

## Research Article

# Revisiting the New Public Administration Paradigm in Jokowi's Administration: A Systematic Literature Review

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## Abstract.

The current development of public administration is influenced by three main factors namely market pull, governance, and digitalization, which often distracts public administration observers from other fundamental aspects. This article intends to revisit the New Public Administration (NPA) paradigm that focuses on the goals of public administration namely relevance, value, change, and social justice by focusing on contemporary Indonesia. By conducting a systematic literature review of publications released in the last 10 years, this article analyses the discussion of articles that address the pillars of NPA, namely debureaucratization, democratization, delegation, and decentralization (4Ds). The article finds that while there has been significant progress in terms of economic and infrastructure development under President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), there has been criticism about the lack of attention to democratic values and civil liberties. Efforts to strengthen governance and bureaucratic efficiency in Indonesia have often come at the expense of democratic principles and wider public participation, resulting in less space for civil liberties and tighter controls on dissent or criticism. From these findings, this article calls for a return to the views of scholars such as Frederickson, Crow, and Bryer who emphasize the importance of a more adaptive and value-based public administration design that involves citizen participation as a key component of the system.

**Keywords:** new public administration, democracy, Jokowi, Indonesia

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**Published:** 18 February 2025

Publishing services provided by Knowledge E

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Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the 2024 AAPA-EROPA-AGPA-IAPA Joint Conference Committee.

## 1. Introduction

Public administration has undergone a significant transformation in line with the changing social, economic and political landscape. The pull of economic markets [1] [2], governance [3], and digitalization [4] have been the three main factors influencing the way public administration observers and practitioners view and apply their principles. Amidst these dynamics, there exists dissatisfaction with the lack of attention to democratic values that should've been an integral part of public administration. In fact, democratic values and public administration should ideally have a complementary relationship [5].



To reflect the reality and discuss the direction of the focus of public administration in the midst of various phenomena of democratic decline, we can return to a pre-existing concept, namely New Public Administration (NPA). The emergence of the concept of NPA was an attempt to respond to these challenges at that time by bringing the focus of public administration back to the fundamental goals of relevance, values, change, and social equity [6]. The latter continues to be increasingly relevant to recent developments. In fact, it is believed that social equity needs to be integrated into the public administration curriculum and emphasized in government leadership styles [7].

The NPA came into existence in the late 1960s, particularly spearheaded by the Minnowbrook I Conference involving Dwight Waldo which brought together several young scholars and eventually resulted in several publications that significantly influenced the study of public administration such as *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* [8], *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* [9] and *New Public Administration* [3]. At that time, the conference was held during a time of turbulence, where political and social changes in the United States fueled debates about the role of public administration in promoting social justice and more inclusive political participation. The concept of NPA is then developed by many other scholars, such as Bourgon [10] who believes that public administration is a medium for channeling community values and choices.

According to Frederickson [3], the role of public administration should not only focus on economic efficiency and management, but also on formulating and implementing policies that are able to improve the welfare of vulnerable groups. In NPA's view, public administration has a moral obligation to work for a more equitable social change, address structural discrimination, and promote political inclusion for people lacking access to resources and power. This view directly challenges the perceived neutrality of public administration, emphasizing that administration must actively advocate for social justice values in order to maintain long-term political and social stability.

As the concept of the NPA developed, four key principles known as "4D" became the core of the paradigm. The 4D concept consists of debureaucratization, which aims to reduce bureaucratic barriers to make administrative processes more efficient and responsive; democratization, which emphasizes increased public participation in the decision-making process; delegation, which allows the transfer of authority from the center to lower levels; and decentralization, which encourages the distribution of power to local units so that policies can be tailored to the needs of local communities [3].

These principles were born out of a critique of traditional hierarchical and centralized bureaucracies, where decisions often did not directly reflect the needs of communities.

NPA thinkers considered that overly rigid bureaucratic structures limited the ability of public administration to adapt to social change. Therefore, debureaucratization is expected to speed up decision-making and increase flexibility in public services. In addition, democratization is considered essential for public administration processes to be more open and participatory, allowing people to be directly involved in policy-making that impacts on their lives.

In the context of delegation and decentralization, these two principles are seen as ways to reduce dependence on central authorities and encourage decision-making closer to local communities. Delegation allows for the shifting of some administrative responsibilities to lower levels, while decentralization creates a system where power can be distributed to different regions, which in turn helps the government respond more effectively to local needs. These principles reinforce NPA's focus on the relevance and responsiveness of public administration to the demands of the times [11].

In the development of public administration theory, NPA emerged as a response to dissatisfaction with classical public administration, emphasizing the importance of a balance between efficiency and social justice. However, various criticisms have emerged along with the implementation of the NPA perspective. One of the main criticisms of NPA is that its focus on social values, especially social justice, is considered too idealistic and difficult to implement in practice. This criticism states that by making social justice the main goal, public administration risks neglecting aspects of efficiency and stability that should be important cornerstones of governance. Frederickson [11] himself recognized the tension between the desire to achieve social responsiveness and the need to maintain administrative efficiency.

