

The Violation of Bureaucracy at Local Election in Gowa South Sulawesi: Based on Weberian and Marxism Concept

Pelanggaran Birokrasi pada Pilkada di Gowa Sulawesi Selatan: Berdasarkan Konsep Weberian dan Marxisme



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<b>Keywords</b> Mobilization; State Civil Apparatus; Local Election;	<b>ABSTRACT</b> State civil apparatus has mobilized by a pair of the candidate, Ichsan Yasin Limpo and Andi Mudzakkar (IYL-Cakka) on the 2018 South Sulawesi Local Election in Gowa was very structured and massive. That case is proved by the victory of Them in Gowa around 68.38 percent. The support from Gowa's society for the nominating process is 260 650 IYL-Cakka identity. Based on the result of administrative verification showed that 0.5 percent are civil state apparatus's identity and the result of factual verification is 1.53 percent. Meanwhile, the state civil Also apparatus supported them with symbols of the candidate. It's proved by a report of 37 cases of neutrality violation to the South Sulawesi Provincial of the General Election Supervisory. This research method used a descriptive case study approach. The Data on this research used primary and secondary data. The data were collected from several methods: observation, interviews, and documentary. The result of this study indicated resources that supported instruction to them have consisted of two categories: 1) the instruction to the collected identity cards and 2) the instruction to used symbols. The identity cards were collected by three elements: the winning team for IYL-Cakka, the Headman and their staffs, and the other elements (agricultural extension workers and educators). The instruction to used symbols created has been done with the group in social media for all of the government head offices and created the formal regular meetings outside the Gowa (like as benchmarking).
<b>Kata Kunci</b> Mobilisasi; Aparatur Sipil Negara; Pilkada;	<b>ABSTRAK</b> Mobilisasi Aparatur Sipil Negara yang dilakukan oleh pasangan calon IYL-Cakka pada proses Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Sulawesi Selatan Tahun 2018 di Kabupaten Gowa sangat terstruktur dan massif. Dugaan tersebut dibuktikan dengan kemenangan suara IYL-Cakka di Gowa sebesar 68,38 persen. Dukungan Kartu Tanda Kependudukan terhadap pencalonan IYL-Cakka paling banyak berasal dari Kabupaten Gowa dengan jumlah 260.650. Berdasarkan hasil verifikasi administrasi dukungan yang berasal dari ASN berjumlah 0,50 persen dan dan verifikasi faktual 1,53 persen. Sementara dukungan simbol dibuktikan melalui banyaknya kasus pelanggaran ASN yang dilaporkan di Bawaslu Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan sebanyak 37 kasus. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus deskriptif. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pengarahannya yang dilakukan untuk memassifkan dukungan menggunakan ASN juga terbagi menjadi dua pola yaitu 1) pengarahannya melalui pengumpulan dukungan KTP dan 2) pengarahannya melalui pemakaian simbol. Pengumpulan dukungan KTP dilakukan oleh tiga unsur yaitu oleh tim sukses IYL-Cakka, perangkat desa/kelurahan Kabupaten Gowa dan oleh unsur lainnya yang terdiri atas penyuluh pertanian dan tenaga pendidik. Pengarahan ASN melalui pemakaian simbol dilakukan dengan berbagai cara, yaitu: pembuatan grup media sosial bagi kepala SKPD dan rapat-rapat formal rutin yang dilakukan di luar Gowa (kegiatan studi banding).
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## Introduction

Regional Head Election (local election) in South Sulawesi 2018 is inseparable from many problems. One of them is the process of winning from one of the independent candidates were by mobilizing State Civil Apparatus (*Aparatur Sipil Negara*/ASN). The independent candidate who mobilized is Ichsan Yasin Limpo and Andi Mudzakkar (IYL-Cakka). The assumption of mobilization of ASN conducted IYL-Cakka in Gowa district was very structured. ASN mobilized to support there are confirmed to have violated Law Number 5 of 2014 on State Civil Apparatus (ASN). That violation was caused by ASN who supported one of the candidates and made them have violated the principle of neutrality. It will interfere with the performance of ASN in governance.

