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Mental revolution in Indonesian bureaucratic reform

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Abstract. The study provides a description of the modern political discourse that problematizes the idea of “Mental revolution”. This concept highlights the idea of gaining sovereignty of development in the emerging multipolar world order. The authors understand mentality as a structure containing levels that imply constructive transformations. The course taken by Indonesia for the “Mental revolution” is analyzed in the article. The author substantiated the need for bureaucratic reform aimed at forming a new mentality and identified the criteria that contribute to the implementation of mental revolution in Indonesia. The study analyzes the socio-cultural characteristics of Indonesian society including the reasons for the formation of negative characteristics of mentality. The dominant role of bureaucracy in the state apparatus of Indonesia leads to pathological manifestations of bureaucratic dominance that are revealed in the article. The selected research methods are qualitative methods and methods of explanatory analysis using the approach of document and literature analysis. The analysis of the current bureaucratic model of governance in Indonesia revealed the main symptoms of negative functioning of bureaucratic structures. The authors highlighted the main characteristics that are necessary for the optimal functioning of the bureaucracy and the formation of a democratic culture in Indonesia. The authors presented concept of optimal governance. The positions of the “Mental revolution” are specified and the factors hindering its implementation are outlined, the goals of the “Mental revolution” in Indonesia are outlined. The authors conclude about the relevance of the concept of “Mental revolution” in the modern political context and the implementation of the idea in the context of Indonesian domestic policy.

Keywords: transformation of consciousness, mindset, government, institutional modernization, good governance, transparent governance, Joko Widodo

Contribution. All the authors participated in the development of the concept of this review, data collection, processing and analysis, drafted the manuscript, and formulated the conclusions.

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Ментальная революция в бюрократической реформе Индонезии

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Аннотация. Проанализирован современный политический дискурс, в рамках которого проблематизируется концепция Ментальной революции в Индонезии. Особое внимание уделяется идее обретения суверенитета для развития в условиях складывающегося многополярного миропорядка. В современной Индонезии позиционируется понимание ментальности как структуры, содержащей уровни, предполагающие конструктивные преобразования. Проведен анализ взятого Индонезией курса на ментальную революцию, обосновывается необходимость бюрократической реформы, направленной на формирование новой ментальности. Выделены критерии, способствующие осуществлению заявленной ментальной революции в стране. Произведен анализ социокультурных характеристик индонезийского общества. Показаны причины формирования негативных характеристик национального менталитета, в т.ч. доминирующая роль бюрократии в государственном аппарате. Вскрыты патологические проявления бюрократического доминирования в Индонезии. Методология исследования: качественные методы и методы объяснительного анализа, в т.ч. аналитический обзор документов и литературы. Описана действующая бюрократическая модель управления, выявлены симптомы негативного функционирования бюрократических структур, выделены характеристики, необходимые для оптимального функционирования бюрократии и формирования демократической культуры. В заключение проанализирована концепция оптимального управления, конкретизированы позиции ментальной революции и перечислены факторы, мешающие ее осуществлению. Обозначены цели ментальной революции в Индонезии. Сформулированы выводы, содержащие позиции, связанные с актуальностью понятия «ментальная революция» в современном политическом контексте и реализацией идеи во внутренней политике Индонезии.

Ключевые слова: изменение сознания, образ мышления, правительство, институциональная модернизация, хорошее управление, прозрачное управление, Джоко Видодо

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Introduction

The modern political space characterizes the discourse related to the problem of the multipolarity of the world order. The reason for the emergence of the new “centers of power” is seen as new industrial conditions, a shift in economic potential from Western countries to Eastern countries. This vision of the problem was formed by British experts David Blagden [1], Lisa ten Brinke, and Benjamin Martill [2]. The Australian political establishment is interested in foreign policy independent of the United States and building relations with the East Asian region [3]. It should be noted that among American researchers there are scientists who share this position, including Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon [4], Hugh De Santis [5]. Among the Russian researchers who share the view that the role of the United States in the world is weakening [6], A.G. Dugin [7], D.A. Degterev [8], V.S. Soluyanov [9].