In addition, the NPA concept is considered to be inattentive to the potential risks posed by an overly broad administrative freedom. As stated in Sharkansky's work, expanded administrative discretion risks producing actions that are contrary to constitutional policy, even allowing for harsh and irresponsible actions under public authority [6]. Another criticism highlights that while the NPA emphasizes the importance of citizen engagement and democratization in public administration, there is a view that this can create challenges in the decision-making process. By opening up greater space for public participation, there is potential for conflicts of interest to arise, which can slow down the decision-making process and make it more difficult to reach consensus among [11]. This has led some to argue that NPA is more suitable as an inspiring conceptual ideal than as an operational model that can be directly applied in all governance contexts.

Although NPA has been around for a long time and has gone through various discussions, it is still relevant to revisit, especially in countries that have experienced

democratic decline recently. In the context of Indonesia, there is a lack of attention to democratic issues under the leadership of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Jokowi had made government reform part of his campaign [12]. Moreover, he has often emphasized the importance of good governance and efficiency in the bureaucracy as part of his vision to build a government that is more responsive and responsive to people's needs. However, these efforts have not been successful. corruption, collusion, and nepotism still occur frequently [13]. In fact, the bureaucracy in Indonesia was once considered to be one of the most inefficient bureaucracies [14].

NPA is often praised for attempting to address shortcomings in traditional public administration models that focus too much on efficiency and rigid bureaucracy. However, recent criticism suggests that while NPA emphasizes the importance of social justice and community empowerment, its implementation is often constrained by existing bureaucratic systems and reliance on market policies. In addition, while NPA seeks to democratize public administration, policymakers often face difficulties in directly involving the public in the decision-making process, especially amidst the challenges of globalization and rapid technological advances.

Furthermore, he has also been criticized for his greater focus on economic and infrastructure development often at the expense of democratic principles, such as restrictions on civil liberties and increased state surveillance of dissent or criticism [15]. For example, during his administration, Jokowi faced criticism for sidelining democracy in favor of economic development, including manipulating electoral rules [16] and influencing the appointment of officials for his own political gain. This led to a decrease in space for civil liberties in Indonesia, which was seen as a setback for democracy under his administration [15].

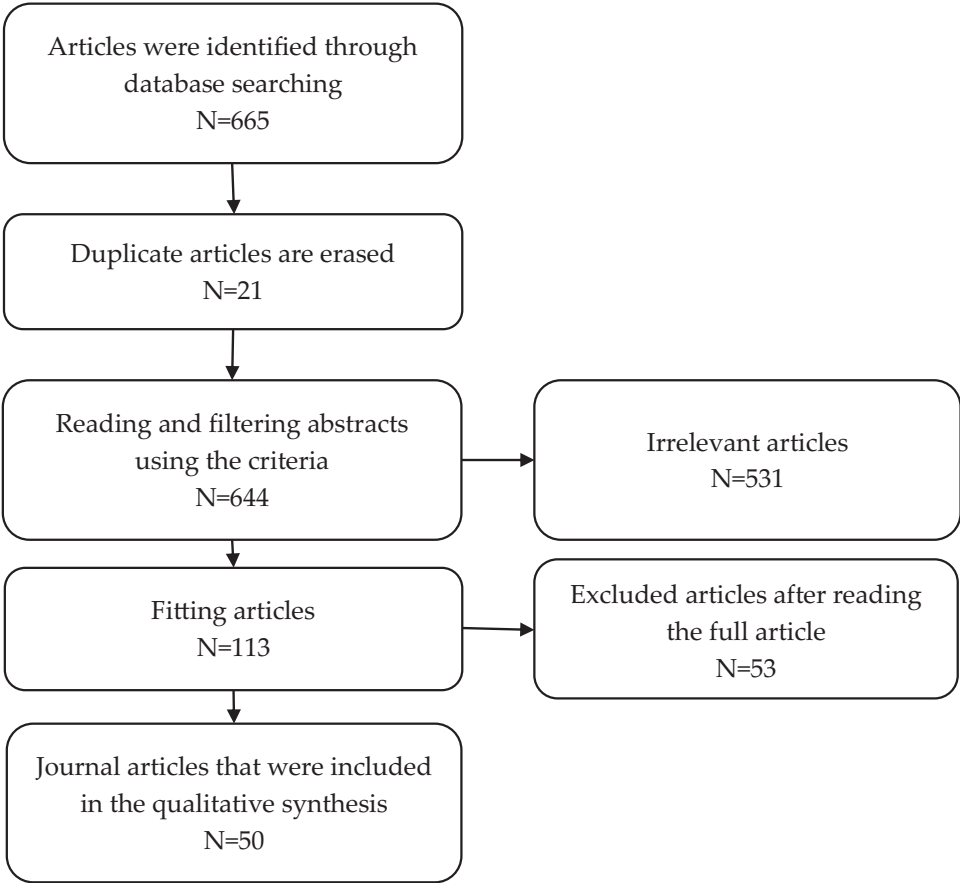
Against this background, this research aims to further analyses the application of NPA principles in the context of contemporary public administration in Indonesia and explore how this concept can help address the challenges posed by the pull of markets, governance, and digitalization in the modern era.

## 2. Methods

This research used a systematic literature review approach. Data sources were obtained from various academic articles published between 2004-2024 from the Scopus database to ensure a collection of articles with maintained quality. The literature coverage was limited by selecting four keywords related to public administration in Indonesia that were adopted from the principles of NPA [11] namely "democracy",

“delegation”, “debureaucracy”, and “decentralization”. Literature data was collected by using the Publish or Perish application and limiting the year of publication. Furthermore, to help get an overview of the trends and what the content of the research has been, this research uses the Vos Viewer application which can visualize them.

