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### Policy of a Merit System to Make a Good and Clean Government in The Middle of Bureaucratic Politicization

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#### ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of the politicization of the bureaucracy is nothing new in politics in Indonesia, the politicization of the bureaucracy has long been the case ever since the implementation of the general elections in Indonesia for the first time in 1955. The entire regime that once ruled in Indonesia has ever put through the politicization of this bureaucracy even up regime power today because by utilizing the existing positions in the bureaucracy, it can pave the way for political purposes. The application of the merit system policies to achieve good governance and clean is a step taken by the Government as a system of monitoring the implementation of transfer, promotion, and demotion conducted by political officials. This study uses qualitative research using reference data from many previous studies used as a literature review and a national online media news concerning the application of the merit system and bureaucracy politicization pressure that occurs. Based on the analysis using the software NVivo 12 Plus, it can be deduced that to realize good and clean government in the middle of bureaucratic politicization needed policy on the application of the merit system in personnel management, which aims to encourage the government bureaucracy to become more competent in solving the problems of public-oriented towards public service.

Keywords: Merit system, politicization of bureaucracy, human resources

#### ABSTRAK

Fenomena politisasi birokrasi bukanlah hal baru dalam politik di Indonesia, politisasi birokrasi telah lama terjadi sejak penyelenggaraan pemilihan umum di Indonesia pertama kali pada tahun 1955. Seluruh rezim yang pernah berkuasa di Politisasi birokrasi ini pernah dilakukan Indonesia bahkan sampai kekuasaan rezim saat ini karena dengan memanfaatkan posisi yang ada di birokrasi dapat membuka jalan bagi kepentingan politik. Penerapan kebijakan merit system untuk mewujudkan good governance dan clean merupakan langkah yang diambil oleh Pemerintah sebagai sistem pengawasan terhadap pelaksanaan mutasi, promosi, dan penurunan pangkat yang dilakukan oleh pejabat politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan data referensi dari berbagai penelitian sebelumnya yang digunakan sebagai tinjauan pustaka dan pemberitaan media online nasional mengenai penerapan sistem merit dan tekanan politisasi birokrasi yang terjadi. Berdasarkan analisis dengan menggunakan software NVivo 12 Plus, dapat disimpulkan bahwa untuk mewujudkan pemerintahan yang baik dan bersih di tengah politisasi birokrasi diperlukan kebijakan penerapan merit system dalam pengelolaan kepegawaian, yang bertujuan untuk mendorong agar birokrasi pemerintahan menjadi lebih kompeten dalam menyelesaikan masalah-masalah yang berorientasi pada publik menuju pelayanan publik.

Kata Kunci: Merit sistem, politisasi birokrasi, sumber daya manusia

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#### INTRODUCTION

The government can be called an institution that plays a role in collective empowerment and also has a role as a caring institution for people on the other side. The government also plays a role as a regulator by legislation, in addition to being a supervisor on the other hand. (Monika & Wicaksono, 2017). Bureaucracy has a vital role to play in executing government policies aimed at achieving good governance, and bureaucracy must meet at least five criteria: Institutions/organizations, organized human resources, orderly, efficient, and objective. (Sawir, 2015).

In the bureaucracy, the role of the Human Resources (HR) is a crucial factor that determines the performance of the objectives, since both individuals and groups have an active role and supremacy in the bureaucracy. The more involved and influential HR in the bureaucracy, the more critical it will be to determine the level of performance of the bureaucracy. Good governance of HR in government administration organizations is required, in this case, to manage the civil state apparatus. The definition of state civil apparatus based on Law Number 5 of 2014, is:

"Professionals for civil servants and government employees with work agreements that work for government agencies" (Republik Indonesia, 2014).

This state civil apparatus management will later drive the effectiveness and efficiency of HR performance in an organization (Monika & Wicaksono, 2017). State civil apparatus management based on Law Number 5 of 2014, are:

"State civil apparatus's management to produce state civil apparatus employees who are professional, have basic values, professional ethics, are free from political interference, free from corrupt practices, collusion, and nepotism" (Republik Indonesia, 2014).