This study about ASN was reviewed by others. The previous research which is supported based on Azhari's research. It's studied the intervention of bureaucracy by political officials. The results found that Sabah has a relationship pattern called Bureaucratic Sublation or co-equality with the executive (Azhari, 2011). The pattern of bureaucracy in Malaysia was different from Indonesia. It is called Personal Executive Ascendency. The differences model was concluded that Malaysian bureaucracy more professional than Indonesian bureaucracy. The problems had the same problems with the other research, such as bureaucratic neutrality. It's mean that the power of political officials dominated the governance. The problems of bureaucratic neutrality can't be released from the New Order Regime in Indonesia. Then, the Reformation Regime in 1998 is required of the new bureaucracy and new democracy (Firnas, 2016). Politics in the governance also identic with the power of legislator had been polarized by pragmatic importance. The legislator tried to defend their power utilized bureaucracy (Daniasyah, 2015).

ASN has the function to make strategies for achieving good governance in the government area. These concepts are following the program of bureaucratic reform. The good governance is a concept that ensures the alignment process, equality, cohesion, and balances the role of their mutual power control performed by three components, consist of the government, the people and businessmen (Thoha, 2014). The involvement of these is closely linked to the political process with various benefits and give an impact on the ASN. It's prohibited because ASN must be independent of political intervention. That intervention will be related to the quality of public services. The higher intervention had affected the lower quality of public services. It causes that the authority and institutional bias among the political and administrative officials.

The mobilization ASN has been done by the incumbent nominated again at the local elections. Besides, not civil servants (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS*) has been mobilized but also contract employees. ASN approved to mobilize for any motives: 1) the threat of transfer, 2) the threat of demotion, and 3) eliminated the position of ASN. Its cause the regent will be delegated demotion and promotion of ASN to the official top manager. That authority affected to violations of neutrality ASN during the election. Although, it's prohibited based on Law No. 5 of 2014 on State Civil Apparatus.

The efforts of mobilization in Gowa suspected be using a factor of family relationship with the present regents, Adnan Puricta Yasin Limpo, with one of the Governor candidates, Ichsan Yasin Limpo (IYL). IYL using him to mobilized ASN with two patterns: 1) the direction of the support through the collection photocopy of identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk/KTP*) and 2) the direction of the support through the use of symbols (inikata.com, 2017). The results of the data collection in Gowa, from The Election Supervisory Agency of South Sulawesi in 2018 showed that supporting identity to IYL-Cakka in Gowa was highest in South Sulawesi. It is 181.141 identity from the total supporting 686.720 in 24 districts. The amount increased on the improvements period to be 748.484, from the total amounted to 260.650 from Gowa.

The results of the data collected from the General Election Commission of South Sulawesi showed that local election has participation voters rate of 74 percent and the percentage of victories IYL-Cakka 68,38 percent. The total number of voters registered in the Permanent Voters List (DPT) by 508.789 voters in Gowa. Results at the administration of the verification process, 0.5 percent are identities of ASN in Gowa. Although, the controlling process of factual verification by the Election Supervisory Committee of Gowa (*Panitia Pengawas Pemilu/Panwaslu Gowa*) has resulted that in 13 districts, it has 11.814 supporting identities. It means that 1,53 percent is ASN. Moreover, early research concludes that respondents mentioned indications of political power causing of family relationship and high identity politics. That indications make the used role of ASN with a higher position in government to mobilize the headman in every village. The headman will influence all of the citizens to support IYL. It must be followed causing the possibility to takedown their positions by the present regent.

The other pattern of supported IYL was using by symbols. Based on the data, The Election Supervisory Agency (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu*) had been submitted 177 violations of neutrality by ASN to the Ministry of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (Kemenpan-RB). The most problems were found in Southeast Sulawesi and South

Sulawesi (fajar.co.id, 2018). 34 violations of neutrality with supporting symbols of candidates IYL-Cakka had happened in Gowa (Badan Pengawas Pemilu Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, 2018). Based on the clarifications that have been made by the Gakkumdu Center and The Election Supervisory Agency of South Sulawesi decided that 31 ASN used the symbols in the photos (evidence) identical with the greetings symbols of candidate IYL-Cakka, while 2 ASN was not proven. This study was analyzed using the conceptualization of bureaucracy and political mobilization concept, for analyzing all of the patterns which are doing by IYL to ASN in The 2018's Local Election of South Sulawesi.

