

NEUTRALITY OF PJ GOVERNOR IN 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: CASE STUDY CENTRAL JAVA

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Article history: received 29 April 2026; revised 09 May 2026; accepted 28 May 2026

DOI.: <https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v10i02..200>

Abstract. This research aims to analyze the neutrality of the Acting Governor of Central Java, Nana Sudjana in the 2024 Presidential Election by highlighting the relationship between bureaucracy and electoral political interests. Research uses qualitative methods with case study approaches through interviews, documentation, and literature studies. The results show that there is no violation of neutrality normatively, which is characterized by the absence of official findings or decisions from the election watchdog. Empirically, however, there were implicit indications of non-neutrality, such as bureaucratic mobilization, patronage relations, and the use of state resources that could potentially affect people's political preferences. In addition, the results of the interview showed that the appointment of Acting Governor, although regulatively legitimate, could not be separated from the consideration of loyalty and political agenda of the central government. The limitations of supervisory institutions in reaching political practices do not immediately strengthen the gap between norms and reality.

Keywords: Presidential Election, Bureaucracy, Central Java, Acting Governor

I. INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the neutrality of a public official during the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres). In the 2024 presidential election, ideally the voting process must be based on rational considerations as well as objective values oriented towards the nation's interests. In the 2024 presidential election political contest, there are three pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates officially determined by Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU).



Figure 1. Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the 2024 Presidential Election.

Source: diskominfo.sukoharjokab.go.id

In the 2024 presidential election political contest, there are three pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates officially determined by KPU. The first pair was Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (Cak Imin) Anies, former Governor of DKI Jakarta, paired with Muhaimin, Chairman of the National Awakening Party who also served as Deputy

Chairman of the House of Representatives. The second pair were Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, of whom Prabowo was the Minister of Defense and former TNI general, while Gibran was the Mayor of Surakarta and the son of President Jokowi. Third Couple Ganjar Pranowo - Mahfud MD, Ganjar, a former Governor of Central Java who was promoted by major parties such as PDI-Perjuangan, and Mahfud, a senior figure in Indonesian politics and law.

The presidential election should run in accordance with the concept of a healthy democracy, political contestation should take place in a healthy manner, through idea fights, idea fights, and data-based arguments and analysis. In fact, the 2024 presidential election does not reflect a healthy democracy. Instead, the phenomenon of interference or what is often called "cawe – cawe", one of which is a phenomenon involving the neutrality of a public official. It is stated in the Government Regulation (PP) Pasal (5) Nomor 94 Tahun 2021, regarding the principle of ASN neutrality in that article prohibits ASN/PNS from providing support to pairs of President/Vice President candidates, candidates for Regional Head/Vice Regional Heads, candidates for Regional Representative Council members, or candidate member of the Regional People's Representative Council (Antoro, 2024).

There are allegations of non-neutrality of public officials in Central Java, as a strategic area with a large national voting base, which is a concern in the implementation of the 2024 presidential election, which is democratic and free from political intervention. In a democratic system, the neutrality of law enforcement agencies, including the National Police, is essential to maintain the integrity of elections. However, in the context of the 2024 presidential election, there is an assumption that there

is a potential for mobilization of political support by police officers in the regions, especially in Central Java. The allegation cannot be separated from the closeness between the National Police Chief Listyo Sigit Prabowo and President Joko Widodo which is considered to affect the neutrality of the National Police in the electoral process (DetikNews.com, 2022).

Bureaucracy is an effective political tool because it has a hierarchical structure that allows the political interests of the central government to flow into the region (Tampubolon, M., et al., 2023). In this context, the appointment of Komjen Pol (Purn) Nana Sudjana as Acting Governor of Central Java in September 2023 was carried out entirely through the authority of the central government by President Jokowi, although his name was not recommended by the Central Java DPRD. This shows that the placement of strategic officials at the provincial level is more influenced by central executive power than local mechanisms or community participation (Sinarharapan.co, 2024).