Whereas based on Government Regulation Number 11 Year 2017, management of civil servants, are:

"Management of civil servants to produce professional civil servants, have basic values, professional ethics, be free from political intervention, free from corrupt practices, collusion, and nepotism" (Republik Indonesia, 2017).

To realize a professional state civil apparatus, the government launched the implementation of bureaucratic reform in the administration of government. Based on Presidential Regulation Number 81 of 2010 bureaucratic reform aims to achieve strengthening in terms of:

"1) Organization of good governance, clean, free of corruption, collusion, and nepotism;

2) Quality of public services; 3) Capacity and accountability of bureaucratic performance; and 4) Professionalism of Human Resources Apparatus" (Republik Indonesia, 2010).

As bureaucratic reform has proceeded, in 2004, there were still quite a few fields lagging, including economic, political, and legal areas. On this basis, in the same year, the Government affirmed the importance of good and clean governance, which is believed to be a critical factor in improving public services to the public. (Dharmaningtias & Romli, 2015). On the other hand, the political reforms that have taken place since 2008 have had a profound impact on the government administration system, where if this were not immediately corrected, it would certainly be very damaging to all professional state apparatuses applying the merit-based civil servant appointment.

The merit system can encourage government bureaucracy to become more competent in solving public problems oriented to public services so that good governance can be created (Komisi Aparatur Sipil Negara, 2017). The World Economic Forum releases its Annual report in the form of the Global Competitiveness Report, which includes a national competitiveness index that measures institutions, policies, and factors that determine the productivity of a country, one of which is the ASEAN countries.



Figure 1. ASEAN Country Global Competitiveness Index 2017 – 2019 Source: *The Global Competitiveness Report* (Schwab, 2019)

Figure 1 above, shows that Indonesia ranks fourth after Thailand and before Brunei Darussalam. Indonesia's global competitiveness index in 2019 has decreased by 0.3 points compared to 2018, while in 2018, it increased by 1.4 points compared to 2017.



Figure 2. Measurement of Indonesia's Global Competitiveness Index for 2018 – 2019



Figure 2 above, shows that the global competitiveness index consists of several measurement components, namely: 1) Institutions, 2) Infrastructure, 3) ICT Use, 4) Macroeconomic stability, 5) Health, 6) Skills, 7) Market products, 8) Labor market, 9) Financial system, 10) Marketability, 11) Business dynamics and 12) Innovative ability. In this regard, based on the results of the measurement of Indonesia's global competitiveness index, components that experienced a decline in 2019, namely: 1) ICT use has decreased by 5.7 points, 2) Health has decreased by 0.9 points, 3) Products the market has decreased by 0.3 points, 4) Skills have decreased by 0.1 point, and 5) The labor market has decreased by 0.1 point the results of the estimation of the institutional components show an increase of 0.2 points from 2018 to 58.1 in 2019. However, although based on the results of institutional component measurements have increased, this has not been enough to show a change towards a better direction, because the need for professional bureaucracy without the influence of bureaucratic politicization is one of the pillars that can lift Indonesia in

terms of competitiveness with countries in ASEAN. Most of the research that has been done is only about the concept of a merit system based on the legislation and politicization of the bureaucracy that occurs, rather than regarding the policy of a merit system to create a good and clean governance amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization

The relationship between political-bureaucracy in the administration of government in Indonesia is an interesting phenomenon to observe, the relationship between the two is so close that it is often likened to "two sides of a coin" not separate but independent (Yudiatmaja, 2016). The bureaucracy in Indonesia is very vulnerable to politicization activities. When this happens, it will further worsen the implementation of civil servant management, especially in the realm of administration, where political officials intervene in the career of civil servants. On the other hand, the position of civil servants as bureaucrats cannot be neutral towards political groups that occur in the process of governance (Rakhmawanto, 2018).

The phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization is nothing new in politics in Indonesia. Bureaucratic politicization has long been happening ever since the holding of general elections in Indonesia for the first time in 1955, all regimes that have ever been in power in Indonesia have also done this politicization of bureaucracy even to regimes that have in control now, because taking advantage of existing positions in the bureaucracy, can open the way to get political interests (Hamid, 2015). Several existing studies have conducted studies on the relationship between politicians and bureaucracy, including its relevance in the career process of civil servants in positions in the bureaucracy. The method of promoting civil servants in structural positions in the bureaucracy is based more on the political interests of the authorities, such as research on the recruitment of echelon III and IV officials of the Sangihe Islands Regency by Fernando Alva Edison, Ronny Gosal & Frans Singkoh, stating that the party that wins regional head elections will promote and transfers echelon officials based on political interests so that existing positions are occupied by civil servants who are not by the rank, qualifications, and competencies required (Edison et al., 2018).

According to Winda Roselina Effendi in her research on political dynasties in the Banten Provincial Government, stated that the political regimes in Banten Province showed a tendency to give the legacy of power in the form of civil servants to relatives to maintain and strengthen their authority and cover up the mistakes that had been made before (Effendi, 2018). On a different occasion, Abdul Hamid in his research on bureaucratic politicization in the Banten regional head elections stated that there was bureaucratic support in the implementation of the Banten Pilkada in 2006 aimed at making the incumbent pair win the election, also before and after the election, the Regional Head carried out a massive mutation which seeks to place bureaucrats who support incumbent

occupy strategic positions. Also, the form of bureaucratic support for incumbents is to direct programs and implementation of activities financed by the regional budget for activities that support and enhance the image of incumbents, and this is easy to do because previously the incumbent region has placed bureaucrats that support it in strategic positions (Hamid, 2015). Similar to what happened in Indradiri Hulu District, according to R. Rona Monika & Baskoro Wicaksono in their research on the politicization of civil servants' bureaucracy in Indradiri Hulu Regency, stated that the mutation, promotion, and demotion of the civil servant in the Indragiri Hulu Regency took place before and after the elections by nominating the political actors chosen for strategic positions. (Monika & Wicaksono, 2017). Concerning the neutrality of state civil apparatus in the 2019 Election, according to Nuswantoro Setyadi Pradono in his research on the impartiality of state civil apparatus in the 2019 Election, stated that bureaucracy is often used as a political vehicle in the implementation of elections, because bureaucracy has a strategic role to support the winning of the 2019 elections (Pradono, 2019).

On another occasion, research conducted by Zaldy Rusnaedy & Titin Purwaningsih regarding Yasin Limpo's political family in the 2015 Regional Head Election, stated that the political superiority of the Yasin Limpo family in Gowa District resulted in the family being able to provide a legacy in the form of a mass base, a bureaucratic basis and superior programs and activities in government, so that family members who will participate in the political contestation in the elections have a reliable provider of the family's inheritance (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018). In a study conducted by Didin Sabarudin regarding the pattern of the Regent's relationship with the bureaucracy in West Bandung Regency, stated that there is a pattern of the relationship between the Regent and the bureaucracy, namely: 1) social-political relations, where bureaucracy is used as a political tool in government so that the function of the bureaucracy is not just as an executor of public services but also as a political mover in government; and 2) Economic relations, where the position of the bureaucracy is determined by the Regent so that economic and political rewards will be created between the bureaucracy and the Regent with agreements made previously between the Regent and the bureaucracy (Sabarudin, 2018). Furthermore concerning the position of civil servants in the implementation of elections, in research conducted by Septiana Dwiputrianti, I Made Suwandi & Irwansyah regarding the neutrality of civil servants in the middle of political intervention, explained that the application of the merit system can be used as a surveillance system for the implementation of mutations, promotions and demosions conducted by officials political (Dwiputrianti et al., 2017).

