

The New Public Actor: A Philosophical Approach to Changing the Paradigm of Public Administration (Pancasila Administration Perspective)

Yakob Noho Nani

Department of Public Administration, State University of Gorontalo, Indonesia

Abstract. The change of government regime from the new order government, old order and reformation is a reflection of the citizens' dissatisfaction with the government in running the country in accordance with the consensus of the basic norms of Pancasila. Bureaucratic pathologies such as the culture of paternalism, corruption, budget swelling, and identity politics trigger public concern over state administration which tends to be further away from Pancasila values.

With a literature approach, the manuscript is prepared with the basic assumption that Indonesia will become a large country that can realize the basic goals of the state only by applying the basic norms of Pancasila. The author suggests that the application of basic state norms can be carried out through basic administrative functions with the "New Public Actor" (NPA) paradigm in the state system and government bureaucracy. As a novelty of the NPA paradigm, which is based on two fundamental perspectives, the first is state administration as a science which has the function of articulating the basic norms of Pancasila and state administration as a state system is comprehensive in its function to realize the regularity of state administration in achieving the effectiveness of state goals.

Keywords: The New Public Actor, Paradigm of State Administration, Pancasila Administration

Introduction

Fundamentally, the debate about the role of political science and administration in the administration of the state began with the concern of Woodrow Wilson (1887) about the importance of administrative science in the administration of the state. Wilson questioned about the political approach that has led to the existence of a conspiracy system in the government system which can ultimately affect the achievement of state goals.

The same condition is also experienced by the Indonesian people who apply an administrative system that is always seen as a norm of state administration as a complement to the administration of the state. Indonesia claims to be a democratic country that is run by a people's sovereignty system and as a constitutional state that is run based on the constitution of a democratic country, such as the statement of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president of the United States, stating that democracy is government of the people, by the people, and for (Noviati, 2013). The application of the concept of democracy is very rational for the administrative system in Indonesia, because Indonesia is a country that was born from the will of the people represented by the founding fathers of the nation in a state consensus, namely Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the state.

Thus, Indonesia is also a country that was born based on consensus or agreement to achieve the country's goals. This view is closer to the notion of administration in the view of Sondang P. Siagian, who defines administration as the whole process of cooperation between two or more human beings based on a certain rationality to achieve predetermined goals (Mliani, 2019).

The state basically requires administrative knowledge to direct and regulate the regularity of state, nation and society life in accordance with the basic values of the state. However, the clarity and consistency of the application of Pancasila norms has not been optimal. According to Machfud (2020), one of the professors of constitutional law who is also the Coordinating Minister for politics, law and security of the Republic of Indonesia, stated that "Pancasila as

universal norms that do not have a final interpretation, so that government failures are always linked with a violation of the norms of Pancasila (Mahfud, 2020).

This condition has caused the political role to dominate the administration of the state. The condition is also not much different in the development of science that political science experienced rapid development in the period where administration was seen as part of political science (1950-1970). This affects the development of the implementation of the government system where the bureaucracy is often subordinated to institutional power politics (Irawan, 2013).

From some of the problems above, the purpose of drafting the manuscript is to formulate and develop the arrangement of the state administration system to realize the basic goals of reform that were born as people's dissatisfaction with the government. The main focus of the article, is on the aspect of applying the basic norms of Pancasila and is related to the role and function of administrative science as a science and as a system through the New Public Actor (NPA) approach. The writing is based on several assumptions: 1) Indonesia can achieve its goals effectively by applying the basic norms of Pancasila; 2) reforms are needed to organize the administrative system in a fundamental way in realizing functional and structural order in the administration of the state; 3) increasing the role of the public can be done both structurally and functionally as an element of the state, resources and social control functions in encouraging the creation of a rational bureaucracy with the NPA approach.

This is in accordance with the view that the people are one of the elements of the state (Noviati, 2013) and citizens are the real owners of the state (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Thus, citizens are the owners of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the public also has an important role as a development resource (Siregar, 2017), and a role as social control (Siregar, 2017) as in the concept of civil society (Efendi et al., 2019).

In empirical facts, changes in government regimes are basically driven by one fundamental problem, namely the application of public values and increasing the role of the public in the administration of the state and bureaucracy. During the "Orde Lama" regime (1945-1965), the "Orde Baru" Regime (1965-1997), "Reform Regime" (1997-present). During this period until now the public has tended to be placed as a complementary element in the administration of the state. The behavior of the government tends to place the role of the public in an attempt to abort formal provisions. This is what drives the importance of implementing the NPS as a good alternative in the state administration system.

Although there are a few weaknesses in the NPS, which is based on the application of democratic values in a political perspective, so that in its implementation it does not encourage the substantive application of administrative norms and values. Because the state basically accepts historical norms and different administrative systems. The novelty of administration does not require the structural importance of public involvement, public administration prefers a new paradigm at the level of why public involvement is systemically ineffective. Similar to applying ideal bureaucratic principles, realizing the ideal public service process is also difficult to implement because it requires a conducive ecological administration system.

Therefore, in its application in Indonesia, the application of public values in various policies and community empowerment programs does not seem optimal and even creates a negative bias in the bureaucracy such as the tendency of big bureaucracy (Indriyati, 2017), budget swelling (Adnan, 2013), waste of resources (Kumrotomo, 2015; Setiawan, 2016). In the political field, the phenomenon of identity politics emerges (Buchari, 2014; Kumrotomo, 2015), the application of rules that often change does not reflect the principle of legality (Idris, 2017) and tends to overlap in implementation (Sopian, 2018).

One alternative to increasing public involvement in government administration requires the application of basic Pancasila norms in constitutional systems such as public services (Wati, 2019) and rational government where Pancasila is a state view of life (Cahyani, 1995) and as

the basis for national ideology (Maharani, 2020). The universal approach to Pancasila norms can be applied properly by articulating universal values into operational ethical values so that they can be understood concretely. It is in this domain that the role of the state administration is needed as a science that has clear principles and focus and focus since the period (1956-1970). Dimock and Dimock said that administration is a science that studies what people want through government, and how they get it (Sellang, 2016).