Therefore, the change of leaders in strategic provinces such as Central Java that have significant potential for mapping political support leads to the perception of political interests behind administrative and bureaucratic policies. (Historically), the relationship between President Jokowi and Nana Sudjana shows a pattern of mutual support and trust that began since Jokowi served as regional leader. When Jokowi became the Mayor of Surakarta, Nana Sudjana served as the Head of the Surakarta Regional Police (2010). This closeness is considered to build a strong relationship of trust through regional government coordination (Forkopimda) (DetikNews.com, 2024). Therefore, Nana Sudjana's appointment as Acting Governor of Central Java led to allegations of efforts to consolidate administrative and political power that could potentially direct regional bureaucratic support to the Prabowo-Gibran pair.

Structurally, the acting governor has administrative authority Undang-Undang No. 23 Tahun 2024, including maintaining public order and tranquility (La Kai, L. K., 2021). However, the appointment process is considered to open a space for indirect mobilization of political support through bureaucracy, such as social assistance programs, infrastructure projects, and formal state activities. This was reinforced by Zulkifli Hasan's statement saying "Vote Prabowo-Gibran if you want BLT and social assistance to continue" (Kompas.com, 2023), which shows indications of politicization of social assistance during the 2024 presidential election.

However, the phenomenon of social assistance distribution whose purpose is not explicitly seen also occurred in the Central Java region where the social assistance distribution carried out in Central Java was directly distributed by President Jokowi. Social assistance is provided in various types, such as Direct Cash Aid, food subsidies, and support for communities affected by economic aspects. This decision is often known as the "Politics of Pork Barrel". In other words, practices aimed at securing such sound barns (social assistance) are said to be dualistic, because on the one hand "bansos" are generally considered to be able to prosper the primary needs of the community, but on the other hand, through political glasses, It was one of the tools to "conduc" the masses whose aim was to vote for Prabowo-Gibran in the 2024 presidential election.

Bureaucratic neutrality theory emphasizes that government administration must be involved in certain political interests that are impartial, objective, and free from certain political interests. Bureaucratic neutrality is an important principle in realizing professional public services through the implementation of a system of propriety and fair decision-making (Sofian Effendi 2018), in line with that neutrality related to the importance of state apparatus in carrying out government duties (Saputra, A. M., & Hidayat Sardini, N., 2024). Meanwhile, bureaucracy must be placed as a state instrument free from practical political involvement in order to perform professional functions (Diana, B., & Sigiro, B.S., 2025).

In the context of the 2024 presidential election, the implementation of bureaucratic neutrality is very important because ASN is required to keep a distance from practical political activities, both directly and indirectly. This principle is relevant to the neutrality research of the Acting Governor of Central Java in the 2024 presidential election, because the strategic position of bureaucracy has the potential to influence political dynamics in the election area. Although there is no formal violation, bureaucratic neutrality remains an important issue to assess the extent to which state apparatus is able to maintain professionalism, maintain government integrity, and the environment for creating democratic and fair political competitions.

Therefore, there are research gaps in understanding violations during the presidential election that are not only direct, but also through power and bureaucratic relationships. The new thing from this research is the focus of the study of neutrality of Pj Governor Central Java in the 2024 presidential election, which is still rarely studied, by analyzing the relationship between political power, regional bureaucracy, and political science. and Pj Governor's administrative authority in political dynamics in strategic areas such as Central Java.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

A research object is a matter or problem that is at the center of attention in a study, where researchers want to get answers or explanations (Arikunto, 2019). Based on the definition according to experts, the research object in this study is a regional public official, namely the Acting Governor of Central Java (Nana Sudjana). This research focuses on various forms of Nana Sudjana's involvement in the political space ahead of and during the 2024 presidential election process, both symbolic, communicative, and structural. The research objectives are limited not only to public officials' figures as individuals, but also to the practice of political communication, the use of symbolic resources of power, and its impact on the configuration of political support in the 2024 presidential election contest. Researchers use a type of qualitative research with a case study approach. Qualitative research was chosen because it aims to understand and describe deeply a socio-political phenomenon based on natural context. The case study approach is used because this study focuses on one specific and contextual political phenomenon, namely the neutrality of a public official in the 2024 presidential election.