Research conducted by Wayu Eko Yudiatmaja regarding the relationship between bureaucracy and politics in Indonesia, states that power is closely related to politics, someone who is politically oriented to get power, logically when a person has gained control than will then invest influence on others for the interests of the party and interests (Yudiatmaja, 2016). In a subsequent study of the functions of the government bureaucracy in Indonesia by Muhammad Sawir, stated that in general, the function of the bureaucracy was to carry out services, society, development and governance arrangements to be able to carry out government interests at the national and regional levels (Sawir, 2015). In another study regarding the politicization of public services by Untung Muhdiarta, stated that the occurrence of bureaucratic politicization is due to the assumption that the position of the bureaucracy is a strategic position in the political context of government to provide guarantees that political policies made can run on the government through the bureaucracy (Muhdiarta, 2018). Furthermore, in research on the neutrality of bureaucracy in Indonesia by M. Adian Firnas, stated that the politicization of bureaucracy occurred because of several things, including 1) Regional Heads who are not statesmen; 2) The political culture that has taken root in the bureaucracy; 3) Fanaticism towards excessive individuals; 4) There is no firmness in taking action against the occurrence of bureaucratic politicization, and 5) The lack of a strong law enforcement process (Firnas, 2016). Furthermore, on another occasion, Widuri Wulandari, Suranto, Eko Priyo Purnomo in his research on regional service innovation that was realized through collaborative government, stated that human resources were the main factor in an organization (Wulandari et al., 2019).

In line with this, research conducted by Nur Putri Jayanti on the neutrality of state civil apparatus in public services and elections, states that to enforce bureaucratic neutrality amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization, several things need to be done, among others: 1) Eliminating nepotism; 2) Carry out massive socialization of the state civil apparatus Law; 3) Implement disciplinary punishments following applicable laws and regulations, and 4) Optimizing the role of the State Civil Apparatus Commission as a supervisory institution for the implementation of a merit system and the enforcement of neutrality of civil servants in staffing management (Jayanti, 2019). Still regarding the neutrality of civil servants, Ajib Rakhmawanto in his research on the enforcement of neutrality of civil servants, stated that the strategies needed in enforcing neutrality of civil servants in staffing the commitment of Civil Servant Development Officers; 2) Increased supervision by the State Civil Apparatus Commission; and 3) Enforcement of sanctions based on statutory regulations (Rakhmawanto, 2019).

Furthermore, Ajib Rakhmawanto in his research on the relationship between the politicization of the bureaucracy and the merit system in the appointment of the state civil apparatus position, stated that in the administration of government must be distinguished between political officials and officials who carry out government administration or bureaucrats. Political officials are responsible for policy-making, while administrators are responsible for policy-making. Bureaucratic politicization comes from two things, namely: 1) Political officials who force their political interests into bureaucracy; and 2) Bureaucrats who deliberately put political interests into the bureaucracy for personal

gain. Both of these things have the same goal, which is to maintain power (Rakhmawanto, 2018). According to Wayu Eko Yudiatmaja in his research on the pattern of political and bureaucratic relations, explaining the difference between political positions and bureaucratic positions (Yudiatmaja, 2016):

No	Differences	<b>Political Position</b>	<b>Bureaucrat Position</b>
1.	Appointment	General election	Appointed and inaugurated by the
	Process		Staffing Officer based on
			qualifications
2.	Position Period	Based on statutory	Until entering the retirement age
		provisions	
3.	Position	At any moment it	Cannot be dismissed, unless
		can be stopped	disciplined or on their request
4.	Liability	Responsibility to	Responsibility to the state
		constituents	

Table 1. Differences Between Political and Bureaucrat Position

#### Source: (Yudiatmaja, 2016)

Table 1 above, explains that there are at least four differences between political positions and bureaucratic positions, namely: Appointment mechanism, position period, position and liability. It can be argued that between political positions and bureaucratic positions, there are very fundamental differences. Concerning the intervention of political interests in the administration of government, in another study by Adrian Batita, Herman Nayoan & Jones Tompodun on the placement of civil servants in office stated that the thick bureaucracy politicization in government administration made civil servant career officials become victims of policies established by political officials, this results in civil servant career officials who will never be able to work independently and professionally in carrying out public services. Bureaucratic politicization forced the process of appointing civil servants in structural positions not based on a merit system because they had more political colors so that it would produce civil servants who were incompetent in carrying out their duties because many civil servants who were placed were not by their qualifications and competencies and skills (Batita et al., 2017).