Furthermore, to ensure the rationality and balance of roles between the state and the government, the government and the bureaucracy and the state and the public, an ideal rationalization is needed through structuring the life of the state, nation and society in a harmonious, just and dignified manner. Segara is a system according to Kranenburg's view which states that the state is a system of general tasks and organizations that are regulated in an effort to achieve goals which are also the goals of the people they cover, so that there must be a sovereign government (Sellang, 2016). In this context, state administration is needed in its function to comprehensively organize the orderliness of the system which includes the political ethics system, the bureaucratic ethical system, the legal ethical system and the socio-economic ethical system as a whole in a single basic norm.

Thinking of positivism in state administration tends to develop at this time as the basis for an empirical phenomenological approach in social science that has influenced the development of administrative science both conceptually and empirically (Machsun, 2016). Empirical methods that are not based on an appropriate inductive methodology in generalizing administrative philosophy on the basis of the state or universally applicable norms will have an impact on the partial application of administrative norms or values in terms of ethics, systems, institutions, implementation, effectiveness and the public service model which tends to be partial.

As a result, the application of the rules often changes and seems to overlap, and each institution claims that its role is more important in the administration of the state. The change of government regime in Indonesia cannot be separated from this empirical phenomenon. The administration of government which is considered to have failed and changes or reforms are a form of response to public demands, ranging from the "Orde Lama" regime, "Orde Baru" Regime, reform regime and post-reform is considered unable to provide significant changes even though the administrative paradigm has undergone a conceptual change with the new paradigm, namely the New Public Service.

Therefore, a comprehensive novelty is needed at the administrative system level which is interrelated and complementary both functionally and structurally in the parts of the system that are interconnected effectively. State administration is needed to produce solutions as a form of level service. How can the state system work effectively? Because whatever changes are implemented, be it reform, ideal values of bureaucracy, ideal public services, if it is not supported by the effectiveness of the administrative system, everything will not achieve maximum results.

In this context, the author suggests an alternative approach in the paradigm of state administration by placing "public actors, state administrators and bureaucracy" in the Pancasila administrative norm system. This paradigm change is an enlightenment that the public cannot be placed as a complementary element because the public is the main element of the existence of the state. Besides that, it is also the application of NPA which reflects the clarity of focus as administration as a science

The Concept of the State in the Perspective of Administrative Philosophy

There are two different approaches in Ancient Greek and Roman cultures in viewing a country. For the Greeks, the state was defined as the polis, while for the Romans, the state was defined as the community. Famous state thinkers at this time included Lucretius (99-55 BC),

Polybious (120-102 BC), and Cicero (106-43 BC) (Isharyanto, 2016). Then later the notion of the state is discussed more from the perspective of philosophy as the views of Plato (427-347) and Aristotle (346-322 BC) as cited by Koesnardi et al. (1976) who formulated the notion of the state with a philosophical approach to human ideals, namely ideals, aspiration to pursue truth, decency, beauty and justice (Koesnardi et al., 1976). In the book *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle also raises the issue of equality, which he calls "having a not so far from justice." It's just that equality is not provided by law because the law cannot provide it in all cases, especially through corrective justice (Isharyanto, 2016).

This view gave birth to a theoretical state theory in which state activities are influenced by religious values (Soemarsono, 2016), which gave birth to various state theories as conveyed by Agustinus who put forward theocratic theory and classified two types of state, namely: 1) *Civitas Dei*, is a state. God who is commendable for being in accordance with religious ideals; and 2) *Civitas Terrena*, is a world country that is considered to bring misery and chaos because it is not based on the teachings of God's guidance (Soehino, 1986; Soemarsono, 2016). The theory of God's sovereignty and the Sovereignty of the King is inspired by this view which views that the king is God's representative on earth.

In this theory the ultimate power is in the hands of God. Therefore, all state orders must be the implementation of God's sovereignty (Isharyanto, 2016; Magni, 1997). It was God who gave the absolute right to rule to the kings. Therefore, the political power possessed by the kings cannot be revoked by the common people (Isharyanto, 2016).

The state in the legal perspective is a manifestation of the philosophical approach that the state can only achieve prosperity by applying the law properly (Plato). According to Ibn Taimiyah, an Islamic philosopher and theologian, asserts that the purpose of the state according to the Shari'ah or God's laws is to perfect human morality, uphold justice and truth for all creatures, and realize mutual prosperity on the basis of justice, equal degrees and rights for all human beings (Soemarsono, 2016; Tim Pengajar Ilmu Negara FH.Ul, 2004).

The state in the legal perspective is more influenced in the view of philosophy such as Aristotle, Plato. According to Aristotle, those who run the government are fair thoughts, originating from high ethical awareness to realize people's lives as a good life. This just thought is then expressed in the form of legal regulations (Koesnardi, 1976).

In the political approach, the state is defined as a manifestation of power, namely a theory that aims to gain and maintain power, giving rise to a state of power (*machtstaat*). Two important figures in this view are Shang Yang and Nicolo Machiavelli (Soemarsono, 2016). Shang Yang put forward the slogan "for a strong state, the people must be weak and stupid. In the same view Nicolo Machiavelli, a scholar from the Italian state said that the goal of the state is order, security and peace. All this can only be achieved with absolute power, formulate a central government system, namely by obtaining and gathering the maximum power in the hands of the king.

According to Machiavelli, the state is the pinnacle of the highest consciousness and that basis comes from humans themselves and is not given by religion. This thought was the beginning of the development of secularism and distanced the state from religion. Machiavelli rejected the existence of a state based on law as the ideals of ancient Greek and Roman thinkers. The state is largely determined by how power politics is carried out and moral or legal reasons, but because of political needs. In this period politics began to be in great demand and discussed as a science of the state and Machiavelli (1469-1527) pioneered the growth of a political system that was independent of religious teachings and the separation between law and politics (Isharyanto, 2016). The same view was also reinforced by Jean Bodin (1530-1598) who viewed the state as the right of the government with full power (Isharyanto, 2016).

The development of state theory leads to modernization which states that the state is a reality. Bound states, times, circumstances, and places. In this theory the application of law is

more inclined to constitutional law because it talks about the state as an existing reality (Isharyanto, 2016).

