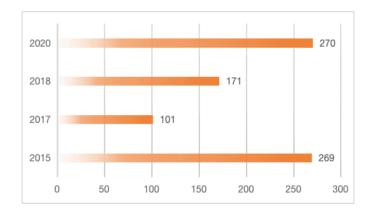


Chart 2. Number of Regions Conducting Regional Head General Elections in 2015 – 2020 Source: Processed by Researchers (2021)

The figure above shows that the regional head elections were followed by a fluctuating number of regions, it can be seen that in 2015 the regional head elections were carried out by 269 regions, and in the 2017 regional head elections, the number of regions that carried out the pilkada also decreased to 101 regions. Then in the 2018 regional head elections, the number of regions that carried out the regional head elections again increased to 171 regions, and in the 2020 regional head elections, the elections were followed by 270 regions (Hernawan, 2020). However, what is interesting about this is that when compared to the 2015 regional elections which were attended by 269 regions, the number of complaints about the neutrality of ASN was only 27 cases. In contrast to the 2020 elections which were attended by 270 regions, which is only one region different from the number of regions in the 2015 elections, the number of cases of violations occurred many times more than the violations in the 2015 elections. The first election to be held in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Therefore, the issue of the 2020 regional head elections is very interesting to explore more deeply, especially regarding the forms and factors that trigger violations of ASN neutrality in the 2020 regional head elections, Moreover, 2020 is the first head election to be held during the Covid-19 pandemic, while the policy of limiting community activities is also limited which will affect the series of head election, one of which is the campaign. So that the violations and problems faced are also different from the previous elections. This is one of the points of interest in this research because it will focus on election violations committed during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach. Where based on the statement (Moleong, 2012) that qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomena of what is experienced by research subjects holistically and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context by utilizing various natural methods. Whereas (Salim, 2006) stated that qualitative research has the following characteristics: (1) research data is obtained directly from the field, and not from a laboratory or controlled research; (2) data mining is carried out naturally, making visits to the natural situations of the subject; and (3) to obtain new meaning in the form of answer categories, the researcher is obliged to develop a dialogical situation as a scientific situation. The approach to data collection techniques used in this study is analysis through the capture of online media news. The online news that will be analyzed are as follows:

Online News	Month			
Detik.com	July-December			
Kompas	July-December			
Tribun	July-December			
Antara	July-December			
Table 1 Online News				
Source: Processed by researchers (2021)				

Source: Processed by researchers (2021)

The news sampling is limited from July 2020 to December 2020, during which time is the campaign period for regional head candidates. So that the validity of the data taken really occurs in crucial times leading up to regional elections. This is taken because at that time the emergence of candidates or supporters of candidate's regional heads, as well as the implementation of campaigns for regional head candidates.

Results and Discussion

Violation of ASN Neutrality In The 2020 Regional Head General Election

a. Model of violation

Talking about the form of violation of bureaucratic neutrality, cannot be separated from the two main indicators of political neutrality, as proposed by La Ode Muh. Yamin in (Saputra, 2020), as follows:

a. Not involved, which means an ASN is not allowed to be involved in the succession of candidate pairs during the campaign period, either using party attributes or ASN attributes. b. Impartiality, which means not acting or doing anything that can benefit one of the pairs of candidates, by not holding activities that can lead to partiality in the form of meetings, appeals, invitations, calls, or using state facilities to help win one of the pairs of candidates.

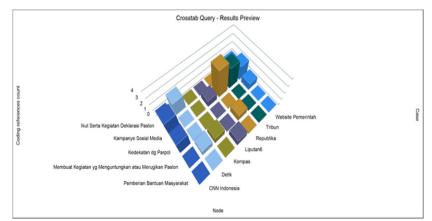


Figure 1. The trend of ASN Neutrality Violations in the 2020 Regional Head Elections Source: Processed by researchers (2021)

From the crosstab data processed by Nvivo above, it shows that the highest form of violation of ASN neutrality in the 2020 elections is the campaign carried out by ASN through social media. As quoted (Hernawan, 2020) which states that "Giving support to pairs of candidates for regional head elections through social media is the highest trend of violating the neutrality of the state civil apparatus (ASN)". Other media also mentioned that ASN campaigning on social media with the highest mode of violation was 30 percent (Prasetia, 2020). The actions included in social media campaigns such as uploading, sharing, commenting, and liking posts lead to the alignment of one candidate pair (Margetts, 2019). This is because social media campaign can improve mobilizing supporters through the persuasive content (Bossetta, 2018). Using social media for the campaign also be one of the strategies for building political communication (Stier et al., 2018). Even this finding is reinforced by KASN data which states that the highest trend of violations in the 2020 elections is campaigning through social media, as shown in the image below:

Types of Violations		2019	2020
а	Participate as campaign executor		-
b	Social media campaign/socialization (post/comment/share/like)	188	66
С	Take a photo with the candidate/candidate pair by following the hand gesture/movement that indicates partiality		4
d	Perform approach to a political party related to the nomination of himself or another person as a candidate for regional head/deputy regional head	2	50
e	Placing banners/billboards promoting himself or another person as a candidate for regional head/deputy regional head		31
f	Making decisions and/or actions that benefits or harms one pair of candidates	19	-
g	Making decisions that can benefit/disadvantage candidate pairs during the campaign period	4	-
h	Declaring himself as a candidate for regional head/deputy regional head	1	21
i	Conducting activities that lead to partiality (meetings/invitations/ appeals/calls/gifts of goods)		10
j	Using facilities related to positions in our campaign activities	3	-
k	Attending the declaration of candidate pairs	5	10
1	Becoming a member and or administrator of a political party	2	-
m	Being a speaker/resource person in political party activities	2	-
n	Becoming a campaign participant using party attributes/civil servant attributes	4	3
0	As a campaign participant with state facilities	2	-
р	As a campaign participant by mobilizing other civil servants	1	-
q	Involved in campaign activities	36	-
r	Still in the process of review	-	48
	Total	412	243

Figure 2. Model of Violation of ASN Neutrality in the 2020 Regional Head Elections Source: from KASN, 2020

The rise of violations through social media campaigns in the 2020 regional head elections even became the highest form of violation, could be motivated by several possibilities, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, which requires every community to maintain health protocols and carry out social distancing to minimize the formation of new clusters. This demand for social distancing is also a challenge in itself for the implementation of the campaign, where generally campaigns are carried out by establishing closeness to the community to attract sympathy and vote, now these activities must be replaced with new campaign techniques that make this form of violation of ASN neutrality transform into a violation digitally.

If in the previous regional elections, ASN neutrality was often carried out by using the icon attributes of certain political parties to participate in voicing their support for one of the candidate pairs, now this form of partisanship is expressed through postings on social media which contain the meaning of partisanship by a number of ASN elements. Another possibility that triggers the violation of ASN neutrality through this social media campaign is that there is an increase in the number of active social media users in Indonesia. Based on the report "Digital 2021: The Latest Insights Core the State of Digital" released by We Are Social and in collaboration with Hootsuite, as the report was quoted by (Stephanie C, 2021) stated that in January 2021 the total population in Indonesia was 274 9 million people, there are 170 million active social media users or around 61.8 percent when presented. This figure also increased by 10 million or approximately 6.3 percent from the previous year, and the results of the research stated that Indonesia was included in the top 10 countries addicted to social media. The data shows that campaigning through social media is one of the strategic and effective steps to reach the community, plus the limited movement of the community during the COVID-19 pandemic which provides opportunities for social media to be one of the entertainments. This is also mentioned in (Anwar, 2019) which states that as there is an increase in public participation in political issues on social media, it becomes important to build relationships with the public in political campaigns.

Triggering Factors of Violations of ASN Neutrality in The 2020 Regional Head General Election

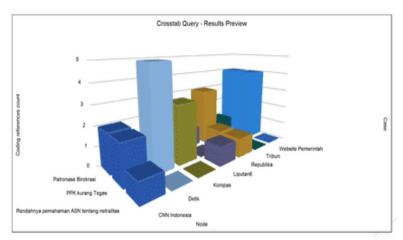


Figure 3. Factors Occurring Violation of the Neutrality of ASN in the 2020 Regional Head Elections Source: Processed by Researchers, 2021

Based on the results of the Nvivo application crosstab above, shows that the main trigger for violations of ASN neutrality is the lack of firmness of the Civil Service Supervisory