The hypothesis in this research is to explain the patterns to direct all of the ASN in Gowa by the independent candidate who has nominated to be a Governor of South Sulawesi. With the basic support of the bureaucracy power and family relationship between the candidate and the current regent, then ASN restricted to choose other candidates. From these hypothesis, this study has purposed to explain the patterns to supported IYL-Cakka as an independent candidate and also compared the more suitable theory in the bureaucracy of Gowa. The theory is between Weberian with a concept about the ideal bureaucracy or Marxism with the concept that bureaucracy has many interests and make its tools to be a power to get the position in bureaucracy.

## **Method**

This study used a model of qualitative research with case studies and field research approach (case study and field research). This type of research is descriptive research. Qualitative research begins with the assumption and uses an interpretive framework to influencing the research studies on some issues. It is related to the significance of the social/human problem by the individual or group (Creswell, 2015). The case study in this research is a methodology. This methodology was defined as research with characteristics of problems, associated with the background and current condition of the subject, and also interaction with the current environment (Sudaryono, 2018).

This study analyzed using descriptive analysis (Yin, 2015). Type a descriptive case study will focus on the case of the issue with survey and historical analysis of the condition in Gowa. This study using data analysis of data collection, data reduction, data presentation and conclusion (Sugiyono, 2010). In addition, case studies in this research are carried out by a data analysis technique that added the source of the goods: observation and systemic interview.

The theory in this study has generally used the theory of bureaucracy of Weberian and Marxism. The theories described of circumstances of bureaucracy in their eras. Weber explained the ideal bureaucracy have been applied in the world. Indonesia, with the complexity of the situation, was being considered not apply that concept. It causes the New Order Regime (*Orde Baru* Regime), bequeathed a concept of bureaucracy called “Post Bureaucratic”. That bureaucracy served all the interests, such as the oligarchy and the highest power in bureaucracy. Then, the characteristic referring to a concept of Marxism bureaucracy. Accordingly, this research will explain the suitable concept which describes the situation of bureaucracy in the local election, especially in Gowa South Sulawesi.

## Results and Discussion

The result of this research explains that two patterns of mobilization in a local election (Local election) consist of the instruction to collected identity cards and the direction pattern from supported symbols. These patterns make IYL won the Local election of South Sulawesi in Gowa. From the observation data in Gowa, we assumed that IYL has many loyal supporters in Gowa (from ASN or citizens). IYL also has a charismatic figure as the social capital. It makes him registered himself and Cakka as the partner with an independent path as a candidate. IYL-Cakka won with 68,38% votes in Gowa.

Table 1. The vote of IYL-Cakka in Gowa

Total DPT in Gowa	Voter participation	Total sub districts	% vote of IYL-Cakka
508.789	74 %	18	68,38%

Source: General Election Commission of Gowa, 2018 (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum Gowa, 2018*)

### The Instruction to Collected Identity Cards

The independent nominate, IYL-Cakka was briefed ASN to collect identity cards at the nomination process. Independent paths required that candidates must collect the identity card's support from the society following the specified amount. Based on Law Number 10 of 2016 Article 41, paragraph 1, South Sulawesi has a population with the voter's list (*Daftar Pemilih Tetap/DPT*) of more than 6,000,000 to 12,000,000 voters in this area. In consequence, the independent candidates must be supported by at least 7.5% of DPT. Last DPT in South Sulawesi, amounting to 6.400.794, thus the minimum requirements support must be as many as 480.124. But, in the final accumulation result are 686.720 identities. It's collected by their campaign team and supporters.