Furthermore, the development of this theory is more developed in many continental European countries, is a reaction or rejection of the existence of authoritarian power in the state, which is caused by the purpose of seeking power and the goal of seeking the prosperity of the state/ruler (Soemarsono, 2016). In this development, the rule of law theory is more developed in several types of liberal rule of law, the type of formal rule of law and the type of material law state (Rules of Law).

Beginning with the emergence of the Enlightenment period (Aufklärung) or the Age of Rationalism, which led to modernization which was marked by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) had ended the war between Catholics and Protestants in Europe. The implications of the agreement resulted in the concept of a secular state with religious tolerance. Since then the authorities are no longer authorized to hinder or require the conversion of religion from each of its people. In the political field, the monarchy's authority to enact laws must be approved by parliament. The agreement basically gave birth to the concept of a balance of power pioneered by the main characters, namely John Locke, Montesquieu, and Immanuel Kant.

John Locke in the book *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) describes his concept of the separation of powers namely "legislative, executive, and federative powers of the state." Locke taught the concept of a balance of power which allowed his subjects to depose the King. Under the pretext that power from the people and delegated to the king. This view was developed by a French philosopher, Montesquieu (1689-1755) who, among other things, wrote *Lectures persanes* (Letters from Prussia, 1721) of which the most important was *De l'esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Law, 1748). He goes through political and legal thought through the concept of state formations within the framework of a rule of law. About constitutional monarchy, where one power limits the other's power. Absolute power is prevented through the separation of powers which divides the state into 3 axes of power, namely executive, legislative, and judicial (Isharyanto, 2016).

Furthermore Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) This German philosopher was only 46 years old to produce important works. Immanuel Kant calls the basis of his teachings transcendental philosophy. In relation to the state, Immanuel Kant emphasized the importance of Rechtsstaat or the rule of law which puts the important task of the state to ensure the security of every citizen. Kant rejected the concept of a Police State (Polizeistat) which then envisaged the emergence of a state according to constitutional rules (Isharyanto, 2016). Kant in the view of a liberal legal state that divides law into two elements, namely: 1) Protection of human rights; 2) Separation of powers. With the separation of powers, human rights will be protected (Bambang et al, 1993; Soemarsono, 2016).

The development of state theory is influenced by several thoughts that require the application of universal values because the state has a goal that fundamentally demands the application of universal values such as human values, justice, democracy and so on. This view is in line with Eltom Mayo's view of increasing effectiveness by applying the value of human relations (Mayo, 1923). In the view of positivism, the paradigm shift of the state is more studied in terms of the phenomenology between politics and administration where the dominance is very strong in the administration of government. And the bureaucracy tends to legitimize the interests of power rather than public services as an instrument and subordination of power (Cahyadi, 2018) in the sense that the bureaucracy tends to be a servant of power and not a public servant (Idris, 2017). In general application of the law, Utama also stated that the law is only sharp downwards and blunt upwards (Biroli, 2010; Utama, 2019). This understanding of the state is the same as that described by Karl Max about the state that the state is only a group of people (Widayati, 2018).

In accordance with some of the views above, in the perspective of administration, there is a fundamental awareness that the state needs administrative knowledge in realizing goals and welfare. This view begins with the anxieties of Woodrow Wilson (1887), a President of the United States (1913-1921), through an article entitled "The Study of Administration" (1900). Wilson stated that the need for changes to governance practices that occurred in the United States was marked by the widespread practice of the spoil system (concoction system) which led to ineffectiveness and inefficiency in state management (Hastiyanto, 2018). The political approach is seen as unable to produce concrete effectiveness.

Conceptually, the debate between the dichotomy of politics and administration continues to develop in the search for the existence of state administration as a science. Administrative science is seen as non-generalizable and value-free because the state has historical values or different historical backgrounds, cultures and views of life. Besides, administrative science is considered to have adopted the principles of knowledge from other disciplines.

Administrative science is defined as an independent science by setting public organizations as the locus with a focus on public management and public services in the administrative paradigm of Nicholas Hendry. The function of the state is basically carried out to realize the goals of the state (Junaedi & Dimiyati, 2020; Widayati, 2018). The state in the perspective of administration can be referred to several theories such as by Jellinek that the state is the embodiment of the will carried out by a group of people as a consensus data agreement. The state was born as a consensus from one person who gave birth to the form of a monarchy state and a group of people who represented all citizens in the form of a republic state (Sibuea, 2014). This will is no different from the broad understanding of administration as stated by Sondang P. Siagian defines administration as the whole process of cooperation between two or more human beings based on a certain rationality to achieve predetermined goals (Marliani 2019). Thus, the state in the perspective of state administration has fundamental functions to realize public welfare. From a philosophical perspective, the state is formed to realize the values of justice and from an administrative perspective is a state to realize prosperity.

Furthermore, discussing the state in the perspective of Pancasila cannot be separated from the application of philosophical norms, administrative norms, political norms and legal norms and historical values that are universal in realizing social justice, namely the values of justice in realizing mutual prosperity and prosperity. In the perspective of Pancasila, the state is more defined in a multidisciplinary manner where the state is a consensus to achieve state goals (welfare and social justice) through the application of basic philosophical values such as: independence, truth and civilization, humanity, justice, unity and deliberation.

The state is also seen as a manifestation of the implementation of popular sovereignty through government power based on democratic values that government is from the people for the people and by the people in realizing social justice. Because the citizen state is an element of the state as in the view of article 1 of the Montevideo Convention (1993) which states that the elements of the state are 1) the people; 2) government; 3) territory; 4) international recognition (Article 1 of the 1933 Montevideo Convention) (Hebdrik, 2017; Sibuea, 2014; Zulkarmaini, 2019). In addition, the state has a fundamental goal. The state has a fundamental goal as a basis for determining what the duties or functions of the state are (Soemarsono, 2016). The task of the state in achieving is influenced by the values or ideology of a country which is based on the basic values that are the cause of the birth of a country (Soemarsono, 2016).