Officer in punishing ASN persons who violate neutrality and the prevalence of bureaucratic patronage in the 2020 elections. Bureaucracy violates democracy when regional elections invite the people to choose a candidate whose their support (Rubianto et al., 2022). While neutrality is an important key in public administration and public service practice (Anugrah et al., 2022). Bureaucratic patronage and less strict Civil Service Supervisory officers still have a causal correlation with one another. In fact, these two triggers are often reported in almost all mass media, which shows how critical this case is with case studies that occurred in various regions.

a. The Weakness of Civil Service Supervisory Officers in Following Up on Abuse

As seen in the crosstab above, most of the mass media have reported the main cause of the violation of ASN neutrality, namely the weakness of the Civil Service Supervisory officers in following up on punishment as it should be carried out in accordance with the recommendations from KASN. Quoted by (Yulianto A, 2020) said that "As many as 626 cases of violation of ASN neutrality, only 472 cases or 75.4% have been followed up by Civil Service Supervisory officers according to KASN recommendations". The news from (cnnindonesia.com., 2020a) also confirms the criticality of the Civil Service Supervisory officer's problem, which states that "The current ASN neutrality problem is the response of the civil service supervisor or Civil Service Supervisory officers' officials who are slow and even reluctant to follow up on the recommendations of KASN". The violation of ASN neutrality more massive in local government cause the regional head have influenced the regional employees (Sarnawa, 2018). The civil service supervisory often uses their power to mobilize the ASN to support him/her to be the winner on the regional election (Rubianto et al., 2022).

Even the Civil Service Supervisory officer's reluctance to follow up on penalties in accordance with the recommendations of KASN prompted State Civil Service Agency (BKN) to step down in overcoming this problem, namely by blocking the ASN staffing data which is suspected to be the person in the violation of the ASN neutrality. As for the ASN whose staffing data has been blocked in several areas, such as the Makassar Regional Office IV BKN Work Area with a total of 28 ASN data, then the Denpasar Regional Office X BKN Work Area as many as 7 ASN data, the Regional Work Area Kanreg VI BKN Medan and the Work Area KanregXII BKN Pekanbaru as many as 4 ASN data, the Regional Office of Regional Office II BKN Surabaya is 3 ASN, and the Working Area of Regional Kanreg VII BKN Palembang is 2 ASN (Arnani, 2020a). In addition to these agencies, there are other

agencies whose personnel data have been blocked, namely the central agency with 17 personnel data, Regional Office of Regional Office IX BKN Jayapura with 2 ASN data, Regional Office of Regional Office III Bandung with 1 ASN staffing data (Arnani, 2020b). The following is the blocked ASN data when presented in a graph:

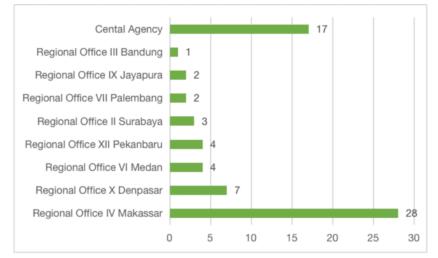


Chart 3. Number of ASN Data Blocked by BKN in the 2020 Pilkada Source: Processed by Researchers, 2021

It should be noted that the blocking of ASN personnel data is one of BKN's steps to confirm the follow-up to penalties for violations of neutrality that have not been handled by the Civil Service Supervisory officer, as should be done in accordance with the recommendations of KASN. The blocking of staffing data will be released if the Civil Service Supervisory officer has followed up on sanctions against violators of ASN in accordance with the recommendations and directions from KASN, but if it is not followed up immediately then this personnel data will remain blocked even until the time when the ASN takes care of retirement, which requires the blocking of the personnel data must be opened. With this blocking, the ASN cannot access its personnel services such as the management of promotions, transfers, or pensions. This is also one of the most effective steps to reduce the impact of the violation of bureaucratic neutrality which is closely related to the promotion (Sulistyo et al., 2021). Considering that one of the main motivations for violating the neutrality of ASN is its involvement and alignment with the succession of one candidate for the regional head (in this case usually the incumbent) so that he can be promoted to his position if re-elected (Ruslihardi et al., 2021). In addition, in the 2020 Regional Head General Election, there were 290 incumbent candidate pairs running for re-election in 236 regions out of a total of 270 regions that took part in the Regional Head General Election (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