The fixation of such a statement of the problem indicates the departure into the past of the principles of the dominance of Western culture and the affirmation of the value of cultural diversity. The orientation towards a multipolar world actualizes the problems of ethnic and national identity and the search for optimal realization of the possibilities of this diversity in the context of the new world order. Along with the “superpowers”, the “middle powers” play an essential role in this process. Indonesia is one of those countries. The events of the present time put the country in front of the need to “revise” its own historical experience to take its rightful place in the new system of world order.

The Indonesian bureaucratic reform of 1998 had the main goal of implementing “transparent” governance and a non-corrupt government. This did not happen during the work of the New Order government. The functioning of the highest State institutions (Constitution of 1945) was unsatisfactory. The very possibility of social control was blocked in order to support the implementation of good governance. The expectations of citizens related to “transparency” in government, especially with regard to public policy [10], were not justified.

The specifics of the country’s development are related to its features. Indonesia is an archipelago country, it consists of about 17,000 islands, each of which is home to ethnic groups with different characters and cultures. In general, the Indonesian population is represented by two types of citizens: Indonesian and foreign. According to the Central Statistical Agency for 2023, the population of Indonesia in 2022 was 275.77 million people.

It should be noted that the bureaucratic reform has brought significant progress towards independence to the formation of the Indonesian nation. Due to the diverse characteristics of the Indonesian tribes, the Government

of the country is also represented accordingly. After the end of the first presidential term (five years), the hopes associated with the implementation of the principles of governance laid down in the 1998 reform were not fully realized. The uncertainty in power at that time led to unrest and political upheavals that threatened the foundations of society [3]. The wheels of reform in Indonesia continue to turn to this day. The public has many questions about achieving the initial goals of implementing good governance [11]. President Joko Widodo (the fifth and seventh President of Indonesia), through the Presidential Instruction (Inpres) of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12 of 2016, pursues a policy that forms the National Movement “Mental revolution”. This presidential decree is aimed at encouraging and developing values such as honesty, work ethic, and mutual cooperation, which should become defining values for the entire Indonesian people: from the upper classes to the lower. The goal of the “Mental revolution” is to realize the long-held dream of the Indonesian people, related to the creation of a transparent management system, which has not been adequately implemented [12].

The Indonesian Government has developed a bureaucratic reform program that began in 2010 with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 81 of 2010 concerning the master plan for bureaucratic reform for 2010–2025. The implementation of state bureaucratic reform is carried out as an attempt to return bureaucracy to its nature and character, consisting in providing high-quality and fair public services to society [13]. The problem with implementing the reform is that the bureaucratic culture leaves much to be desired. The trends of corruption have not been overcome yet. In this regard, the government is pinning its hopes for change on the mental revolution.

The goal of the study is to analyze the factors contributing to the implementation of the “mental revolution” and bureaucratic reform in Indonesia.

Materials and methods

This study uses qualitative methods and methods of explanatory analysis using the approach of document and literature analysis. The purpose of using this method is to obtain empirical material and data obtained through journals and scientific papers, reports, books and other documents related to the conducted research [14]. Data analysis actions according to Miles and Huberman [15] include:

- a) Data collection in the form of information obtained from primary and secondary data. The data used in this study is data obtained as a result of studying literature, for example, from books, journal documents, reports, and online sources.

In addition, the research data is based on secondary sources and is supported by other written documents.

- b) Data reduction in the sense of making a resume, choosing the main positions. The reduced data will provide a clearer picture and make it easier for researchers to collect additional data and re-search it if necessary.
- c) The presentation of data in the form of descriptions that illustrate digital information formats to strengthen arguments.

In this study was used the tangible data, that was verified using data triangulation methods and socio-political approaches related to the research topic.