In a study conducted by Indrastuti Puryanti Dewi regarding the development of state civil apparatus competencies, stated that as mandated in the 1945 Constitution, in running the government, state organizations and government which are government institutions (executive) were formed, in carrying out the state and government organizations needed resources human (HR) as the main driving factor, namely civil servants, therefore for government administration to run well, professional civil servants are required (Dewi, 2019). About civil servant's professionalism, according to Ajib Rakhmawanto in his research on the state civil apparatus professionalism index, it is understood as quality and ability in science as well as professional expertise in carrying out tasks to realize the vision and mission of the organization and improve performance standards for organizing excellent public services by principles good governance (Rakhmawanto, 2017). Meanwhile, to get professional civil servants according to Rina Rahmawati Harahap in her research on the strategy of realizing smart state civil apparatus's, stating that in the management of staffing is needed the implementation of civil servant competency development activities to improve the competence of civil servant in the face of rapidly changing times (Harahap, 2019).

In line with increasing the professionalism of civil servants, according to Ajib Rakhmawanto in his research on the state civil apparatus career pattern model, stating that the implementation of personnel management must also pay attention to the management of career management of civil servants because every civil servant has the same opportunities and rights in career development. Career development of civil servants is arranged in a career pattern which is the basic pattern in the career of civil servants, career patterns show the career history of civil servants both vertical, horizontal and diagonal careers, with this career pattern can provide guarantees for the suitability of civil servant competencies for career development with a career pattern that is in each government organization (Rakhmawanto, 2019). The system used in career development through career patterns is talent management. According to Muhlis Irfan in his research on civil servant talent management, stated that talent management is a strategic step to ensure the availability of the right human resources who will occupy the right position and at the right time to carry out the organization's vision and mission, where the key position of the organization's HR needs is filled by HR, comes from the internal organization itself which is an HR that has high qualifications and competencies and skills through developing talent in the organization (talent pool) (Irfan, 2017). About career patterns, according to Achmad Slamet Hidayat in his research on the succession planning of civil servants, states that staffing management must regulate the succession planning of civil servants in government organizations, where the preparation of leaders is needed for the success of an organization. Planning is done by preparing civil servants in existing positions to get professional officials (Hidayat, 2018).

As mandated by the state civil apparatus Law, Anang Pikukuh Purwoko in his research on civil servant career development, stated that staffing management emphasizes the suitability between competency needs, position, organization and availability of civil servants based on a merit system which is expected to have a positive impact on the performance of civil servants (Purwoko, 2017). The merit system is the main foundation as well as the basic principles in the implementation of personnel management to realize the implementation of good governance, the merit system, according to Colleen A. Woodard, namely:

"The merit system acts as a principle-based on justice, equality, and respect by the performance and not based on political interests, discrimination and proximity factors" (Woodard, 2015).

Whereas the merit system, as mandated in the Law on State Civil Apparatus, states that the merit system is:

"State Civil Apparatus's policies and management are based on fair and reasonable qualifications, competencies and performance without differentiating political background, race, color, religion, origin, gender, marital status, age or disability conditions" (Republik Indonesia, 2014).

The contradiction between the application of the merit system and the clash of bureaucratic politicization is felt especially in the appointment of civil servants in structural positions. The need to fill structural positions of civil servants carried out based on the merit system always clashes with political interests that are carried out through corruption, collusion and nepotism. According to Anang Pikukuh Purwoko in his research on the career development of civil servants, stating that the Employee Guidance Officer was the key to implementing a merit system to get competent civil servants who would later occupy structural positions, with the placement of responsible civil servants in structural positions, of course, could encourage bureaucrats work professionally in carrying out services to the community. To realize professional civil servants through the implementation of the merit system can be done through career development. In the same research, Anang Pikukuh Purwoko, stated that career development is part of the management of civil servants that must be implemented based on a merit system, career development aims to: 1) Ensure the certainty of civil servant careers; 2) Aligning the needs of civil servant career development with the requirements of agencies; 3) Improve the competence and performance of civil servants; 4) Increase the professionalism of civil servants. While the objectives of implementing career development are: 1) Availability of national and regional career pattern guidelines; and 2) Improve agency performance (Purwoko, 2017).