In fact, the percentage of incumbent registrants in the 2020 Regional Head General Election is the highest compared to the Regional Head General Election in the three previous periods. It was recorded that in the 2015 regional elections, there was about 16.7 percent of incumbent candidates out of 1,486 candidates registered. Then in the 2017 elections, there was 15.5 percent of incumbent candidates out of a total of 674 candidates registered. In the 2018 Regional Head General Election, there were 19 percent of incumbent candidates out of 1,162 candidates, and in the 2020 Regional Head General Election, there were 331 incumbent candidates who registered out of a total of 1,324 candidates, which if present, would reach 25 percent alone (Prabowo, 2020). Seeing this phenomenon, it is not unusual if a lot of ASN staffing data is blocked because it has not received any follow-up from the Civil Service Supervisory officer for the violation cases, it does not even rule out the possibility that the neutrality violation stems from a game with the incumbent candidate. This is also triggered by the strategic position of the Civil Service Supervisory officer in the agencies in its area, as in the application procedure that the Civil Service Supervisory officer is the party that has the authority to follow up on penalties for violations of ASN neutrality, which makes the Civil Service Supervisory officer seem to have a decisive position on how the punishment will be applied. The procedure for giving this punishment is as set out in the follow-up flow chart for reporting to KASN, as follows:

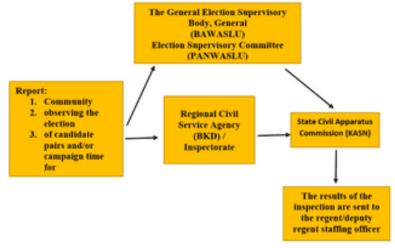


Figure 4. Follow-up Flow of Reporting to KASN Source: Sutrisno, 2019

Looking at the follow-up reporting flow chart above, it will seem very ironic with the other authorities given to Civil Service Supervisory officers in determining ASN careers which seem very contradictory to one another. As regulated in Law Number 5 of 2014 it is stated in article 63 paragraph 2 which reads "The appointment of prospective civil servants as referred to in paragraph (1) is determined by a decision of the Personnel Guiding Officer", while Article 73 paragraph 2 which reads "Mutation of civil servants in one Central Agency or Regional Agencies as referred to in paragraph (1) are carried out by the Personnel Guidance Officer". The quote from these two articles shows the meaning that the advancement of the career of an ASN seems to be wholly in the hands of the PPK, which triggers the ASN to be in a dilemmatic position. On the one hand, ASN must comply with existing regulations by being neutral because of its position which is considered to be the unifier of the nation, but on the other hand, there is the role of Civil Service Supervisory officers which determines the continuity of its career. In this case the authority of Civil Service Supervisory officers was often abused cause two strong authorities which his/her own (Hadiyantina, 2021). In addition, most of the Civil Service Supervisory officers in the 2020 Regional Head General Election were followed by incumbent candidates as previously mentioned, which is a demand for ASN itself to support Civil Service Supervisory officers who re-nominate with the motivation to get or maintain a position, or at least to anticipate securing their position. so as not to be eliminated if the Civil Service Supervisory officers are later elected and re-elected in the 2020 regional elections. This factor is the reason behind the Civil Service Supervisory officers' lack of firmness in punishing individual violators of ASN neutrality because these individuals come from their own supporters.

b. Patronize Bureaucracy

In addition to the lack of firmness of the Civil Service Supervisory officers' in following up on punishments for ASN persons who violated neutrality, bureaucratic patronage was also another factor in the occurrence of these violations. The collaboration of the mayor with local enterprises forms the patronage and betting the bureaucracy's integrity (Gilev & Dimke, 2021). While the patronage relations harm the government's performance and ability to fulfill the public functions (Jiang, 2018). The patronage relations regarder as returning the favor on the support was given when the regional campaign election (Suaib et al., 2020). As quoted from several mass media, such as (cnnindonesia.com., 2020b) which stated that "the 2018 KASN survey, Tjahjo stated that 43.4 percent reasoned that they wanted to get or maintain a position", then (Yulianto A, 2020) also stated "There is the assumption related to the enactment of the politics of revenge

or revenge politics in promotions is a factor in the occurrence of violations of ASN neutrality. A large number of media reporting on the culture of reciprocity in the bureaucracy shows that job negotiations with commitments to support in the elections are still ongoing today. This can also be seen from the processed results of the Nvivo application as follows:



Figure 5. Nvivo Processed Results on Bureaucratic Patronage Issues Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021