The Pancasila state is defined comprehensively, therefore it requires an approach that describes a unified system comprehensively. In the perspective of administration, the state is a forum to achieve common goals because administration is basically an agreement to achieve common goals. Therefore, the administration is more likely to discuss the state in the

perspective of a democratic state or a welfare state based on the ideology of unity in achieving goals. With the motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* or divorced we fail and united we are effective.

Only with a philosophical approach to Pancasila state administration can it be realized comprehensively in the administrative paradigm as the basic norm of the state and administration as a system that includes a multidisciplinary system. Because of its universal and multidisciplinary nature, Pancasila norms are an open state only to values that are universal in achieving the goals of the state, nation and society.

State Administration Paradigm

There are several views on changes in the administrative paradigm, such as the view conveyed by Frederickson (1994), which reveals the existence of 6 paradigms, namely: 1) Classical bureaucracy with Weber (Bureaucracy, 1922), Wilson (The study of Public Administration, 1887), Taylor (Scientific Management, 1912), and Gulick and Urwick (Papers on the Science of Administration, 1937); 2) Neoclassical bureaucracy with the figures of Simon (Administrative Behavior, 1948), Cyert and March (A Behavioral Theory of the Firm, 1963); 3) Institutions, with characters Charles Lindblom 1965, Thompson (Organization in Action: The Social Science Bases of Administrative Theory, 1967), Mosher (Democracy And The Public Service, 1968), and Etzioni (A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organization, 1961); 4) Human Relations with Rensis Likert (The Human Organization: Its Management And Value, 1967), and Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn (The Social Psychology of Organizations, 1966); 5) Public Choice with the characters of Ostrom (1973), Buchanan and Tullock (1962-1968); and Paradigma of State Administration, according to Fredrickson (1994).

According to Nicholas Henry (1988), which is divided based on focus and locus, it consists of 5 basic Paradigms, namely: 1) the period of the dichotomy of politics and administration (1900-1926); 2) Principles of Administration (1927-1937); 3) State Administration as Political Science (1950-1970); 4) State Administration as Administrative Science (1956-1970); 5) State Administration as State Administration (1970-present).

Paradigm of the dichotomy of Politics and Administration (1900-1926). In this paradigm, according to Waldo: politics should not intrude on administration; management lend itself to scientific study; public administration is capable of becoming a value free science in its own right; the mission of administration is economy and efficiency (Henry, 1980). The focus of the administrative field is limited to organizational, staffing and budgeting issues in the biocracy. Meanwhile, political problems include government, politics and policy issues (Henry, 1980). In this period the mission of public administration was on economy and efficiency. Famous figures from this paradigm are Frank J. Goodnow (1900), and Leonard D. White (1929).

Paradigm Principles of Administration (1927-1937). In this period locus was not a problem in administration, what was important was the focus, namely on universally applicable administrative principles. The locus of state administration is not a problem in this paradigm, what matters is the focus, namely the principles of administration which are seen to be universally applicable in every form of organization and in every socio-cultural environment. (Nicholas Henry, 1980). The figures from this paradigm include Mary Parker Follet (Creative Experience, 1924), Willoughby (Principle of Public Administration 1927) Henry Fayol (Industrial and Management, 1930) Gullick and Urwick (Papers on the Science of Administration, 1937), and previously it should be mentioned Frederick W. Taylor (Principle of Scientific Management, 1911), Gullick and Urwick revealed the existence of 7 universal administrative principles, namely POSDCORB (Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Retorting, and Budgeting).

Paradigm of State Administration as Political Science (1950-1970). In this paradigm, public administration has a weakness with an unrealistic focus (Fritz Morsten, 1946) (Gaus, 1950); and inconsistent because the principles are not universally applicable (Simon, 1946 and

1947; Dahl, 1946). These criticisms have encouraged further thinking and gave birth to a new paradigm which Nicholas Henry called State Administration as Political Science. Administrative principles are in fact influenced by various environmental factors and are not value free or universal. Although administration has returned to the sphere of political science, there is nevertheless a separation of locus and focus between the two. If political science focuses on the problems of the policy-making process in an external focus, namely socio-political forces outside the bureaucracy, administrative science focuses on policy formulation that has a locus within the bureaucracy, then brings it to the prevailing political system (Henry, 1980). The principle of agreement, the principle of transparency, the principle of sustainability, the principle of factual truth.

Paradigm of State Administration as Administrative Science (1956-1970). According to Simon, a new paradigm for public administration meant that there ought to be two kinds of public administrations working in harmony and reciprocal intellectual stimulation; those scholars concerned with developing a pure science of administration based on a thorough grounding in social psychology, and a larger group concerned with prescribing for public policy (Henry, 1980; Simon Herbert A., 1947). This paradigm is marked by the development of behavioral science in the field of administrative studies in the study of interdisciplinary organizational studies such as socio-psychology, organizational development, and management science studies, with systems analysis and quantitative and econometric analysis (Caldwell, 1970; Henderson, 1966).

Paradigm of State Administration as State Administration (1970-Now). This paradigm identifies itself with issues and public interest as the locus, and administration theory, Management Science and Public Policy as the focus. Nicholas Henry stated that ... public administration has been increasingly concerned with the inextricably related areas of policy science, political economy, the public policy making process and its analysis, and the measurement of policy outputs (Henry, 1980).

The development of administrative science in the view above is classified in several paradigms according to the locus and focus in view as science. In another view, Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) divide the paradigm of state administration based on changes in values and norms applied in government and state administration. According to Denhardt, the paradigm of state administration is divided into three paradigms, namely Old Public Management (OPA), New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Service (NPS) (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

New Public Service (NPS)

NPM was born as a critique of the implementation of traditional administration (Old Public Administration) which was considered not accommodating in realizing effectiveness (Dunleavy & Hood, 1994). The next alternative emerged as a concept called New Public Management which developed in 1980-1990 in European countries.

Gruening (2001) after reviewing several expert views concluded that the New Public Management paradigm was basically born from public choice theory and managerialism (Gruening, 2001). One concept that is very well known and represents this paradigm is Osborne and Gaebler (1992) on the principles of entrepreneurial government (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) and NPM has made much progress in its era (Manning, 2001).. The application of NPM is applied differently in several countries such as European countries and the countries of Mexico, Japan and Korea as criticism from Mathiasen (1999) states that the application of NPM is not the same as transforming how to make cakes. (Mathiasen, 1999; Savoie, 2015).