Results and discussion

The concept of “mentality” is used in Western culture to denote specific characteristics of various ethnic formations, nations, political groups, regions, epochs, types of cultures, etc. The development of this concept was carried out in the 20th century, mainly by representatives of continental Europe (French, Germans). The experience of Russian researchers in the development of the concept begins in the 90s of the XX century. The analysis and generalization of the experience of studying the problem of mentality [16] make it possible to define it as a historical a priori of any human activity. It can be described as a three-level structure. The most ancient level (conventionally the first) is represented by the interaction of elements of natural origin, which are expressed in racial characteristics, psychological characteristics, specifics of fermentation, acceptability of temperature conditions, etc. These are the features that have been formed in the ongoing interaction of man and nature. They reproduce the specifics of a particular region in human perception at the level of organismic expression, being a given of the law acting in a certain way in each specific habitat. The second level of the structure of mentality is related to the elements of the social plan. This level captures the features of cultural epochs lasting in history, the specifics of social adaptation of various regions. The elements of this level are relatively stable and the connections between them persist for a long time. The next third level of the mental structure accommodates a relatively short period associated with the life span of a particular person. It is characterized by a special sensitivity to social and cultural changes. The last two levels of the mental structure can be determined from the standpoint of the principles that determine the behavioral characteristics of a person, because they have a stable character, but they can change under the influence of social and cultural dominants.

In this study, which positions the possibility of changing mentality, it is these two levels that are important to us, which are flexible enough to construct behavioral stereotypes based on value preferences. The processes of forming political mentalities relate to them [17]. In this context, the problem identified by Indonesian President Joko Widodo as a mental revolution can be analyzed.

Characteristics of the mental revolution promoted by Joko Widodo

The mental revolution is understood as a relatively rapid fundamental change in the way Indonesians think, act, and work. According to President Joko Widodo's definition, a mental revolution is a revolution in the soul of a nation aimed at overcoming a slave soul with negativism and forming an independent soul full of a life — affirming positive attitude. Hendrik Lim, in his book “New Indonesia, New Mental” [18], identified 4 main criteria contributing to the mental revolution, namely:

- a) A plan of hope containing promises of progress and improvement.

To be successful and to be able to engage and engage stakeholders, the action of a mental revolution must have a clear picture: what improvements will occur if the mental revolution is successful; what progress or improvement in living standards can be enjoyed from time to time. In other words, the final picture of goals and techniques for achieving them should be clear.

- b) The design of beliefs and operational values.

To ensure that the path of mental revolution does not reach a dead end and does not return to the starting point, a criterion of confidence is needed. Beliefs consist of things that we believe in, even though we haven't physically seen them happen. Neuroscience and behavioral psychology allow us to see that what a person believes affects his behavior and actions. Not only do beliefs influence reactions, but they also influence outcomes. Therefore, it is necessary to form and agree what collective values and beliefs should the stakeholders be firmly adhered to.

- c) Compassion.

The revolution and reform of mental attitudes is a process related to the deconstruction of the subconscious mind. Mentality refers to habits that have been characteristic of society for a long time. This is something intangible, non-physical, but in many ways determines the nature of the action and the form in which the event takes place. The initiator and pioneer of the mental revolution must have a compassionate soul in order to understand the difficulties of the transformational process and facilitate this process.

It is necessary to have sensitivity and empathy and at the same time know exactly what the result should be. This implies firmness in the implementation of principles, upholding meaningful values, and flexibility in accordance with local conditions.

d) Society as a subject.

The mental revolution will not be successful if society is perceived as an object. To succeed, society must become the subject of a mental revolution. With this problem statement, various efforts to encourage, engage, and participate will be successful. The company acting as an entity is responsible for the success of the program. Making society the subject of a mental revolution is not easy. This requires a transformation of the perspective of the leader and the government bureaucracy responsible for public services.

Socio-cultural characteristics of Indonesian society

Indonesian society is characterized by pluralism. It is expressed in the horizontal dimension, for example, in differences in ethnicity, regional languages, religion and geography, as well as in the vertical dimension, for example, differences in educational, economic and socio-cultural levels [19]. Indonesia's state policy is aimed at forming a person who is able to achieve harmony and balance both in the inner world and in social interactions, and interaction with nature and God, striving for spiritual growth and happiness [20]. Human resources are given key importance in preventing the decline of the country, therefore, a program of their targeted formation is necessary. This problem has not received due attention either in budget policy or in the development of educational practice.

Koentjaraningrat [21] stated that the Indonesian people suffer from the peculiarities of their mentality. The specificity of the Indonesian mentality is caused by two factors: the negative system of its own national cultural values and the consequences of past colonialism. Koentjaraningrat [21] identifies among the negative characteristics of the national mentality of Indonesians the following: underestimation of quality; love of breakthroughs; self-doubt; indiscipline; ignoring serious responsibilities.