Of the 665 articles obtained on October 23, 2024, according to the desired criteria, there were 50 scientific articles dated 2010-2024 that finally met the parameters for analysis. We selected the 50 scientific articles through a gradual process that started with removing duplicate articles, reviewing titles, abstracts, and keywords, and then reviewing the full articles. The selection was based on accuracy, consistency, completeness and publication date. As a result, the researchers agreed that the literature included in the analysis phase was those published in the last 10 years in order to focus more on the Jokowi administration.



**Figure 1:** Flow Diagram and Screening Process.

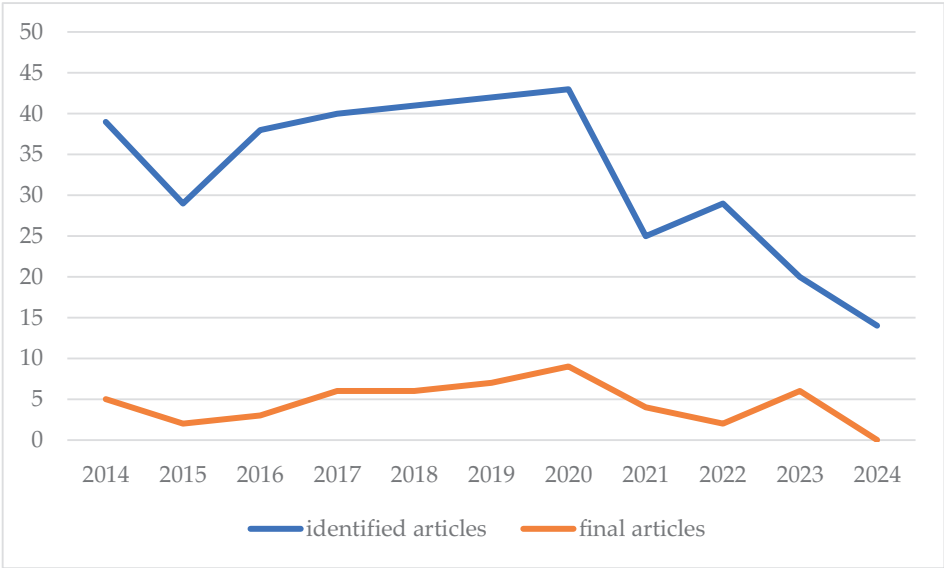


Figure 2: Number of retrieved articles.

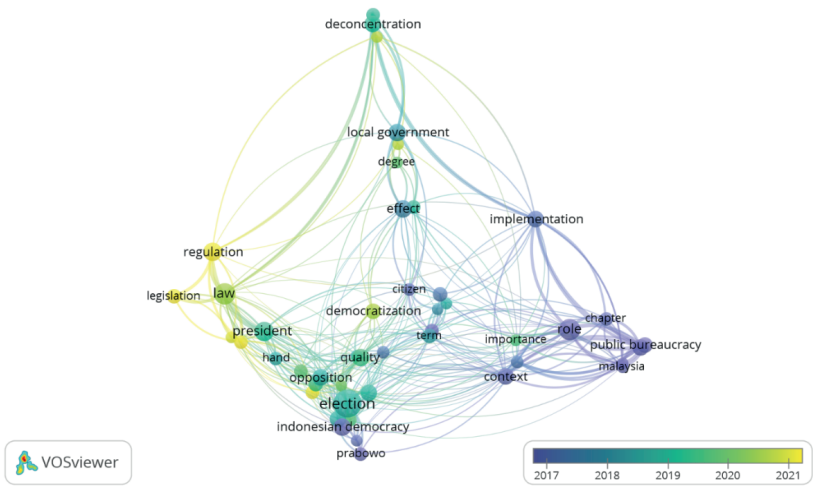


Figure 3: Overlay Visualisation.

Figure two shows the trend of the quantity of publications of scientific articles that meet the criteria of this study. From the collection, the visualization in Figure 3 shows how in the period approaching the completion of Jokowi’s second term, there were various discussions about regulations, legislation, laws that were closely related to the presidential elections that occurred in 2024. This is reinforced by the density visualization in Figure 4 which illustrates the many discussions about the general election.

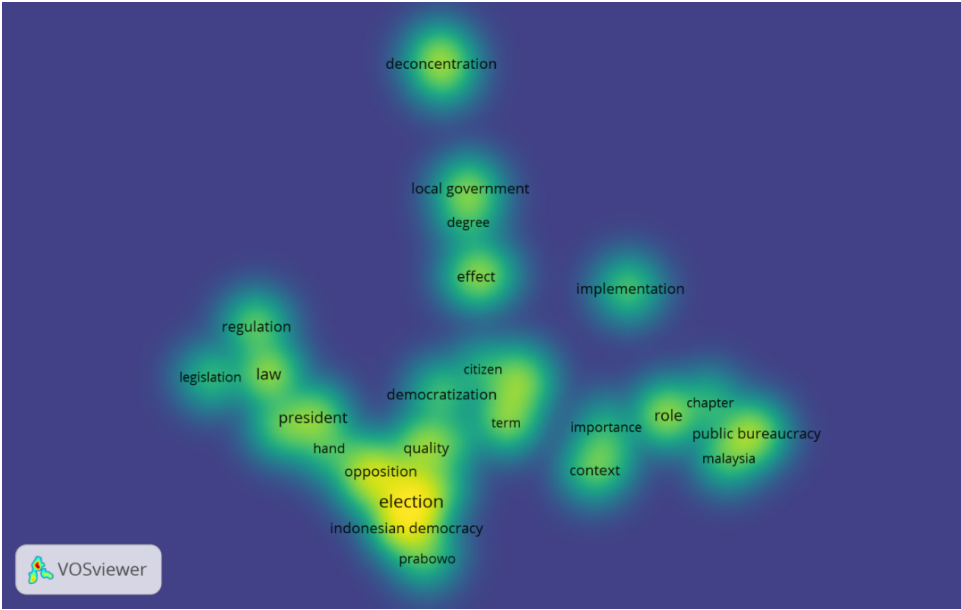


Figure 4: Density Visualisation.