In regional autonomy as it is now, the role of regional heads is huge in creating a bureaucratic politicization, because it has the power and authority that can force the bureaucracy to carry out regional head orders (Edison et al. 2018), this is due to the influence of the supporting party political parties regional head or political interests of the regional leader himself. No, it should not be possible for bureaucratic politicization to

result in a political dynasty established by the regional leader to strengthen his influence in an area. In addition to this political dynasty, his authority is also passed on to relatives. The existence of political regimes is a negative impact of regional autonomy which results in the hijacked democracy (Effendi, 2018).

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pressures on the bureaucracy do not infrequently follow bureaucratic politicization, these forms of pressure include higher position offers, demotion to mutation, with this pressure more or less building political, bureaucratic conditions, this is very contrary to the principle of neutrality of civil servants mandated in the Act Law on State Civil Apparatus (Dwiputrianti et al., 2017). Based on some of the research above, bureaucratic politicization, can be described as follows:



Figure 3. The Politicization of the Bureaucracy

The merit system is a social system that is a method of assigning a position or position of a civil servant based on ability and not based on social class, gender, ethnicity, religion, race and sect. With this merit system, it is possible to form good and professional staffing management because in a merit system it is run based on two things, first, civil servants must be professional and competent with the required expertise and secondly, officials in





Figure 4. Merit System

Ajib Rakhmawanto in his research on the relationship between the politicization of the bureaucracy and the merit system in the appointment of the state civil apparatus position, stated that the merit system in staffing management put between qualifications, competencies, performance, justice, and fairness in a parallel position. Therefore the merit system should be made a merit a reference in the implementation of personnel management including in the mechanism for appointing civil servants in structural positions (Rakhmawanto, 2018).

The politicization of the bureaucracy and the merit system are very contradictory, on the one hand, the merit system is guided by several indicators aimed at increasing the professionalism of civil servants, but on the other hand, the politicization of the bureaucracy based on personal or group interests is. Therefore, bureaucratic politicization cannot guarantee bureaucracy can be clean and free of corruption, collusion and nepotism. One of the objectives of the issuance of the state civil apparatus Law is to ensure that bureaucracy is free from bureaucratic politicization so that in the implementation of civil servant management it can create professional civil servants based on a merit system that emphasizes qualifications, competencies and performance at the stages of acceptance, appointment and placement and promotion of civil servants. In general, bureaucratic politicization and the merit system can be described as follows:



Figure 5. Politicization of the Bureaucracy and the Merit System

#### **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research method is carried out based on a conceptual framework where there is a conflict in which bureaucratic politicization is contrary to the concept of a merit system (Figure 5). The main issue of this research is regarding the application of the merit system policy to realize good and clean governance. This research wants to explain the research question, regarding how the merit system policy can understand good and clean governance in the middle of the pressure of bureaucratic politicization.

This study uses qualitative research methods using reference data from various previous studies, which are used as literature reviews and national online media news regarding the application of the merit system and the pressure of bureaucratic politicization that occurs. Retrieval of data derived from national online media news using the NVivo 12 Plus software with NCapture feature, with this feature, can systematically withdraw data from national online media by digging each news in depth.

In this study, national online media use aims to complete the literature review used as a reference. References and data derived from online media news are analyzed using the NVivo 12 Plus software. The use of the NVivo 12 Plus software is aimed at mapping and exploring the application of a merit system policy to create a good and clean government amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization.

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The relationship between political-bureaucracy in the administration of government in Indonesia is an interesting phenomenon to observe, the relationship between the two is so close that it is often likened to "two sides of a coin" not separate but independent itself (Yudiatmaja, 2016). The bureaucracy in Indonesia is very vulnerable to politicization activities. When this happens, it will further worsen the implementation of civil servant management, especially in the realm of administration, where political officials intervene in the career of civil servants. On the other hand, the position of civil servants as bureaucrats cannot be neutral towards political groups that occur in the process of governance (Rakhmawanto, 2018).