In this study, the data collection technique used is a qualitative data collection technique, intended to obtain in-depth information on the neutrality of public officials during the 2024 presidential election. According to Sugiyono (2017), data

collection techniques in qualitative research are carried out in an interactive way and continue constantly until the data are saturated. Thus, data collection in this study was conducted through three main techniques, namely in-depth interviews, documentation, and literature studies. First, in-depth interviews are conducted to explore the views, experiences, and perceptions of informants relevant to the research topic. The chosen informants include political experts, academics, and political communication analysts who understand the dynamics of the 2024 Presidential Election. Second, the study of literature (library research) was conducted to strengthen the theoretical and conceptual foundations of research. This study includes research into scientific books, academic journals, research reports, and other relevant sources that address non-neutral practices in the 2024 presidential election. Primary data is data obtained directly from the first source in the field, either through in-depth interviews, observations, or direct interaction with relevant informants. Secondary data is data obtained indirectly through various written sources and pre-existing documents.

The data analysis technique in this study used qualitative descriptive analysis aimed at interpreting the meaning of the data collected through interviews, documentation, and literature studies. The analysis is done by reviewing all data from various sources, then grouping, interpreting, and presenting it in the form of descriptive narratives to provide an understanding of Nana Sudjana's actions and statements that were allegedly not neutral during the 2024 presidential election. the political preferences of a person or group of organizations and do not aim to benefit specific parties and personal interests. However, in the 2024 presidential election, there were reports of allegations of ASN's side, especially in the Central Java region, which were considered to benefit one of the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pairs. This condition is very worrying considering that Central Java is one of the provinces with the largest voter base in Indonesia, so the potential impact on vote acquisition.

III. RESULT & DISSCUS

Based on the principle of neutrality as the ethical foundation of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), every ASN employee is obligated to maintain an independent attitude by not being affected by pressure or interests, both from inside and outside, which potentially affects the performance of his duties and functions (Silalahi, 2024). This suggests that ASN must ensure that all decisions or actions taken do not affect the political preferences of a person or group of organizations and do not aim to benefit specific parties and personal interests. However, in the 2024 presidential election, there were reports of allegations of ASN's side, especially in the Central Java region, which were considered to benefit one of the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pairs. This condition is very worrying considering that Central Java is one of the provinces with the largest voter base in Indonesia, so the potential impact on vote acquisition.

The following is the data collected by the author through a series of systematic data collection processes. In the Decree of the Constitutional Court Nomor 2/PHPU- PRESS/XXII/2024 it was found that there were arguments and discussions

regarding the alleged neutrality of state officials in the 2024 presidential election process. This was also confirmed by the National Commission on Human Rights as stated in the Record of the National Commission on the Implementation of Simultaneous Elections 2024 (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).

Table I. Form – Form of ASN Violation (TNI, POLRI, Ministry of Central Java in 2024 presidential election)

1)	18 Desember 2023, Semarang, Central Java	Zulkifli Hasan, Minister of Trade Zulkifli Hasan, made a statement of support for the candidate pair number 2 in the forum of the National Working Meeting of the All- Indonesian Market Traders Association. In his speech, he explicitly expressed support for the presidential candidate promoted by the couple (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024)
2)	21 Desember 2023, Semarang, Central Java	The welcoming of the presidential candidate pair number 2 was carried out at Ahmad Yani Airport, Semarang, by the Acting Governor of Central Java, Nana Sudjana as a form of official acceptance for his arrival in the region (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
3)	30 Desember 2023, Boyolali, Central Java	Persecution of 7 volunteer pairs number 03 (Ganjar – Mahfud) by 15 members of TNI (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
4)	11. Januari 2024, Sukoharjo Central Java	The banner installation in Sukoharjo, Central Java, shows the figure of a lieutenant colonel with candidate pair number 2 as a form of visualizing support in public spaces (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
5)	18. Januari 2024, Blera Central Java	The Ministry of Agriculture's support held an event in Blera, Central Java involving the Central Java Forest Village Community Institute attended by Prabowo as Presidential Candidate Number 2 (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
6)	2 Februari 2024, Semarang, Jawa Tengah	The Semarang City Resort Police asked the Rector of Soegijapranata Catholic University, Ferdinandus Hindiarto, to produce a testimonial video showing a positive assessment of President Joko Widodo (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
6)	2 Februari 2024, Semarang, Central Java	A number of members of the local Sector Police along with the Semarang City Resort Police allegedly asked the Chancellor of the Islamic University Sultan Agung Semarang, Prof. Dr. Gunarto, to not express criticism of President Joko Widodo and to compile a video highlighting the government's success in handling the pandemic (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).
7)	3 ebruari 2024, Temanggung Central Java	There are indications of mobilization of support by village heads in Kabupaten Temanggung during the Village Head Coordination Meeting forum, leading to efforts to win the candidate pair number 02 in the election contest (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2024).