TABLE 1: Analyzed articles based on selection criteria.

No	Title	Author	Year	Cites	Source
1	How Jokowi won and democracy survived	M. Mietzner	2014	64	Journal of Democracy
2	Indonesian Politics in 2014: Democracy's Close Call	E. Aspinall	2014	48	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies
3	Indonesia matters: Asia's emerging democratic power	A. Acharya	2014	45	Indonesia Matters: Asia's Emerging Democratic Power
4	Illiberal democracy in Indonesia: The ideology of the family state	D. Bourchier	2014	26	Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia: The Ideology of the Family State
5	Regional dynamics in a decentralized Indonesia	H. Hill	2014	29	Regional Dynamics in a Decentralized Indonesia
6	Oligarchic populism: Prabowo subianto's challenge to Indonesian democracy	E. Aspinall	2015	70	Indonesia
7	Decentralization and Citizen Happiness: A Multilevel Analysis of Self-rated Happiness in Indonesia	S. Sujarwoto	2015	23	Journal of Happiness Studies
8	Coercing loyalty: Coalitional presidentialism and party politics in jokowi's Indonesia	M. Mietzner	2016	39	Contemporary Southeast Asia
9	The role of the public bureaucracy in policy implementation in five ASEAN countries	J. Quah	2016	5	The Role of the Public Bureaucracy in Policy Implementation in Five ASEAN Countries
10	Weak central authority and fragmented bureaucracy: A study of policy implementation in Indonesia	A. Pramusinto	2016	3	The Role of the Public Bureaucracy in Policy Implementation in Five ASEAN Countries

TABLE 1: Continued.

No	Title	Author	Year	Cites	Source
11	Indonesia's year of democratic setbacks: towards a new phase of deepening illiberalism?	V. Hadiz	2017	69	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies
12	Competing populisms in post-authoritarian Indonesia	V.R. Hadiz	2017	67	International Political Science Review
13	Indonesia: a tale of misplaced expectations	R. Robison	2017	29	Pacific Review
14	State Bureaucracy in Indonesia and its Reforms: An Overview	N. Gaus	2017	28	International Journal of Public Administration
15	REVOLUSI MENTAL' to build the character of bureaucrats in Indonesia	Suparno	2017	3	International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology
16	Does local government proliferation improve public service delivery? Evidence from Indonesia	B.D. Lewis	2017	37	Journal of Urban Affairs
17	Jokowi's authoritarian turn and Indonesia's democratic decline	T. Power	2018	127	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies
18	The Political Economy of Clientelism: A Comparative Study of Indonesia's Patronage Democracy	W. Berenschot	2018	64	Comparative Political Studies
19	Party Cartelization, Indonesian-Style: Presidential Power-Sharing and the Contingency of Democratic Opposition	D. Slater	2018	40	Journal of East Asian Studies
20	Financial Liberalization: Stable Autocracies and Constrained Democracies	A. Pond	2018	25	Comparative Political Studies
21	Brokers and citizenship: access to health care in Indonesia	W. Berenschot	2018	32	Citizenship Studies
22	Incumbent bureaucrats: Why elections undermine civil service reform in Indonesia	W. Berenschot	2018	21	Public Administration and Development
23	Two Decades of Reformasi in Indonesia: Its Illiberal Turn	R. Diprose	2019	76	Journal of Contemporary Asia
24	Explaining indonesia's democratic regression: Structure, agency and popular opinion	E. Warburton	2019	74	Contemporary Southeast Asia
25	Indonesia's Democratic Paradox: Competitive Elections amidst Rising Illiberalism	E. Aspinall	2019	42	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies
26	Whatever Happened to Civil Islam? Islam and Democratization in Indonesia, 20 Years On	R.W. Hefner	2019	43	Asian Studies Review
27	Examining the unintended outcomes of NPM reforms in Indonesia	H. Harun	2019	22	Public Money and Management

TABLE 1: Continued.