Figure 6. The Politicization of the Bureaucracy

Figure 6 above, illustrates that the phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization, especially in Indonesia, several national online media reported about the occurrence of bureaucratic politicization in Indonesia, this shows how massive the politicization of bureaucracy in Indonesia. Five national online media reported the phenomenon of bureaucratic politicization, and nine national online media reported the case of bureaucratic politicization. That illustrates that the politicization of bureaucracy became the spotlight of many national online media. Although news about the potential for bureaucratic politicization is published only by one national online media, two national online media reported news about preventing bureaucratic politicization. This shows that the practice of bureaucratic politicization has been increasingly carried out by political officials, particularly in Indonesia, which forces the government to take strategic measures so that the practice of bureaucratic politicization in Indonesia does not increase.



Figure 7. Research Regarding Bureaucracy Politicization

Figure 7 above illustrates that there have been many studies examining bureaucracy politicization, both regarding phenomena, potential, patterns, practices and cases of bureaucracy politicization. It is shown that the phenomenon of the politicization of bureaucracy most widely studied, in broad outline, explains that the relationship between politics and bureaucracy is so close that it is often likened to "two sides of a coin" not separate but independent (Yudiatmaja, 2016), bureaucratic politicization provides a guarantee that political policies made can run to the government through bureaucracy (Muhdiarta, 2018), and bureaucracy politicization is done one of them to improve political image (Hamid, 2015). About the pattern of bureaucratic politicization, it is illustrated that there has been researching on this matter, which in broad outline, explains that the model of bureaucratic politicization that occurs aims to instill political influence on the bureaucracy in the interests of the party and personal interests (Yudiatmaja, 2016) and improve political image (Hamid, 2015). Furthermore, it is illustrated that two studies discuss the practice of bureaucratic politicization, in broad outline, explaining that bureaucracy is often used as a political vehicle when conducting elections (Pradono, 2019). Also, the practice of bureaucratic politicization occurs because bureaucracy is used to carry out political policies (Muhdiarta, 2018). In Figure 7 above, also illustrated the potential and cases of bureaucratic politicization, in broad outline, explaining that the potential for bureaucratic politicization arises because bureaucracy can play a role in the process of winning an election (Pradono, 2019), this is due to several reasons, including 1) Regional

Head who is not a statesman; 2) The political culture that has taken root in the bureaucracy; 3) Fanaticism towards excessive individuals; 4) There is no firmness in taking action against the occurrence of bureaucratic politicization, and 5) The lack of a strong law enforcement process (Firnas, 2016).

As bureaucratic reform has proceeded, in 2004, there were still quite a few fields lagging, including economic, political and legal areas. Based on this, in the same year, the government reiterated the importance of good and clean governance, where the principle is believed to be a significant factor in improving public services to the public (Dharmaningtias & Romli, 2015). On the other hand, the political reforms that have taken place since 2008 have had a profound impact on the government administration system, where if this were not immediately corrected, it would certainly be very damaging to all professional state apparatuses applying the merit-based civil service appointment.



Figure 8. Merit System

Figure 8 above, illustrates that many national online media reported on the merit system, most of the news was about implementing a merit system, it explained that the implementation of the merit system, which in general, reported funding the conflict between implementing a merit system and the clash of bureaucratic politicization, where the need to fill structural positions of civil servants carried out based on the merit system always clashes with political interests which are carried out through corruption, collusion and nepotism. Also, oversight of the application of the merit system has been widely reported by the national online media, which broadly reports on strengthening supervision and the role of the State Civil Apparatus Commission in supervising the application of the merit system reported by two national online media, which reported on the use of a merit system self-assessment application and the event of a merit system to realize neutrality state civil apparatus. Regarding the principles and strengthening of the merit system,

each was reported by a national online media which generally outlines one of the functions of the merit system self-assessment application is to ensure the principles of the merit system can work, while regarding the strengthening of the merit system it is reported that one of the objectives of strengthening the implementation of the merit system is to realize state civil apparatus neutrality. This indicates that the implementation of a merit system in staff management is part of improving supervision in order to understand the neutrality of state civil apparatus