Sumber: Keputusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia

In the perspective of the theory of bureaucratic neutrality developed by Karl Marx and Hegel, in its implementation the ASN was required to be in a professional, impartial, and free from practical political intervention. The concept is in line with Max Weber's thought of an ideal bureaucracy that emphasizes rationality, impersonality, professionalism, and a firm separation of public administration and political interests. In Indonesian political practice, however, bureaucracy is often in a

hierarchical relationship of power so that loyalty to political leaders is more dominant than the principle of neutrality.

This is an important concern for researchers regarding Nana Sudjana's neutrality as Acting Governor of Central Java who was part of the State Civil Apparatus in the 2024 presidential election. The findings indicate a potential deviation in bureaucratic practices that should uphold the principle of neutrality, especially in the context of the power relationship between the central (president) and the regional (governor). If reviewed using the concept of bureaucratic neutrality, all civil servants should be in a position that is free from involvement & partiality by one partner, as is the state instrument for carrying out state functions (Diana, B., & Sigiros, B. S., 2025).

In addition, based on data obtained from interviews with informants, informants revealed that in the implementation of political contestations there were also allegations of state infrastructure involvement that were used to support one of the candidate pairs. The informant explained that the allegations regarding the existence of political fraud were explicitly conveyed by the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) through the term "Parcok" referring to the alleged involvement of state officials in the electoral political process. Furthermore, informants consider that the phenomenon of utilizing state infrastructure for certain political purposes is a political reality that is difficult to ignore. Nevertheless, informants also emphasized that the allegations were not always accompanied by strong data or empirical evidence, but rather understood as a socio-political fact that developed in the dynamics of political contestations in Indonesia. The statement shows the public's perception of the potential for non-neutrality of state apparatus or instruments in the democratic process, especially at the momentum of the general election.



Figure. 2. Welcoming presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto
Sumber: Tempo.com

Then, there was a phenomenon of Nana Sudjana's participation while serving as Acting Governor of Central Java in the process of welcoming Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto at Ahmad Yani Airport, based on the history of Nana Sudjana's appointment as Acting Governor, which was directly appointed by President Jokowi. A person's recommendations and appointments are fundamentally strongly influenced by professional factors of trust and closeness. In the welcoming phenomenon conducted by Nana Sudjana drew many critical responses from the public to her actions, one of which is the view according to the Public Policy analyst of Trisakti University Trubus Rahadiansyah "Although the person concerned is the Acting Governor, juridically his authority is

the same as the definitive Governor. As Acting Governor, he must comply with the campaign rules," he said. If it is associated with the closeness between President Jokowi and Nana Sudjana, it raises suspicions that his actions are a form of support and benefit the candidate pair number 2, considering Gibran's position as the President's biological son (Kompas.com, 2023).

Within the normative framework, the governor is part of ASN required to keep a distance from practical political affiliates as regulated Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2014 concerning ASN and various derivative regulations. Thus, any action that could potentially be interpreted as a form of symbolic partiality could create a public perception of bureaucratic politicization, although it is often framed as part of a government protocol. The results of the interview with the informant, although Nana Sudjana's actions are considered as protocol, it needs to be critically examined about Nana Sudjana's presence as a form of political closeness with certain actors. In the study of political science, the actions of public officials are assessed not only based on legal-formal aspects, but also through the symbolic dimensions and public perception they give rise to. The presence of public officials in the practical political space can generate a non-verbal political message that raises partiality assumptions, especially when it is carried out in the momentum of the 2024 presidential election which is very politically sensitive (Putri, S., 2026). This phenomenon concerns the ability of public officials to keep political distance from practical political interests. Based on the theory of bureaucratic neutrality, the phenomenon suggests that bureaucracy can undergo a shift in function from state administrative instruments to part of the construction of power politics. Therefore, Nana Sudjana's involvement in the dynamics of the 2024 presidential election cannot be understood solely as an administrative or protocol act, but must be read in the framework of a wider power relationship between the central government, regional bureaucracy, and electoral political interests.