From the word cloud above, it shows that there are some of the most dominating words such as "neutrality", "recommendation", "position", "violation", "regional apparatus", and " Civil Service Supervisory officers" proves that quite a lot of mass media discuss news related to patronage. The bureaucracy which is often related to the violation of neutrality with the motivation for a recommendation of regional apparatus positions by the Civil Service Supervisory officers. This news started from the rampant cases of ASN neutrality on the grounds of maintaining or getting a position by the Civil Service Supervisory officers if later re-elected. This violation affects to bureaucracy resource management such as promotion without based on their ability, but special relation with a person who have dominating position (Hartawan, 2018). This bureaucratic patronage factor was also strengthened by data from KASN related to the causes of neutrality violations, as follows:

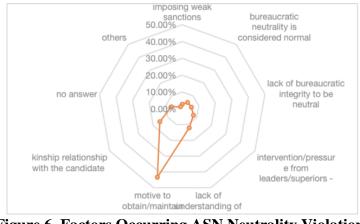


Figure 6. Factors Occurring ASN Neutrality Violations Source: KASN data, 2020

Promotion of positions that are motivated by the politics of reciprocation between Civil Service Supervisory officers and ASN is an act that violates regulations, as stated in Law Number 5 of 2014 article 72 paragraph 1 which reads:

"Government employees (ASN) promotions are carried out based on an objective comparison between the competencies, qualifications, and requirements required by the position, an assessment of work performance, leadership, cooperation, creativity, and considerations from the Government employees performance appraisal team at Government Agencies, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, race, and class".

In the article, it is stated that the appointment of ASN in certain positions must be based on the achievements and performances that they do as a representation of their abilities later when carrying out the mandate of the position they are promoted. However, the flaw is, in the next article, namely Article 72 paragraph 3, it is stated that "The promotion of Administrative Officers and Functional Civil Servants is carried out by the Civil Service Guidance Officer after receiving consideration from the PNS performance appraisal team in Government Agencies", which incidentally Civil Service Supervisory officers is a political official who certainly has an interest in maintaining its existence, especially for Civil Service Supervisory officers who want to become incumbent candidates. Political officials who are given this strategic position and authority are often misused to fight for their interests and groups, one of which is prone to cooperation between Civil Service Supervisory officers and ASN with reciprocal agreements that are mutually beneficial to each other. Therefore, in this case, the regulations governing ASN, especially in the implementation of the merit system, namely the ASN management system based on the performance and achievements it has, seem to be just an illusion. If in practice there are still political officials involved in determining the promotion of the position. Seeing the many cases of violations of ASN neutrality that were masterminded by the Civil Service Supervisory officers themselves, it should be a concern for institutions that have a focus on ASN staffing such as the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform, KASN, State Administration Institute, and BKN to review the applicable regulations, especially the granting of authority to strategic and vulnerable Civil Service Supervisory officers. will play interested in it. This is what is often mentioned that ASN will never be separated from politics if the system in it has not been able to fully implement the dichotomy between politics and bureaucracy.

Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussion above, it can be concluded that the highest trend of violations of ASN neutrality in the 2020 elections is a campaign through social media carried out by a number of ASN individuals by uploading, distributing, liking, and commenting on posts that contain the meaning of siding with one of the candidate candidates. The main factor in the occurrence of violations of ASN neutrality is the lack of strict follow-up actions by Civil Service Supervisory officers as recommended by KASN, which causes no deterrent effect for the ASN. This can also be one of the main roots of bureaucratic patronage, considering that in the implementation of the 2020 Regional Head General Election there were 236 regions that were participated by incumbent candidates from a total of 270 regions that took part in the 2020 elections.

Seeing these problems, it is necessary to increase the supervision of ASN social media, especially before the campaign period through collaboration with the community, and provide education to increase awareness regarding the importance of the community's role in this matter. The public also needs to be educated about the procedures for reporting cases of violations of ASN neutrality to the authorities such as the regional Election Supervisory Body to be followed up. Then given the weakness of the PPK in enforcing the law on violators of the neutrality of ASN, this can be a reconsideration, especially for BKN and KASN regarding the provision of punishments authorized by Civil Service Supervisory officers. Punishment can be authorized by the regional inspectorate or directly by KASN. In addition, monitoring bureaucratic neutrality can be done by forming a cyber team for monitoring ASN social media in Indonesia, as well as the need for improvements in applicable regulations by including articles of strict penalties for ASNs who commit repeated violations.

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