**Table 2. The result of Administrative Verification Process**

Last DPT	Minimal requirement supporting identities	Collected identities to KPU	Administrative verification			Lack of identities	Improvement Identities (2 x lack of identity) by independent candidate
			Qualified (MS)	Unqualified (TMS)	Total		
6.400.794	480.124	686.720	477.034	155.495	686.720	3.090	6.180

Source: General Election Commission of South Sulawesi, 2018 (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Gowa, 2018)

In the administrative verification process in the General Election Commission of South, 477.034 from 686.720 identities is qualified and 155.495 is unqualified. Thus, this result in 3.090 identities must be corrected. The data improvement must be submitted by the supporting team two times from the lack of identity from 3.090 to 6.180.

**Table 3. The result of Administrative Verification Process in Gowa**

Total supporting identities from Gowa	Total of sub districts	Total villages	ASN's identities	Percentage of ASN's identities
260.650	18	167	1.303	0,5%

Source: General Election Commission of South Sulawesi, 2018 (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Gowa, 2018)

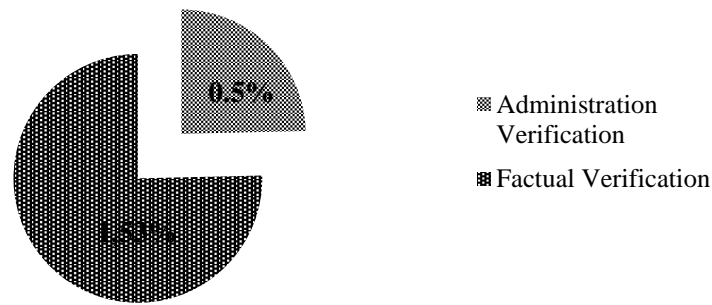
**Table 4. The result from Monitoring of Factual Verification Process in Gowa**

Population (Total supporting identities from Gowa)	Samples (people identities)	% sample	Total of sub districts	Total villages	ASN's identities	Percentage of ASN's identities
260.650	11.814	45.32%	13	167	181	1.53%

Source: Election Supervisory Committee of Gowa, 2018 (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Gowa, 2018)

The identity will be verified by two processes, namely the Administration Verification and Factual Verification. In the administrative process, there are 0,5% of supporting identity from the unqualified category is ASN. Based on the result in the monitoring of the factual process, it found that 1,53% is the identity of ASN. The data of factual verification can't amount by total supporting identities in Gowa because the General election Commission of Gowa can't give the data with a reason that data can't be published in public. So, we used the monitoring data from The Election Supervisory Committee of Gowa, which used by 11.814 samples in 13 sub districts in Gowa from 260.650 population (total supporting identities from Gowa). We can compare the data of those in the picture below.

**The Data Comparison of of ASN's Identity**



**Figure 1. The Data Comparison of ASN's Identity**

That picture explained the data comparison on administration and factual process of verification. In the early research is known that the support collected by three elements: 1) by the campaign team, 2) by the headman, and 3) by other elements. The other elements consist of agricultural extension workers and educators.

The candidate has the authority to mobilize the ASN with verbal. ASN will be supported the candidate cause them faithfulness. Furthermore, the culture in Gowa impacted the career of ASN in the government. Every ASN will be supporting IYL because IYL had been the Regent in Gowa from 2005 until 2015. Initially, the mobilization was obliged the ASN to obey the order and supporting the former regent, but now it is turned into volunteerism. ASN believes that their effort to support IYL prescribed their position beside their performance. Since IYL becoming the regent of Gowa, his leadership can accelerate the process of mobilization of ASN in Gowa for a long time. At the time, IYL politicized bureaucracy to win Adnan-Kio in local election 2015. (Akbar, 2016). The current situation described vice versa, specifically that Adnan (current regent) assisted IYL to be a governor of South Sulawesi.