Although in its report Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum (Bawaslu) stated that the report did not meet the requirements both materially and formally, it should be in the spotlight regarding the optimality of the supervisory function carried out. In practice, this supervision tends to appear to be limited to fulfilling formalities and procedural aspects, without being accompanied by substantive efforts to explore and follow up on alleged violations in more depth (Antoro, 2024). The results of interviews with informants, there are indications that the role of election organizers and supervisors is not optimistic as well as the limitations of the supervisory system in identifying indirect and veiled forms of power influence. Researchers want to emphasize that the main problem lies not only in formal violations, but also in the inability of the system to anticipate power dynamics that work indirectly. Therefore, it is necessary to reform a more substantive and adaptive supervisory approach so that the principle of bureaucratic neutrality does not stop at a normative level, but is actually implemented in democratic practices.

As a result of the interview with the informant, the informant said the Acting Governor had a strategic role as a policy implementer as well as authority in budget and resource management in the bureaucratic environment. This situation opens up opportunities for the Acting Governor to be used as an instrument by political actors in an effort to maintain dominance

and control over existing policies and authorities. In its strategic position, Nana Sudjana can act as an extension of the central government (President). Therefore, every indication of non-neutrality involving ASN, including within the scope of local governments, directly implicates the quality of democracy in the 2024 general election.

When viewed through Nana Sudjana's political history, especially in the context of the process of appointing herself as Acting Governor of Central Java, there is a discussion about the power relationship with President Jokowi. In addition to the results obtained through interviews, the informant illustrates this through analogy that he or she can be interviewed due to the recommendation of someone who believes in him or her, who knows his or her capacity, experience, and competence in a particular field. According to the informant, the recommendation came because of the belief that he is the right party to provide information as needed. Then, the informant associated the analogy with the appointment process of Acting Governor. This finding is relevant to the main factor underlying a person's appointment as Acting or regional head is the trust aspect. In that context, the president tends to select individuals who are considered loyal, as well as the ability to perform government duties according to the direction and political needs of the central government. This statement shows that personal and professional trust relationships are seen as an important element in the mechanism for appointing local officials by the central government. In this context, informants also exemplified the closeness of the Acting Governor of Central Java, Nana Sudjana, with President Jokowi as an indication that the central government tends to choose officials who are considered capable of maintaining stability as well as securing the political agenda of regional and national governments. This shows the perception that the mechanism of appointing local officials has the potential to create a political patronage relationship that affects the independence and neutrality of government officials.

Therefore, the Acting Governor is often in a dilemma position, which is to balance between compliance with superiors and the obligation to maintain neutrality and professionalism in the execution of his duties (Perdana, 2024). Nana Sudjana's involvement in the 2024 presidential election process series, especially in the agenda of welcoming Presidential Candidate Prabowo Subianto to PSI Anniversary in Central Java, has raised criticism because it is considered not completely in line with the principle of bureaucratic neutrality. Theoretically, the concept of bureaucratic neutrality emphasizes a firm separation between the realm of public administration and political interests. According to Max Weber, the ideal bureaucracy requires state apparatus to act impersonal, objective, and free from political intervention. However, in contemporary practice, especially in the political context of Indonesia, the bureaucracy is often in an ambivalent position due to the existence of power relations between the central and local governments. The Acting Governor, appointed by the central government (the President), not only serves as an administrator, but also resides in certain political configurations that can influence his actions and decisions.

If you look at the orientation and ideologies the government tends to rely on the principle of stability, given that one of the fundamental functions of the state is to ensure public safety and order (Anggoro, K., 2003). This stability then became an inherent official discourse in the practice of government

administration, as well as being attached to every apparatus that performs bureaucratic functions. In the results of the interview, the informant explained that stability is seen as an important part of the state's duty to maintain public safety and order. In the context of government bureaucracy, this stability is often interpreted as a form of bureaucratic apparatus loyalty to political leaders and officials who are at the level of power above it. This condition is often considered to be common in the government system, so bureaucracy tends to follow the policy direction and interests of the ruling leader.