Similar to the criticism of OPA, the New Public Service paradigm was also born as a critique of the NPM paradigm which was pioneered by Denhardt and Denhardt (2000). They stated that NPM views government organizations as being like a ship, and the role of the government on the ship is only as the captain who steers the speed of the ship, not rowing the

ship. The NPM-style steering rather than rowing paradigm was criticized by Denhardt and Denhardt as a paradigm that forgot who owned the boat. The government should focus its efforts on serving and empowering citizens because they are the owners of the "ship" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

To increase the role of the public, he initiated a new paradigm which they called the "New Public Service" (NPS) paradigm and could also become a rule of government (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Kernaghan, 2000). The root of the NPS problem can be traced from several theoretical roots such as: 1) the theory of citizenship democracy; the need for citizen involvement in policy making and the importance of deliberation to build solidarity and commitment to avoid conflict; 2) community and civil society models; accommodative to the role of civil society by building social trust, social cohesion and social networks in democratic governance; 3) the new humanist organizational theory and state administration; state administration should focus on organizations that value human beings and respond to human values, justice and other social issues; 3) Postmodern state administration; prioritizing dialogue (discourse) on theory in solving public problems rather than using a one best way perspective (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

Furthermore, Denhard formulated the concept of NPS as the antithesis of the two paradigms, namely OPA and NPM with a new concept he called NPS with several basic principles, namely: 1) Serving, not directing. An important role of public service is to help citizens articulate and assist them to find common interests, rather than to control or direct society; 2) The public interest is the goal, not by the product. Public administrators contribute to building a common notion of the public interest. The goal is not to find a quick solution by individual choice. Rather, it is a forum for shared interests and shared responsibilities; 3) Think strategically, act politically. Policies and programs that become public needs can be achieved effectively and responsibly through collective efforts and collaborative processes; 4) Serve citizens not customers. The public interest results from a dialogue about shared values. The aggregation of individual self-interests. Therefore, don't just respond to "customers" requests but focus on building trusting and cooperative relationships with and among residents; 5) Accountability is not simple. Civil servants must also pay attention to laws and regulations and the constitution, community values, political norms, professional standards and the interests of citizens; 6) Value people, not just productivity. Public organizations and the networks they follow are more likely to succeed in the long term if operated through collaborative processes and shared leadership based on respect for all; 7) The value of citizenship and public service over entrepreneurship The public interest is further enhanced by civil servants and citizens who are committed to making meaningful contributions to society than by entrepreneurial managers who act as if public money is their own.

The Administrative Paradigm in the Application of Pancasila Norms

The implementation of state administration in Indonesia is inseparable from the development of global administration. Whereas state administration is developing rapidly in European and American countries where the Indonesian nation is a former colony of the Dutch government. The empirical conditions in Indonesia are not much different from the conditions worried by Woodrow Wilson (1887), where political domination or power in the administration of the state strongly influences the achievement of state goals.

In Indonesia, political domination in the government system cannot be separated from the administration of the bureaucracy. Because the constitution implements a presidential system as stated in article 4 of the 1945 Constitution Government of the Republic of Indonesia 1998) (that the president as head of state is also the head of government (Prabandani, 2015). Thus, the Indonesian state administration system does not recognize the political and

administrative dichotomy with a presidential system of government.

Therefore, the implementation of state administration tends to be carried out in conjunction with a combination of OPA and NPM. For the approach to national stability, the government applies the OPA principles by centralizing power, both political and bureaucratic, built to perpetuate the power of the “Orde Baru” regime. As for the implementation of development with the Trilogy concept, it is similar to the NPM approach with an emphasis on solely increasing economic growth.

In 1998, the reform era government system emerged. The current administrative paradigm makes fundamental changes to the administration of the government system, political system, law enforcement and strengthening state institutions. The spirit of reform has encouraged changes or amendments to the 1945 Constitution as a necessity in structuring the state administration system.

The application of NPS values was largely adopted in changes to the democratic system (Diprose et al., 2019; Meutia, 2018) with direct elections for heads of state, regional heads and representatives of the people. The establishment of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) in the representative system, the establishment of the General Elections Commission to present an honest and fair and open election system, increasing the professionalism of ABRI by eliminating the dual functions of ABRI. The establishment of several new state institutions such as the KPK, the Judicial Commission, the Ombudsman Institute (Meutia, 2018), the implementation of the Law on Openness and Public Information (Arif & Sondakh, 2020; Meutia, 2018) and so on. Meanwhile, for public involvement, fundamental changes were made in the bureaucratic system by decentralizing authority to local governments, implementing regional autonomy, establishing a development planning system and implementing various national empowerment programs.

However, the principles of NPM also cannot be ignored in the reform period with a development approach to the organizational aspect even though it is carried out in conjunction with increasing income distribution through empowerment of local governments and communities. The application of the law in a neutral manner as a mouthpiece of the bureaucracy and the frequent changes of rules that cause confusion which is actually not effective in government. The sustainability of NPM continues to be carried out at the beginning of the reform by privatizing national companies, increasing foreign investment and so on in increasing economic growth.

On the other hand, in the administration of the bureaucracy, reform is considered less than optimal (Romli, 2008) with several indicators such as corruption being carried out more openly and even occurring at all levels of the bureaucracy. Finally, the implications of the application of NPM and NPS in the current reform era still show negative biases such as the tendency for Big Bureaucrasy and excessive paternalism (Mariana, 2006), budget swelling (Adnan, 2013), waste of resources (Kumorotomo, 2015; Setiawan, 2016). In the field of politics, the phenomenon of identity politics emerges (Buchari, 2014; Kumorotomo, 2015), the application of rules that often change does not reflect the principle of legality (Idris, 2017) and tends to overlap in its implementation (Sopian, 2018). Corruption tends to be carried out openly (Cholis Noor, 2018; Sommaliagustina, 2019) and in essence the bureaucracy will increasingly lead to the application of individualism values with an effectiveness model that tends to be partial (Amalia, 2014) at the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy.