No	Title	Author	Year	Cites	Source
28	Analysis of the Development on Deconcentration in Indonesia	R. Rauf	2019	3	ARNP Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences
29	Does Fiscal Decentralization Encourage Corruption in Local Governments? Evidence from Indonesia	A. Alfada	2019	22	Journal of Risk and Financial Management
30	Populist Anti-Scientism, Religious Polarisation, and Institutionalised Corruption: How Indonesia's Democratic Decline Shaped Its COVID-19 Response	M. Mietzner	2020	85	Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs
31	Jokowi in the Covid-19 Era: Repressive Pluralism, Dynasticism and the Overbearing State	G. Fealy	2020	45	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies
32	Authoritarian innovations in Indonesia: electoral narrowing, identity politics and executive illiberalism	M. Mietzner	2020	42	Democratization
33	Elites, masses, and democratic decline in Indonesia	E. Aspinall	2020	39	Democratization
34	Authoritarian innovations	N. Curato	2020	47	Democratization
35	Labor and politics in Indonesia	T.L. Caraway	2020	31	Labor and Politics in Indonesia
36	Culture of corruption politicians' behavior in parliament and state official during reform government Indonesia (genealogical study)	B.S. Riyadi	2020	21	International Journal of Criminology and Sociology
37	Stateness and State Capacity in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Securing Democracy's Survival, Entrenching Its Low Quality	M. Mietzner	2020	3	Stateness and Democracy in East Asia
38	Welcoming two decades of decentralization in Indonesia: a regional development perspective	T. Talitha	2020	60	Territory, Politics, Governance
39	Sources of resistance to democratic decline: Indonesian civil society and its trials	M. Mietzner	2021	37	Democratization
40	Democratization and Representative Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Promotion Patterns in Indonesia's Civil Service, 1980–2015	J.H. Pierskalla	2021	12	American Journal of Political Science
41	Legislation Impediments in Reorganising Government Bodies in Indonesia	M.P.H. Wijaya	2021	5	Bestuur
42	Non-Delegation Doctrine Of Presidential Legislative Power In The Presidential Government System: A Comparative Study Between Indonesia And In The United States Of America	C. Simabura	2021	1	Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues

TABLE 1: Continued.

No	Title	Author	Year	Cites	Source
43	The challenge of reforming big bureaucracy in Indonesia	M. Turner	2022	31	Policy Studies
44	Under family control: The trend of sole candidate elections in Indonesia	A. Yakub	2022	3	International Area Studies Review
45	Political Power and Communications in Indonesia	K.D. Jackson	2023	26	Political Power and Communications in Indonesia
46	Power consolidation and its impact on the decline of democracy in Indonesia under President Jokowi	Asrinaldi	2023	2	Cogent Social Sciences
47	Blind spots and spotlights in bureaucratic politics: An analysis of policy co-production in environmental governance dynamics in Indonesia	M.A.K. Sahide	2023	2	Development Policy Review
48	Democratizing corruption: a role structure analysis of Indonesia's "Big Bang" decentralization	M.S. Silitonga	2023	2	Applied Network Science
49	The Hierarchical Model of Delegated Legislation in Indonesia	S. Al-Fatih	2023	2	Lex Scientia Law Review
50	Fiscal Decentralization And Economic Growth In Indonesia: A Significant Representation Of Achieving Autonomic Management	S. Al-Fatih	2023	0	International Journal of Economics and Finance Studies

### 3. Results and Discussion

NPA arose in response to dissatisfaction with traditional approaches to public administration that were perceived as overly bureaucratic and less responsive to social change and societal demands. According to Frederickson [11], one of the main proponents of NPA, this approach prioritizes values such as social justice, policy relevance, and greater participation of the public in the decision-making process. Scholars such as Denhardt and Denhardt [17] also emphasize the importance of the role of public administrators as facilitators who encourage community participation, not just as implementers of government policies. However, in the Indonesian context, this disregard for democratic voices shows that public administration observers are still stuck in a traditional paradigm that prioritizes efficiency and governance over championing broader community involvement in the policy process [6].

According to Crow [18], the development of modern public administration is increasingly shifting away from bureaucratic models towards a more flexible, adaptive and change-oriented approach. This approach emphasizes the importance of responsive

and value-based systems, which is in line with the concepts of NPA. Crow mentions that public administration design should focus on transdisciplinary and client or citizen orientation, to achieve more inclusive outcomes in an increasingly complex democratic system. In addition, Bryer [19] underlines the importance of the role of citizens as key actors in public governance by developed Frederickson view that public administration should embrace strong civic values, including the active participation of citizens in decision-making processes that affect their lives. He highlighted that the inclusion of citizens in the governance process is an ethical imperative that cannot be ignored, especially in a system of government that claims to be representative and democratic.

Frederickson also notes that the adoption of the NPA approach may sacrifice efficiency to achieve social equity and responsiveness to citizens' needs. This suggests that the primary goal of public administration should not only be to implement policies effectively, but also to ensure that policies are made and implemented with the aspirations and involvement of the people in mind. This view supports the idea that public administration should not only be orientated towards technocratic efficiency but should also pay attention to democratic values and community participation in the decision-making process. The design approach in public administration is expected to provide a framework that allows governments to be more adaptive to social change and the needs of a dynamic society.

This discussion shows that a modern public administration approach based on NPA principles is highly relevant to creating inclusive and value-based governance, emphasizing the importance of citizen participation in shaping public policies that are responsive to social and political change. Therefore, deeper reflection is needed from public administration observers in Indonesia to not only be lulled by the pull of the market and digitalization but also to ensure that democratic principles are maintained. They should advocate the importance of democratic values in every policy to ensure that public administration supports social justice and equity.

### **3.1. Delegation**

There is a noticeable difference in the delegation of power between the United States of America and Indonesia both as a democratic country. In Indonesia, the President is very dominant in shaping laws and regulations, such as Presidential Regulations [20]. This shows that in Indonesia, the President holds a large amount of power that is not entirely distributed in which the president is able to make new laws and regulations without a clear limit to the scope of the regulation.