Therefore, the results of interviews with informants assessed that the power of the government in the context of electoral politics lies in the ability to move bureaucracy supported by complete government infrastructure, adequate government logistics, and government programs in direct contact with the community. One program that is considered effective is social assistance (Bansos), because it is considered capable of building positive perceptions as well as psychological closeness between the government and the community as a voting group, government programs are not only understood as public service instruments. But it also has a political impact that can strengthen public support for certain figures or groups.

This phenomenon is reflected in empirical trends that show that bureaucracy is relatively rarely in a position opposite its leader. This does not match the concept of bureaucracy introduced by Max Weber to develop that modern bureaucracy with key bureaucratic principles such as rationality, professionalism, hierarchy, and impersonality. The basic concept of bureaucracy plays a significant role in establishing effective structures and systems in organizational management (Ahmad Mustanir et al., 2022). In general, bureaucracy is understood as an administrative system that is implemented both within the organization and government to achieve the stated goals (Wakhid, 2011). Thus, in this case bureaucracy is often a challenge in holding general elections. In a number of cases, civil servants and even local governments are indicated to provide support, either directly or indirectly, to certain candidates, which are influenced by political pressure and formed loyalty (Hisan, F. K., et.al., 2025). These conditions eventually showed a tension between the demands of professionalism and bureaucratic neutrality and the reality of hierarchical loyalty practices. Based on the conceptual framework, this phenomenon indicates that bureaucracy has deviated from its ideal function as a state strategic instrument in building a public service-oriented administrative system and fulfilling public interests (Muthia, 2023). between the central and local governments. The Acting Governor, appointed by the central government (the President), not only serves as an administrator, but also resides in certain political configurations that can influence his actions and decisions.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that the neutrality of the Acting Governor of Central Java in the 2024 presidential election was not formally proven to violate the law, as indicated by the absence of official decisions or recommendations from the election supervisory institutions. Nevertheless, research results show implicit indications of non-neutrality through bureaucratic loyalty relations, the use of

political symbols, mobilization of administrative power, and the use of state resources that could potentially affect electoral political dynamics. These findings suggest that bureaucratic neutrality is not only understood through a legal-formal approach, but also needs to be analyzed through the dimensions of power, political patronage, and hierarchical relationships in government bureaucracy. The novelty of this research is an attempt to analyze the symbolic and indirect form of bureaucratic neutrality, which has been relatively rarely discussed in the study of ASN neutrality in Indonesia. This study also contributed theoretically by expanding the study of bureaucratic neutrality through the approach of power relations between central and local governments in the context of electoral politics. Furthermore, this study shows that bureaucratic non-neutral practices do not necessarily arise in the form of explicit administrative violations, but can be present through mechanisms of political loyalty, personal closeness, and the use of veiled instruments of government. This research has limitations because it only focuses on the case of Acting Governor of Central Java in the context of the 2024 presidential election, so the research results cannot be fully generalized to bureaucratic conditions in other regions. In addition, limited access to internal bureaucratic data and official government documents led to more research focusing on interview results, media reporting, and interpretation of political phenomena developing in public spaces. Therefore, further research is recommended to conduct a comparative study on the neutrality of regional heads in various regions of Indonesia, examining the effect of social assistance on the political behavior of the community, and to study the effect of social assistance on the political behavior of the community. The author developed an analysis model capable of identifying implicit and symbolic forms of bureaucratic neutrality beyond formal legal indicators. Theoretically, this study asserts that bureaucratic neutrality in electoral democracy is not only related to adherence to formal rules, but also to power relations and political practices that work indirectly in government bureaucracy. Meanwhile, practically this research shows the importance of strengthening the more substantive, adaptive, and preventive election monitoring system to be able to reach hidden forms of political intervention. Therefore, it is necessary to reform the mechanism of supervision of ASN and public officials, improve democratic literacy for state apparatus, and strengthen bureaucratic independence to maintain the quality of democracy and integrity of elections in Indonesia.

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