Therefore, the application of NPM by Keban (2004:95) is said to be a genealogy of the ideology of neoliberalism because it advocates the release of government functions to the private sector. Meanwhile, the implementation of the NPS has not shown any significant improvement in increasing the role of public control in the administration of government, and increasing the openness and neutrality of the bureaucracy, which tends to still serve power.

This condition can indicate that administrative norms are further away from Pancasila

norms and the effectiveness of the bureaucracy tends to be partially implemented where each institution tends to increase its budget and influence in the administration of the state. This condition is increasingly feared by several groups, including the chairman of the DPD RI (6/11-2021) who stated that only by returning to the basic norms of Pancasila would the Indonesian state become a great country.

This problem prompted the preparation of this manuscript as a critique of the application of the ideal public service concept as promoted through the NPS. The purpose of this study was to describe the basic principles of Pancasila administration as the basis for changing the state administration paradigm. The importance of implementing the basic norms of Pancasila operationally through the basic functions of state administration. The formulation of a new paradigm of state administration in universal principles as a contribution of thought in ensuring that "State Administration" as an independent science and does not depend on any scientific theories.

The Roots of the NPA Concept: Perspective of Pancasila

The government system in Indonesia does not recognize the application of a dichotomy between politics and institutional administration because Indonesia is run in a presidential system where the President is the head of state as well as the head of government. The implementation of this system is a reflection of the principle of unity where the political and administrative functions are carried out in a system of one state institution, namely the Presidential Institution.

Pancasila views every citizen as having equal rights both in government and before the law, therefore every citizen without discrimination has the same rights in participating and being involved in government. In the government system, citizens hold full state sovereignty as a reflection that the people are the main element in the formation of the state. The people are the main reason why the state must exist.

Therefore, it is the people who are the real actors of the state and the government is given power as a reflection of democracy from the people for the people and by the people. Furthermore, what is given by the government to the people as a consequence of the granting of such power. It is in this aspect that the concept of rationality applies to the bureaucracy that the philosophy of the existence of a bureaucracy is actually to realize public accountability. That the basic philosophy of the existence of a bureaucracy is basically a guarantee from the government to the people to realize accountability in the administration of government and public services.

This concept of rationality is the root of the birth of the NPA Paradigm, in several paradigms: 1) That people's sovereignty is the source of state power while discretion is a guarantee of state power which is intended for the benefit of public services. 2) discretionary authority is basically born because of the existence of citizens who must be served, in other words, if there is no service, there is no "discretion"; 3) Bureaucracy only exercises discretionary authority and does not exercise power of authority such as state institutions that have absolute authority. 4) therefore the bureaucracy must be run with the community that the bureaucracy is basically owned by the community (assurance of accountability by the government / state institutions), the bureaucracy must engage the community representatively (muswarah) to jointly develop minimum service standards and maximum operational standards (SOM) (not standard operating procedures); 5) Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) are only carried out by state institutions or institutions as state instruments. 6) Violation of the power of discretion by not engaging the public is a violation of the constitution and the government must be held accountable for its own policies and for its own judged performance.

From the several paradigms above, the roots of the NPA concept are basically carried out based on the basic values of the state (Pancasila) in an effort to realize social justice in a

concrete way, based on universal values such as truth (wisdom), justice, openness and deliberation, unity without discrimination as a belief to achieve common goals (state goals).

Thus, the public approach as an actor is a reflection of the implementation of the basic norms of Pancasila, namely in realizing social justice. In the application of the functions and principles of Pancasila administration which places the bureaucracy as part of the state administration system that the bureaucracy is public property. This is a reflection of the government system in Indonesia which is carried out in the basic concept as government of the people, by the people and for the people. The administrative bureaucracy is only carried out on discretionary authority and is not carried out on absolute government power (government political functions). Thus, the role of politics and the bureaucracy becomes functionally clear.

Therefore, only by rationalizing the basic functions of state administration and the role of the bureaucracy in the implementation of public services, the implementation of public service policies can be maximally grounded where the public is placed as a policy actor, not just as complementary stakeholders or as objects of service recipients solely. Because the public basically has a strategic role, as: a) the owner of the state and bureaucracy; b) the owner of state sovereignty; c) the public can be viewed as a resource; d) the public understands their needs and interests; e) the public plays a role as social control over effectiveness.

NPA as a conceptual alternative that is run for the implementation of public services in a concrete manner with fundamental changes to the structure of state administration as a science and state administration as an implementation system. The implementation of the NPA is based on several fundamental principles that drive changes in the state administration paradigm. Some of these basic principles are:

1. Ending the debate between the role of politics and administration in the implementation of the state administration system. These two roles cannot be separated in the aspect of ontology, but in the aspect of epistemology and axiology both must be separated because they have different functions in accordance with historical values, ideology and culture as well as basic public values.
2. Distinguish the concept between power and authority. That state power is absolute in nature carried out by state institutions (government) and cannot be divided its functions to other institutions. Meanwhile, discretionary authority is exercised by bureaucratic institutions (government) whose authority must be rationally decentralized within the bureaucratic structure. Therefore, in a presidential system, the power of the president as head of state must be clear and the authority of the president as head of government. That the regional head accepts the transfer or decentralization of authority from the president as head of government
3. The concept of rationality is applied as a tool to measure the validity of the system at the administrative level which includes the political, bureaucratic, socio-economic and law enforcement systems. Mental regularity in the pattern of relations between the state and citizens and the government with the bureaucracy and the pattern of international relations in a rational economic system.
4. The application of the law enforcement system is based on the rationality of a comprehensive system in supporting state administration as a joint consensus based on the principles of deliberation. The law is not dedicated to legitimizing the interests of certain groups but the law must be upheld above the public interest rather than personal interests or certain groups.
5. Changing the bureaucratic paradigm from authority oriented to public oriented. Bureaucracy is a public property. Bureaucracy is a government guarantee to the public as a consequence of the delegation of power to him. As the state is owned by the public in the consensus of achieving common goals in realizing a system of government from the people by the people and for the people.