The utilization of bureaucracy to collecting identities from their supporters by one candidate proves that the theory of Weber unsuitable with the current condition of Indonesia. The concept of Weber's theory about bureaucracy will be emphasized the professionalism of ASN appropriate with the role of bureaucracy. It should run ideally. The practice of the theory, can't be applied to Weber's ambition. The other politicians revealed that bureaucracy with Weber's theory should be run professionally in the administration process. However, David Beetham supports Weber's opinion related to a political role in bureaucracy. But, it emphasized that bureaucracy may change due to certain conditions and make the theory of Weber unsuitable in Indonesia.



Weber criticized the idea of GWF Hegel and Karl Marx. It's commonly known as the Hegelian (Hegel's theory) and Marxism (Marx's Theory) s. The tendencies of bureaucracy in Gowa based on the ideas of Marx. He adopted the basic theory of class and put the bureaucracy in the power structures. Accordingly, there is a close connection between those. Hegelian and Marxism described that bureaucracy can be used by someone if he/she wants a position of power in the government. This situation has existed since the New Order Regime (*Orde Baru* Regime). In this regime, bureaucracy has been arrangement but Soeharto is an irrational power concept.

This irrationality is evidence that bureaucratic rationality can't be suitable in Indonesia. It can be seen at the time until now, such as 1) the bureaucracy should serve the public interest, the interests of authorities and entrepreneurs, 2) the orientation of bureaucracy has been changed, from function control services turned into state policy, and 3) a neutral bureaucracy should be standing firmly on the government. The irrationality bureaucracy occurred in Gowa. Gowa achieved a label of good governance in Indonesia with good public information openness government. Despite the governance is opened, but the government is closed (Priyanto, 2017).

Supporting ASN to IYL based on the power of the regent to determine the position as desired by ASN. In addition, economic factors will be affected. In line with this fact, Weber and Betham were criticized the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy will develop according to the needs of capitalism and reproduce itself (Beetham, 1987). Existing interests in the government is not only the public interest but dominate of particular interest to the other particular interests. The domination can be seen at the administration and bureaucracy in Gowa that inclined loyal to IYL. ASN indicated the role of bureaucracy that supporting of this current political power. But, Hegel assumed different than the others, cause Hegel assumed that bureaucracy on neutral condition.

The Marxism unfocused just on the concept of interest, but also the concept of alienation bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is a specific separation system from the general process, it called an alienation process. The alienation process consists of in-alienation and out-alienation. The in-alienation of bureaucracy made the purpose of the existence of bureaucracy power. It should be separated. Bureaucracy is not realized by other power that took the greatest power from the bureaucracy in public services. One of them is consolidated the powers by level ordinances level and utilization of attached authorities in every position. Furthermore, the out-alienation tried to change the bureaucracy, from to manage people's life become sealed power that can't unreachable by peoples.



Marx named it as bureaucratic imperialism. Bureaucratic imperialism put it held by ASN, to be self-aggrandizement (private promotion) with a capital of materialism. Eventually, these efforts were realized through an internal struggle to get a higher status, career and/or sale promotion, like as happened in Gowa. This concept provides evidence that the bureaucracy was not able to take the initiative and take the risk of liability. Therefore, the bureaucracy will be sustained to maintain and extend the functionality of particular interest predominates. It was intended to consolidate the position and rights of prerogative. Bureaucracy will be sustained to maintain and extend the functionality of dominating particular interests. It was consolidated between the position and the prerogative rights.

### The Instruction to Used Symbol

The figure of IYL in Gowa, making many ASN willing to get involved. One of the reasons is ASN's expectation to increase their career. The involvement of ASN deliberated to support IYL permanently done even though Kemenpan-RB and KASN had rules clearly to prohibited ASN using one of the candidate's symbolize. The direction pattern of the supported symbol by ASN in Gowa, proved by the 37 cases that it handled by the Center Gakkumdu. It resulted in a recommendation to KASN related to the violation of the neutrality of ASN. The cases in South Sulawesi described in the table below.