Special attention needs to be paid to understanding the problem of corruption of the bureaucratic apparatus. Mansur Semma cites the opinion of Samuel P. Huntington [22] on conditions in society conducive to corruption. Corruption tends to increase during periods of rapid growth and democratization due to changing values and new sources of wealth and power. However, according

to Myrdal, this weakness is not caused by the inherent negative character traits of the people but is the result of a rather long history [23]. Koentjaraningrat acknowledged that with the liberation from Dutch colonialism and decolonization, the established working order and procedures were replaced by something with unclear rules and structures. The result was the setbacks in the achievements of the Indonesian people after the revolution, which affected the mentality of the Indonesian nation [21].

The State Civil Apparatus

The Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 5 of 2014, in chapter 1, concerning general provisions, clarifies that the civil service is a profession of civil servants working under an employment contract in public institutions. Employees who have concluded employment contracts are appointed civil service development officials who are assigned duties in public office or other government duties receive payment based on legislative provisions. Government employees are Indonesian citizens who meet certain requirements and are appointed as employees. Civil service development officials are regularly appointed to public positions in the State Civil Apparatus [21].

Bureaucracy in Indonesia

The history of the Indonesian bureaucracy shows its dominant role in government. The bureaucracy and its apparatus are positioned more as agents and instruments of power than as agents of the civil service. Bureaucracy in developing countries, including Indonesia, has historically emerged from elites who place bureaucrats in a higher position than other groups in society. The difference between bureaucrats (government) and the people is becoming apparent and has implications for the way bureaucrats think. They form an image of themselves as civil servants who are teachers for their people and should prove themselves as generous, kind defenders of them [24].

This self-image makes the bureaucracy the dominant structure and suggests that society does not have enough opportunities. The public is considered a passive party, knowing little about government affairs, so they have to accept what the government wants. The consequences of the dominant, patrimonial, and benevolent structural nature and culturalization of bureaucracy manifest themselves in bureaucratic attitudes and behaviors that are difficult to control. Bureaucrats do not want to be blamed, feel smarter, are not subject to criticism, and

tend to serve people of the same status, so that eventually public services become inadequately neutral [19].

In such a model of relations, the possibilities for the development of bureaucratic behavior aimed at seeking rent are becoming more and more open [25]. They understand that they have power that, if used, can affect the lives of citizens. Citizens who need the services of the state bureaucracy and have limited tools to control the behavior of the bureaucracy and its officials become powerless in the face of bureaucracy. This situation is becoming a fertile ground for the development of corrupt behavior and human rights violations [12].

The ancestral culture of the Indonesian bureaucracy carries negative excesses in the form of bureaucratic pathology. Here are some of these bureaucratic pathologies [1]:

1. Pathologies that arise from the perceptions and management styles of officials in a bureaucratic environment. For example, abuse of power and position, concealment and obfuscation of problems in order to develop solutions that benefit officials or bureaucrats who accept bribes.
2. Pathology caused by a lack or low level of knowledge and skills of officers carrying out various operational actions.
3. Pathology that occurs due to the actions of officials who violate legal norms and applicable laws and regulations.
4. Pathology manifests itself in the dysfunctional or negative behavior of officials.
5. Pathology resulting from internal situations in various government agencies.

The bureaucratic structure in Indonesia demonstrates the Weberian model: hierarchical, fragmented, narrow, unable to ensure effective interconnection and focused on excessive control and procedures. This structure makes the bureaucracy unable to respond to the social and economic dynamics of society [20]. The life of society is becoming more complex, and the needs are becoming more diverse, which creates pressure on the bureaucracy and requires an adequate and rapid response. The inability of the bureaucracy to deal with problems encourages citizens and stakeholders who need the services of the bureaucracy to look for shortcuts to meet their needs in accordance with their expectations [25].