6. Changing the paradigm of public services, that public services are only run through bureaucratic mechanisms and are only carried out with discretionary authority with comprehensive public involvement such as in the preparation of maximum operational standards that do not have to be with the public and are unethical if carried out by the government itself.
7. Discretionary authority can be used widely and responsibly only for reasons to fulfill the basic public interest.

Conclusion

The application of the New Public Actor (NPA) is an alternative in the implementation of public services based on the application of state administration as a science in its basic function to articulate basic norms of citizenship (Pancasila) and as an implementation system in its function to realize the regularity of state life, nation and society. Thus, the application of the NPA is a reflection of philosophical values in the application of state administration as a science and as a system of ethical values for state administration.

Therefore, the application of the NPA is based on several paradigms that: 1) That the sovereignty of the people is the source of state power while discretion is a guarantee of state power which is intended for the benefit of public services. 2) The discretionary authority is basically born because there are citizens who must be served, in other words, there is no service, so there is no "discretion"; 3) Bureaucracy only exercises discretionary authority and does not exercise power of authority such as state institutions that have absolute authority. 4) therefore the bureaucracy must be run with the community that the bureaucracy is basically owned by the community (assurance of accountability by the government / state institutions), the bureaucracy must engage the community representatively (muswarah) to jointly develop minimum service standards and maximum operational standards (SOM) (not standard operating procedures); 5) Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) are only carried out by state institutions or institutions as state instruments. 6) Violation of the power of discretion by not engaging the public is a violation of the constitution and the government must be held accountable for its own policies and for its own judged performance.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to Dr. Edward Wolok as the Chancellor of the State University of Gorontalo who has given us many opportunities to complete this manuscript. And to the dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, State University of Gorontalo and the Head of the Department of Public Administration for their support in completing this manuscript.

References

- Anan, M. F. (2013). Reformasi Birokrasi Pemerintahan Daerah Dalam upaya Peningkatan Pelayanan Publik. *Paper Knowledge. Toward a Media History of Documents*, 5(2), 40–51.
- Amalia, F. (2014). *BELANEGARA.pdf*.
- Arif, D. K., Sondakh, M., et al. (2020). IMPLEMENTASI KEBIJAKAN KETERBUKAAN INFORMASI PUBLIK (Studi tentang penerapan UU No. 14 Tahun 2008 Di Dinas Kominfo Kota Manado). *Acta Diurna Komunikasi*, 2(4). <https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/index.php/actadiurnakomunikasi/article/view/30738/29537>
- Bambang, A., et al. (1993). *Konsepsi Negara Hukum Menurut UUD 1945*. IKIP Semarang Press.
- Biroli, A. (2010). Problematika Penegakkan Hukum di Indonesia (kajian dengan perspektif sosiologi hukum). *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 1–6.
- Buchari, S. A. (2014). *Kebangkitan Etinis Menuju Kebangsaan Politik Identitas*. Yayasan

- Obor.
https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=m61dDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=meningkatkan+politik+identitas&ots=WQJKvbgg0a&sig=jzgMhak4i3b9EFhU54RoNQ-xKg0&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=meningkatkan politik identitas&f=false
- Cahyadi, kurniawan robi. (2018). REFORMASI PELAYANAN BIROKRASI. *Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Publik Dan Pembangunan*, 4(4), 118–125.
- Cahyani, F. D. et al. (1995). *Pancasila Sebagai Identitas Nasional*. 1–3.
<http://sriactivity.blogspot.co.id/2014/07/makalah-pancasila-sebagai-identitas.html>
- Caldwell, L. K. (1970). *Environment: A challenge to modern society*. MIT Press , Cambridge.
- Cholis Noor. (2018). *Melawan Korupsi, Sejarah Kprupsi Di Indonesia* (Cetakan pe). PT. Centro Inti Media.
https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=oMx7DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=korupsi+di+era+reformasi&ots=T_12JRcVZx&sig=2aoZPMq15935LRtsHuP5IPKl4ug&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=korupsi di era reformasi&f=false
- Denhardt, R. B., & Denhardt, J. V. (2000). The new public service: Serving rather than steering. *Public Administration Review*, 60(6), 549–559. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-3352.00117>
- Denhardt, R. B., & Denhardt, J. V. (2003). The new public service: An approach to reform. *International Review of Public Administration*, 8(1), 3–10.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/12294659.2003.10805013>
- Diprose, R., McRae, D., & Hadiz, V. R. (2019). Two Decades of Reformasi in Indonesia: Its Illiberal Turn. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(5), 691–712.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1637922>
- Dunleavy, P., & Hood, C. (1994). From old public administration to new public management. *Public Money and Management*, 14(3), 9–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09540969409387823>
- Efendi, H. N., Yulianto, & Prihantika, I. (2019). Dinamika Peran Civil Society Dalam Ruang Publik: Studi Walhi Lampung. *Jurnal Birokrasi, Kebijakan, Dan Pelayanan Publik*, 1(1), 19–28.
- Gruening, G. (2001). Origin and theoretical basis of new public management. *International Public Management Journal*, 4(1), 1–25. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1096-7494\(01\)00041-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1096-7494(01)00041-1)
- Haliim, W. (2020). Problematika Kebijakan Dana Hibah dan Bantuan Sosial Sumber APBD: Relasi Korupsi Terhadap Kekuasaan Kepemimpinan, dan Perilaku Elit. *Inovasi*, 17(1), 39–53. <https://doi.org/10.33626/inovasi.v17i1.136>
- Hastiyanto, P. (2018). *Kritik Epistemologis Paradigma Administrasi Publik*.
- Hebdrik., S. (2017). Tanggung Jawab Negara Yang Belum Mendapat Pengakuan Internasional Menuju Hukum Internasional. *Occupational Medicine*, 53(4), 130.
- Henderson, K. M. (1966). *Emerging Synthesis in American Public Administration*. Asia Publishing House.
- Henry, N. (1980). *Public Administration And Public Affairs*. Pearson Education.
- Idris, A. (2017). Bingkai Reformasi Birokrasi Indonesia. *Jurnal Paradigma*, 2(3), 352–357.
- Indriyati. (2017). *Reformasi Birokrasi Dalam Pentaaan Kelembagaan Pemerintah Daerah*. 26–41.
- Irawan, R. (2013). *Urgensi Manajemen Birokrasi Profesional Untuk Megatasi Kemunduran BIrokrasi dalam Pelayanan Publik*.
- Isharyanto. (2016). *Ilmu Negara*.
- Junaedi, J., & Dimiyati, A. (2020). Hakikat Dan Fungsi Negara: Telaah Atas Persoalan Kebangsaan Di Indonesia. *Logika : Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 11(01), 37. <https://doi.org/10.25134/logika.v11i01.2717>