Figure 9. Research Regarding Merit Systems

Figure 9 above, illustrates that there have been many studies examining the merit system, namely regarding the principles and application of the merit system. It is shown that the implementation of the most studied merit system, in broad outline, explains that the career development of civil servants through the merit system is regulated in a career pattern which is the basic pattern in the career of civil servants, career patterns show the career history of civil servants both vertical, horizontal and diagonal careers, so can guarantee the suitability of civil servant competencies for career development with the career patterns that exist in each government organization (Rakhmawanto, 2019). Therefore a merit system should be used as a reference in the implementation of personnel management (Rakhmawanto, 2018) to be able to encourage government bureaucracy to be more competent in solving public problems oriented to public services so that good governance can be created (Komisi Aparatur Sipil Negara, 2017). Furthermore, regarding the supervision of the implementation of the merit system, it is necessary to optimize the

role of the State Civil Apparatus Commission as a supervisory institution for the implementation of the merit system and the enforcement of neutrality of civil servants in the management of personnel (Jayanti, 2019). On another occasion, it was explained that to get professional civil servants, needed arrangements regarding succession planning of civil servants in government organizations (Hidayat, 2018) which is based on a merit system because the application of the merit system can be used as a surveillance system for the implementation of mutations, promotions and demotions carried out by political officials (Dwiputrianti et al., 2017).

Also, some studies are exploring merit system concepts. In general, it is clarified that qualified civil servants are needed to run the government well from the application of the merit system in the management of workers. (Dewi, 2019). The principle of a merit system is the suitability of civil servant competencies for career development with the career patterns that exist in each government organization (Rakhmawanto, 2019) because the merit system is a method of placement of positions or positions of civil servants based on ability and not based on social class, gender, ethnicity, religion, race and sect (Rakhmawanto, 2018).

Based on the results of the analysis using the software NVivo 12 Plus, shows that the application of the merit system policy can realize a good and clean government amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization. This is in line with the importance of good and clean government, where it is accepted that the idea is an essential factor in improving public services for the community (Dharmaningtias & Romli, 2015) with the application of the merit system policy in staffing management, can place qualifications, competencies, performance, fairness and fairness in an equal position (Rakhmawanto, 2018) as a monitoring system for the occurrence of bureaucratic politicization which is not infrequently followed by pressures on the bureaucracy, this form of pressure includes a higher position offer, demotion to mutation, this results in political, bureaucratic conditions that contradict the state civil apparatus neutrality principle mandated in the Law - The State Civil Apparatus (Dwiputrianti et al., 2017).

#### CONCLUSION

The adoption of a merit system policy to create a good and clean government is a step taken by the Government as a monitoring system for the implementation of mutations, promotions, and demotions carried out by political officials (Dwiputrianti et al., 2017). Analysis using the NVivo 12 Plus software gets the following results:

1. The practice of bureaucratic politicization, especially in Indonesia, has increasingly been carried out by political officials. This forced the government to take pragmatic steps in order not to increase the practice of bureaucratic politicization in Indonesia

- 2. Bureaucratic politicization occurs because bureaucracy is often used as a political vehicle when conducting elections, but it also aims to improve the political image while instilling political influence on the bureaucracy in the interests of parties and personal interests because bureaucracy is used to carry out political policies.
- 3. The implementation of the merit system in staffing management is part of a step to strengthen supervision to realize the neutrality of state civil apparatus.
- 4. The career development of civil servants through the merit system is set in a career pattern, which is the basic pattern in the career of civil servants.

Based on the analysis using NVivo 12 Plus software, it can be concluded that to create a good and clean Government amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization, a policy of implementing a merit system in staffing management is needed, which aims to encourage government bureaucracy to be more competent in solving public problems that are oriented towards public service.

This research aims to reinforce previous studies, especially those that discuss the merit system policies to create good and clean governance amid the pressure of bureaucratic politicization

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