Table 5. The cases of ASN in 2018

Total of cases in South Sulawesi (24 districts)	Cases in Gowa	% cases in Gowa compared with all cases	<i>Ne bis in idem</i> status	Proved and submitted to KASN	Unproved	Cases with a final decision from KASN
336	37	11.01%	1	34	2	34

Source: Election Supervisory Agency of South Sulawesi, 2018 (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum Gowa, 2018*)

Supporting symbol by IYL-Cakka from ASN in Gowa not only do in private but also in public. The way to support is blaze aboard and promote the candidate in their private social media. In addition, photo with all the campaign attributes publicize and they upload banner of IYL-Cakka's attributes, openly. Moreover, these patterns directed by the current regent on social media (Whatsapp group) and involves all of the subdistrict-head.

The way to directing activity using the symbol by ASN through formal internal meetings. These meetings usually outside Gowa, so the Election Supervisory Committee not knowing that. The agenda of meetings includes the symbol when they took a group picture after all. All of these photos made up proof of the involvement of IYL-Cakka. Although the

symbol "Salam Punggawa" (Punggawa Greetings) has been used before IYL being to be a candidate, ASN must understand their position when they choose to support IYL-Cakka and also, meeting in the outside of South Sulawesi like as benchmarking.

The dominance of particular by mobilization of ASN affected several things. ASN's self-aggrandizement can get the promotion, then it made a job competency system and patterns of good governance in Indonesia have a difference from others, especially with Malaysia. Indonesian competency system doesn't notice to individual abilities, then Malaysia has a professional job competency. Based on research (Azhari, 2011), a relation of political and bureaucratic in there aims to Bureaucratic Sublation, while Indonesia chooses an Ascendency Executive model. Domination of bureaucracy by political officials due to a dichotomy between politics and administration. It is consistent with Wilson's opinion that politics were more superior to administrative functions. However, Wilson also said that political power and bureaucracy should have clear boundaries (Thoha, 2014). The clear boundaries for political officials in the bureaucracy are the based assumption that bureaucracy as officialdom (Dowding, 1995).

Bennis stated that bureaucracy not only refers to the concept of the routine of administrative but more suitable with the uncertain and complexity scope. It was caused by the effect of external and internal factors (Thoha, 2014); (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967). Then, there will arise a new bureaucracy concept. The new concept of bureaucracy is Post Bureaucratic. Post bureaucratic not focused on internal coherence and internal power (Heckscher & Donellon, 1994) but this model used social interaction by utilized external control and authority to be a persuasive tool and dialogue way. The persuasion will control bureaucracy toward politics are not only powering but empowering (Bachrach & Botwinick, 1992). In addition, Mas'ood also agreed that involvement ASN considered politics (Mas'ood, 2008). Bureaucrats are the main actors under mechanisms of political power and ideological, can be a factor to interfere with main actors in governance (Thoha, 2014). The practice of holding power in bureaucracy tends to be centralized and excessively. It's have a positive effect on the hierarchy position. If the current position higher than before, then power it has. In this case, it prioritizes consideration of politics.

The common power model emphasizes the politics and ASN must obey every instruction. They can't refuse it. It is under the perspective of the capacity to act (Hindess, 1996). This perspective emphasizes their ability to act which makes the power to dominate (an instrument of domination). And it will give an impact on accountability in this bureaucracy. And the conclusion makes the concept of Weber also have weaknesses because,

with the superiority of effectiveness and efficiency of bureaucracy, it can manipulate the information through the concept of professional furtiveness. The regent delegated the political decisions to subordinates with the obligation order. ASN will obey the order, because they fear their position, etc. The reason why the ASN has loyalty and obey the order from the regent are 1) tradition, 2) power of sovereign, 3) moral obligation, 4) self-interest, 5) psychological identification from the sovereign, 6) voluntary action (no influence) and 7) lack of confidence (Sharp, 1973). The decision to obey the regent's order are based on 1) attachment to the authority, 2) fear of physical coercion and psychological punishment, 3) fear to be ostracized, 4) self-interest, 5) tradition and loyalty, and 7) awareness of law (Easton, 1965).