### 3.2. Decentralization

Decentralization has been a core in Indonesian government reform post-Suharto era. Decentralization can be split into fiscal decentralization or government operations at the local level and political decentralization or local elections. Fiscal decentralization shows a significant positive relation to community welfare, such as budget allocation as regional governments are able to pay more attention and assign a significant portion of the budget to public services according to the needs of the people [21]. This indirectly affects positively to a region's economic capacity based on enhancing economic growth because economic capacity is directly linked with improved standards of life in a local community [21]. According to Sujarwoto & Tampubolon [22], fiscal decentralization is also often met with higher citizen satisfaction, but political decentralization has no or inverse effects on citizen satisfaction due to the increase of local political conflicts from Indonesia's newly decentralized policies that rendered local democracy less effective. Decentralization that focuses on improving citizens' wellbeing through provisions of better policies and public services instead of economic growth is shown to have a direct correlation with citizen satisfaction and happiness [22].

Although decentralization and creation of new local governments theoretically should increase the effectiveness of public service delivery in Indonesia, the poor execution created more problems rather than solving said problems. Newly created districts are unable to close the service delivery gaps in enrollments and are further behind in providing access to other services, as well as the widening gap to infrastructure access [23]. According to Lewis [23], this gap could be attributed to fragile governance environments that exist in new districts and the relatively corruptible nature of the public sector. According to Silitonga et al. [24], local executives gained more operating power through decentralization since they are independent of the local council which enabled them to engage in illicit transactions which is a form of corruption.

The ineffectiveness of decentralization could also be attributed to the high level of corruption present in the Indonesian government. Although fiscal decentralization provides higher citizen satisfaction from the delivery of public services, corruption is likely to fester in local government administration especially with the delegation of managing government revenues. A higher degree of expenditure decentralization and tax revenue decentralization is found to facilitate an increase in the number of corruption cases, as well as the significant effects of those corruption cases [25]. The ineffectiveness of decentralization is shown to directly impact the regional development for the last two decades. There exists regional disparity since the start of the decentralization process, where rich regions with natural resources have quickly grown from other less

endowed provinces and districts [26]. The regional disparity is also affected by the spacial fragmentation by various local government proliferation that is mainly driven by political interests.

### 3.3. Debureaucratization

The Indonesian bureaucracy have a significant role in policy-making decision including formulation and implementation. The limited ability of the House of Representatives (DPR) to make new legislation is partly due to the complicated and extensive process of negotiation between the executive and legislature, which causes issues that are lacking in urgency to be shelved and have little chance of being deliberated in the future [27]. According to Pramusinto [27], the current Indonesian civil service has several weaknesses including (1) Leadership failure to direct the bureaucracy and the lack of punishment for leaders that fail to perform according to expectations; (2) High fragmentation in the public bureaucracy that leads to sectoral egoism which prioritizes their sectors interest over others; (3) A gap between the leaders and subordinates in the bureaucracy which creates conflict; (4) Regional autonomy that affects the institutional structure.

The Indonesian bureaucracy reforms is headed for a New Public Management (NPM) of neoliberalism approach by advocating the market as new technology for institutional regulation in Indonesian state bureaucracy [28] While the implementation of NPM in Indonesian government bureaucracies proved to be a success, there are some unintended outcomes of said implementation. Such unintended outcomes involved Indonesia's past with Suharto's authoritarian regime as there exists local elites (or selected government officials) who are not acting in the interest of the public, weakening of internal local government audits, and the prolonged survival of corruption [29].

President Jokowi implemented the 'Mental Revolution' program as a means to renew the outdated thinking of bureaucrats to build character that is oriented towards global development, independence and progression. The 'Mental Revolution' requires changing the work culture of the bureaucracy, from an incompetent, wasteful, and corrupt work culture to a responsive, simple, competent, cross-sectoral cooperation and clean work culture [30].

There is an unnoticed importance of the role of the brokerage in realizing citizen rights. Brokers are intermediaries between the state and citizen in claiming citizen rights, but the citizen-broker dynamic is susceptible to voting behavior manipulation

and perpetuate elite dominance by limiting the capacity and willingness of citizens to criticize and discipline elite behavior [31].

The democratic process often fails to foster a more merit-based bureaucracy due to the influence of politics in the execution of government administration. Politicians use bureaucratic appointments to obtain campaign support to boost their electoral chances and develop firmer control over state resources, implementation of policies and government programs which creates a situation where politicians will prefer loyal bureaucrats over capable ones [31]. Research by Pierskalla et al. [32] show that the democratic process also developed increased overt discrimination against women and religious minorities in positions of power. These situations provide causes to why the Indonesian bureaucracy fails to provide transparent and effective public service, since it is often used as a political tool instead of purely to serve the needs of the people.

Corruption is a deeply rooted problem that the Indonesian bureaucracy cannot seem to get rid of. This shows that there is a lack of serious efforts in handling the problem of corruption, as the creation of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) as a repressive measure is only targeted towards dealing and bringing to justice the crime of corruption while there is a need of efforts that is intended to change or improve conditions conducive to corruption such as developing a culture of anti-corruption and a culture of separation of assets from personal property [33].