- Kernaghan, K. (2000). The post-bureaucratic organization and public service values. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 66(1), 91–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852300661008>
- Koesnardi, M. (1976). *Pcngantar Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*. Pusat Studi HTN, FH UI.
- Kumrotomo, W. (2015). *Pengendalian Anggaran*. September, 1–5.
- Machsun, T. (2016). Beberapa Pendekatan Metodologis Ilmu Sosial dalam Perspektif Studi Islam. *El-Banat: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, 6(1), 15–26. <http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/susi/index.php/elbanat/article/view/2890%0Ahttp://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/susi/index.php/elbanat/article/download/2890/2138>
- Magni, S. F. (1997). *Etika Politik*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Maharani, D. I. et. al. (2020). The Self-Concept Of Pancasila. In *Maharani, Dewi Indah at all* (Vol. 9, Issue May). https://www.slideshare.net/maryamkazemi3/stability-of-colloids%0Ahttps://barnard.edu/sites/default/files/inline/student_user_guide_for_spss.pdf%0Ahttp://www.ibm.com/support%0Ahttp://www.spss.com/sites/dm-book/legacy/ProgDataMgmt_SPSS17.pdf%0Ahttps://www.n
- Manning, N. (2001). The legacy of the New Public Management in developing countries. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 67(2), 297–312. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852301672009>
- Mariana, D. (2006). Reformasi Birokrasi Pemerintah Pasca Oorde Baru. *Sosiohumaniora*, 8(3), 240–254.
- Marliani, L. (2019a). Definisi Administrasi dalam Berbagai Sudut Pandang. *Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents*, 5(2), 40–51.
- Marliani, L. (2019b). Definisi Administrasi Negara dalam Berbagai Sudut Pandang. *Analisis Standar Pelayanan Minimal Pada Instalasi Rawat Jalan Di RSUD Kota Semarang*, 3(150), 103–111.
- Mathiasen, D. G. (1999). The new public management and its critics. *International Public Management Journal*, 2(1), 90–111. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1096-7494\(00\)87433-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1096-7494(00)87433-4)
- Mayo, E. (1923). The Irrational Factor in Human Behavior. The "Night-Mind" in Industry. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 110, 117–130.
- Meutia, I. F. (2018). *Reformasi administrasi publik*. <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/pd3k2>
- Moh. Koesnardi et al. (1976). *Pcngantar Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*. Pusat Studi HTN, FH UI.
- Noviati, C. (2013). Demokrasi Dan Sistem Pemerintahan. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 10(2), 333–354. <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk>
- Osborne, D. & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing Government*. Addison-Wesley.
- Pemerintah Republik Indonesia. (1998). *Amandemen Undang-Undang 1945*. New Merah Putih.
- Prabandani, H. W. (2015). Batas konstitusional Kekuasaan Eksekutif Presiden. *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia*.
- Romli, L. (2008). Masalah reformasi birokrasi. *Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Manajemen PNS*, 2(2), 1–8. <https://jurnal.bkn.go.id/index.php/asn/article/view/149/129>
- Savoie, J. D. (2015). What is Wrong With The New Public Management? *The Eletronic Library*, 34(1), 1–5.
- Sellang, K. (2016). ADMINISTRASI DAN PELAYANAN PUBLIK Antara Teori dan Aplikasinya. *Akmen*, February, 1–229. <https://www.mendeley.com/viewer/?fileId=349a0ada-0d19-cc5f-2776-e90886da1735&documentId=e4a8153f-e14a-3a02-a647-dfbbb59f5582>
- Setiawan, I. (2016). *Mengikis Perilaku Korupsi Pada Birokrasi Pemerintahan*. 29–38.
- Sibuea, H. P. (2014). *ILMU NEGARA*.
- Simon Herbert A. (1947). *Decision-making and administrative organization*. Public

Administration Review.

- Siregar, R. (2017). Sumber Daya Manusia Dalam Pembangunan Nasional. *Kompetensi Dan Peran Guru Dalam Pembelajaran*, 2, 293–297. <http://semnasfis.unimed.ac.id>
- Soehino. (1986). *Ilmu Negara*. Liberty.
- Soemarsono, M. (2016). Negara Hukum Indonesia dari Sudut Teori Tujuan Negara. *Konsep Dan Aktualisasi Negara Hukum Pancasila*, 5.
- Sommaliagustina, D. (2019). Implementasi Otonomi Daerah dan Korupsi Kepala Daerah. *Journal of Governance Innovation*, 1(1), 44–58. <https://doi.org/10.36636/jogiv.v1i1.290>
- Sopian. (2018). Komunikasi Politik Terkait Tumpang Tindihnya Regulasi Di Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Pada Pemberitaan Sejumlah Portal Berita selama 2017). *Nyimak Journal of Communication*, 2(1), 37–57.
- Tim Pengajar Ilmu Negara FH.Ul. (2004). *Ilmu Negara*. Depok: FH. VI.
- Utama, A. S. (2019). *Kepercayaan Masyarakat Terhadap Penegakan Hukum Di Indonesia*. 1(3), 306–313.
- Wati, R. (2019). Laporan Penelitian Kajian Pancasila Pada UU Pelayanan Publik. In *Badang Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila* (Vol. 8, Issue 5).
- Widayati. (2018). Penegakan Hukum Dalam Negara Hukum Indonesia yang Demokratis. *Hukum Rasendental*, 1(I), 511–523.
- Zulkarmaini. (2019). *Epistemologi Negara*. III(5), 54–85.