These reasons also make the willingness of ASN to take lead supports on IYL in Gowa. Proficiency authorities identified behaviors of ASN to restrict them to refuse the orders. The instruction showed the power of feudalistic bureaucracy to control ASNs and citizens to make them win. Dwight King as the originator of the bureaucratic-authoritarian regime concept explained that it is the way to arranged and established in the New Order Regime (Alwi, 1991). This concept considered to represent the current condition, especially in Gowa. The Mobilization of ASN is proof and the mass mobilization is the main characteristic of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes such as mentioned by Mohtar Mas'oed.

The characteristics concept of the bureaucratic-authoritarian regime are: 1) The highest authority in the oligarchy or military order, 2) the opposite between technocratic mentality and the other ideologies, 3) mass mobilization) and 4) restricted by using a plurality of repression, election, and a network of corporatist organizations. The opinion of Dwight King still quite relevant to the current conditions in mass mobilization in electoral, especially in Gowa. The government in Gowa is not dominated by the military, but the oligarchy. Oligarchy includes the powers that be in a group. With the element of family, the relationship can prove it. Oligarchy will punish all the people who were criticized the order, and it becomes a proof as characteristic of authoritarian-bureaucracy. The example has happened in Gowa when an ASN punished by IYL because of his criticism on social media about IYL (regent). The other authoritarian-bureaucracy characteristic is mass mobilization. Based on these characteristics, the study of mobilization in Gowa can be categorized as a result of the practice of that. ASN used to direct the mass mobilization just to a candidate. The order can't be controlled by the public because the government takes over it.

Huntington and Nelson explained that the participation of ASN divided into two categories. First, ASN mobilized by their regent at the beginning, but it will internalize and

turn into voluntary participation (Mufti, 2012). Voluntary participation will become a culture in the government. It is proven by the support of ASN in Gowa to be volunteers to support IYL. It means that their action due to the characteristic of leadership from IYL (Priyanto, 2017). Thus, mobilization can be internalized into a culture or tradition. Karp and Banducinni explained that mobilization in politics composed of three processes (Mustaman, 2015) are:

- 1) The cognitive dimension was obtained through the abilities of political officials to analyze their interests and to make a fair advantage.
- 2) The affective dimension. It build by social communities, like as social media communities, and formal communities at the government (LSM, etc.).
- 3) The instrumental dimension. The order will be used in the communities which have built before and make a purpose to win the election.

The triumph of IYL-Cakka in Gowa not only involved by political parties but also through a family relationship. Hopkins analyzed the family relationship and economics condition as an instrument of socio-political to build a network (Mustaman, 2015).

This clientelism network utilized the role of family relationships in Gowa. IYL utilized it towards the current Regent of Gowa to command the voters from ASN choosing IYL at the election. The strategy IYL-Cakka to get a higher voter than others also did by vertically and horizontally supporting strategies. The mobilization concept from Brigitta and Nedlemann adopted by IYL-Cakka to mobilized ASN in Gowa. Vertical mobilization was done by the governmental structure from the top until the bottom. ASN will be direct by the Regent, head of departments, head of sub-districts, from the top until the lowest level of ASN. In a while, horizontal action was conducted among ASN, their families and their communities. By combining the two patterns of them, IYL-Cakka reaching 68.38 percent voters and won in Gowa.

## **Conclusion**

The ASN aimed to support the candidate, IYL-Cakka, have consisted of two categories are: 1) the instruction to collected identity cards and 2) the instruction to used symbols. The identity cards were collected by three elements: the winning team for IYL-Cakka, the Headman and their staffs, and the other elements (agricultural extension workers and educators). The instruction to used symbols created has been done with the group in social media for all of the government head offices and created the formal regular meetings outside the Gowa. The patterns made IYL-Cakka win the Local election in Gowa with 68,38% votes.

This study also confirmed that the Weberian concept of bureaucracy is unsuitable in Indonesia, especially in Gowa. The current condition in Gowa with mobilized ASN by the government proved that the Weberian concept of the ideal bureaucracy have been applied. But, instead of that, this study proved that the condition in Gowa applied more to the concept of Marxism bureaucracy. Marxism bureaucracy explained that the public was mobilized by the candidate pair to highest position.

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