The ineffectiveness and inefficiency of Indonesian government can be attributed to large and ineffective institutional structure which have significant potential to overlap in function between ministries or sectors [34]. Although Indonesia's last two President have set a goal of bureaucratic reform, the efforts that are still relatively minimal in achieving the Grand Design for Bureaucracy and with the existence of democracy, there exist opposing political forces for a bureaucratic reform to halt or hinder its progress [35]. According to Turner & Sumarwono [35], to implement a successful bureaucratic reform there needs to be strong and sustained political support, as well as securing the commitment of bureaucratic leaders.

### **3.4. Democracy**

Bourchier [36] showed that Indonesian history played a significant role in the ideology of democracy particularly the organicist ideologies and its development into the current democratic era. Indonesia's political landscape is strongly influenced by the Suharto's era and the nation-wide reforms, but the role and power of the military is still unchanging from rto's era, enabling it to be used as a political power [36] also showed that the

authoritarian style of leadership has begun normalizing the idea that liberal democracy is out of tune with both the constitution and Indonesian culture and to prioritize 'the prosperity of the people', instead of the equal existence of prosperity and democracy. Mietzner [37] also showed that the Indonesian state during Suharto's era endured the transition and assists in the creation of the current electoral democracy but it is trapped Indonesia in low-quality democratic rule.

Jokowi was initially beloved by the citizens and observers alike and Jokowi's rapid rise to fame came from his exceptional work ethic as a mayor of Solo, as well as his humility also played a big role as he appealed to the average citizen [38] The momentum surrounding Jokowi led him to win the 2014 presidential election against Prabowo Subianto by a margin of 6.3%. This event was seen as a win for democracy by experts because Prabowo was seen as a figure with authoritarian ideologies while Jokowi was seen as an antithesis of a politician and a representative of the people due to his informal language which is peppered with Javanese phrasing and pronunciation; he dresses casually, eats at roadside food stalls, travels economy class on airplanes, and interacts warmly with ordinary people [36]; [38]. Aspinall [39] also stated that Jokowi knew his target audience very well in comparison to Prabowo as Prabowo won in people who lived in cities, have better education, and earns more money, but Jokowi won from Indonesia's disenfranchised, poor, rural voters which makes a huge part of Indonesia's population as a developing country.

According to Acharya [40], Indonesia could be considered as country with "emerging powers" or a high degree of economic potential and diplomatic dynamism. This potential is vulnerable to financial market turmoil due to the dependence on foreign investment, causing an increase of importance to democracy in the formulation of foreign policies in Indonesia [40]. Which means that to unlock Indonesia's full global economic potential, Indonesia's citizens play a huge role in determining policies. But despite predictions of becoming an economic giant, issues like oligarchy, wealth concentration, and reactionary populism persist in Indonesia as evidenced by weak institutions and protectionist policies [2].

Hadiz & Robinson [2] stated that due to the disorganization of the Indonesian civil society and the collaboration with state agencies, authoritarian rule prevailed which pushed corporatists ideologies that denied legitimacy to contending agendas and embedding citizens in organizations that served the state. According to Hadiz & Robinson, Jokowi was forced into politics without the proper dismantling of the existing government system and shows that populism ideologies are being absorbed into the

existing environment where oligarchies and corruption still exists and becoming another vehicle for elite-centered agendas.

Jokowi's descent to notoriety started during the COVID-19 crisis, which can be attributed to a combination of delayed response, public discontent, and economic challenges [38]. Initially, his administration faced criticism for its slow implementation of testing and contact tracing, leading to a significant decline in the public's trust. As the pandemic escalated, economic roadblocks and repercussions became evident, with rising unemployment and bankrupt businesses that fueled further dissatisfaction, particularly among lower-income groups [37]; [41]. Moreover, policies that were made to prioritize economic recovery over strict health measures made tensions worse, prompting public protests and discontent. This combination of catastrophic crisis management, inconsistent information, and inadequate economic support ultimately led to the decline of approval ratings and a shift in political dynamics, highlighting the complexities of governance in times of crisis and the critical importance of public trust. Both Mietzner [37] and Fealy [41] highlighted the democratic decline caused by political and economic elites that seek their own interests and power years prior to the COVID-19 pandemic as a reason for the lackluster response of the crisis.

Hadiz [12] emphasized that Indonesia's democracy is increasingly characterized by illiberalism and the dominance of oligarchic interests, which undermine social rights and political inclusion. This situation reflects a broader trend of disillusionment among citizens, as structural inequalities persist and traditional democratic institutions fail to deliver on their promises, [12]. Power [42] also stated that Jokowi's administration is shifting towards an authoritarian turn as his government is shown to manipulate state institutions for partisan purposes, which led to the repression of political opposition and diminishing accountability. The entrenchment of intolerant Islamic elements within mainstream politics further exacerbates the decline of democratic norms in the country.

Jokowi's party loyalty was due to using coercion to create presidential coalitions. According to Mietzner [38], Jokowi applied conventional strategies but also power sharing strategies in the form of distributing resources to parties that support him, along with convincing parties that opposition pursued an anti-democratic agenda which showed the near-autocratic interventions in the autonomy of parties by Jokowi. This leads to the failure of emergence of an opposition although there an absence of a dominant single party [43]. Pond [44] highlights the use of financial liberation by increasing wages and growth while reducing economic returns for the autocratic elite who use institutional design to protect their wealth and political influence as a method to combat the increasingly autocratic rule.

Jokowi is also shown to exhibit illiberal tendencies. Diprose et al. [45] showed that Indonesia's illiberal turn is shown by the agendas of economic and resource nationalism under the guise of populist discourses that serve elite interests that further plunges the citizens into deepening inequalities in Indonesian society. Warburton & Aspinall [46] adds that Jokowi's change to authoritarian systems is shown by the containment of opposition actors, and application of laws that infringe upon citizens' freedom and access to justice although the Indonesian citizens value the democracy. Jokowi is shown to exercise executive illiberalism in the form of undermining democratic protections and liberal norms to secure a reelection and beginning to take deliberate efforts to reduce the democratic space which contribute to the democratic decline [39].

The gradual appearance of these tendencies indicates a growing authoritarian innovation in Indonesia. Jokowi's authoritarian innovation proved to be effective in tearing down the democratic fabrics of Indonesia creating polarization in the citizens without the recognition of the citizens [12]; [37]. The instrumentalization of law enforcement agencies to silence critics is another form of authoritarian innovation [37]. Aspinall et al. [39] suggests that the ruling elite of Indonesia can be attributed as the force behind Indonesia's current democratic decline. It is also shown that the public, civil society, the media and political parties have offered inconsistent and sporadic resistance opposition to illiberal trend. According to Curato & Fossati [18] authoritarian innovation is not a process that is immediate rather it's a gradual challenging of institutional boundaries in ways that appear less consequential and is usually associated with incumbent power-holders and are oftentimes initiated by democratically elected incumbent politicians.

Asrinaldi & Yusof [47] showed that Indonesia's democratic decline in Jokowi's era can be attributed to the failure of democratic power consolidation due to the strong involvement of the ruling regime that affected the ongoing consolidation process. According to Asrinaldi, there were interventions in the political community in Jokowi's administration that was aimed at strengthening the coalition network to salvage the economic and political interests of the oligarchs in the government.

Jackson [48] highlighted the use of the centralized, top-down control of information and media in regimes was not merely about suppressing dissent but also about crafting a narrative that legitimized its authority by regulation of public discourse which ensure alignment with state ideologies and minimizing challenges to authority. Jackson also pointed out that this form of information limitation and suppression will only bring pressures to reform and demands for democratization and transparency such as the case in Suharto's era.

Jokowi's polarization of civil society using coercion has weakened the civil society's state to the attacks of elite groups that have certain interest. The power of the Indonesian civil society to create democratic values related to checks and balances on elites; the electorate's basic voting rights; and opposition to executive attempts to increase the government's power over civil society remained stagnant due to polarization [37]. The weakened state of the Indonesian civil society created a susceptible environment for conservative elites to both divide and coerce civil society such as the case with Jokowi.

The democratic declined of Indonesia has spread to the local level democracy. Yakub et al. [49] demonstrated that there has been a rise of sole candidates in the local level election due to the symptom of incumbency advantages, weak electoral systems, and poor institutionalization of political parties such as that family-based elite networks dominate the elections and the rise of political family control.

Hefner [50] showed that there exists a need for religiously inclusive Pancasila citizenship that focuses on citizenship and public ethics in democratic Indonesia to combat hardline populists to instrumentalize Islam for the purposes of identity politics. As well as the importance of geographic and institutional factors in allowing the labor movement to mobilize on a massive scale despite its low density and high levels of fragmentation and for unions to pursue pro labor policies at the local level [51]. Pierskalla [32] also mentioned the need for a balanced bureaucratic representation and the influence of democratization on career opportunities for women and religious minorities, where democratization indicated intensified discrimination against women and religious minorities in the civil service which points to the need for democratic reforms that go beyond mere electoral competition to address these emerging biases effectively.

## 4. Conclusion

The dynamics of democracy have become a popular topic in the study of Indonesian government in recent years. Many scholars see that the trend of democratic decline has occurred in Indonesia recently, especially in Jokowi's second term. As one aspect of the 4Ds, democracy has become Indonesia's bad record when we look back at the NPA paradigm. Another much-discussed aspect of the 4Ds is debureaucracy, which has yet to be achieved. Debureaucracy, which aims to build a responsive government, gets a lot of press especially the predicate that Indonesia's bureaucracy is one of the least effective. This then impacts the government's ability to meet various public needs. Followed by decentralization and delegation which can be considered as ineffective.

In facing the challenges of public administration in the modern era, it is important for leaders and observers of public administration in Indonesia to actively encourage public participation in the policy decision-making process. This participation is necessary to ensure policies that are not only focused on economic efficiency and achievement, but rather reflecting the aspirations and needs of the community at large. In the context of rapid development, such as that under Jokowi's leadership, maintaining democratic values becomes all the more important to ensure development that does not come at the expense of civil liberties and basic rights of the citizens.

In addition, the application of a more adaptive and value-based design approach, as proposed by the NPA concept, needs to be prioritized in public policy development. This approach allows the government to be more responsive to social change, technology, and the dynamic needs of its society, so that the resulting policies are more inclusive and orientated towards societal welfare. It also involves applying principles such as debureaucratization and decentralization, which aim to create a more flexible and transparent government structure.

There is also a need for more inclusive and reflective discussion forums to evaluate the effectiveness of public policies. This forum will provide space for the public and public administration observers to contribute to the identification of problems and the development of better solutions for the future. Thus, public administration in Indonesia is expected to develop into an instrument that is not only efficient, but also fair and able to involve the active participation of the community in shaping policies that support social justice and equity.

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