The Neutrality of the State Bureaucracy

Neutrality means refusing to accept the side of one of the ruling forces or political parties [26]. If the government can manage the wheels of leadership in a neutral manner in accordance with the mandate of the Pancasila ideology and the 1945 Constitution, then the people will be able to be served by the

government bureaucracy regardless of their social status. The ability to take into account people's interests by providing services to all elements of society, without taking sides or prioritizing the interests of certain individuals or groups and providing services to all public interests is the same as implementing a democratic system of government. This is a government of the people, from the people and for the people. In this case, it can be expected that bureaucratic neutrality will have a positive impact and will contribute to the development of a spirit of patriotism or a sense of love and belonging to the country. When the bureaucracy sides with one of the forces, the currently ruling political party, and the government bureaucracy is expected to provide services to the people fairly and evenly in accordance with the duties and functions of the State and the Government as a whole, the position of this service is unclear, cannot be encouraged and violates the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Apart from the fact that this is a biased attitude and a violation of the constitution, such an attitude does not reflect the culture of democratization and tends to create opportunities for corruption, collusion and nepotism, as well as influences social apathy, which promotes separatism. If Indonesia's bureaucratic culture remains the same, efforts to promote reform over the next 21 years will be futile. Bureaucratic neutrality is the key to professionalism in the field of public services.

Government of Optimal Management

Governance is defined as mechanisms, practices, and procedures that allow government and citizens to manage resources and solve public problems [27]. In the concept of governance, government is only one factor and not always the determining one. The result of government functioning as a developer and service provider should be the transformation of the governance infrastructure into a driving force capable of contributing to other sides of the community. Governance requires redefining the role of the state, which means redefining the role of citizens [14]. Higher demands are placed on citizens, including monitoring the accountability of the Government itself. It can be said that optimal management means the implementation of reliable and responsible development management consistent with the principles of democracy and efficient markets, the prevention of the irrational use of investment funds and the prevention of corruption in both political and administrative terms, the introduction of budgetary discipline and the creation of legal and policy measures, the expansion of the framework for the growth of business activity.

This bet on optimal governance is also an enthusiasm and burden for the bureaucracy in Indonesia's regions. In the past, regional governments doubted their capabilities in the era of the New Order and were considered incompetent and incompetent, so all politics had to be centralized in the capital. Now, after the implementation of decentralization and regional autonomy, regional bureaucracies must be seriously reformed, be neutral and professional in providing services, change the stigma and be free from corrupt government in order to become a "clean and transparent" government. The concept of governance encompasses people in general, as they are the ones who directly experience the services provided by the Government and the country. Other parties in general, such as the private sector, are also involved in this management concept [25].

The mental revolution in bureaucracy in Indonesia

Recently, the term "Mental Revolution" has been frequently used in Indonesia. As we know, Indonesia is a developing country headed by a President and a vice President. Indonesia's strategic location is its advantage. Most of Indonesia's territory is represented by the sea, which is why the country has an abundance of seafood and charming underwater beauties. The abundance of natural and human resources is the potential that allows Indonesia to become a rich and developed country.

In this country, general elections (Pemilu) are held every five years to elect the President and Vice President (Vapres), along with people's representatives who help them carry out their duties in government. With the coming to power of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), the Indonesian people had hope that life and conditions in the country would become better than before [13].

Indonesia is a country that has gone through many difficult times: colonialism, reforms, revolution. Even after independence, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, once declared that the era of revolution was not over yet. In addition, many Indonesians are currently wondering what the "Mental Revolution" that Jokowi always talks about is. After Jokowi's election, the Indonesian people should be ready to live in a new era, which is called the era of the "Mental Revolution". Before being elected the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia, Jokowi stated on several social networks and on TV channels that if he was elected president, he would begin a new era, namely, a "Mental Revolution".

The term "revolution" comes from the Latin word "revolution", which means "the direction of turning" [22]. A revolution can be interpreted as a fundamental change in the structure of power or organization that occurs in a relatively short

period of time. Meanwhile, the word “mentality” implies a way of thinking, the ability to respond to situations or conditions. Then it is quite clear that the “Mental revolution” is a relatively rapid change in the way we think, react, and work.

The “Mental revolution” is a cultural strategy aimed at transforming an ethos, that is, a fundamental change in mentality, including a way of thinking, an image of feelings, an image of faith, which manifest themselves in everyday behavior and actions. Thus, the need for “Mental revolution” is conditioned by the peculiarities of the state apparatus with its inherent corruption, collusion, nepotism, complex services, laziness and lack of an active position in responding to the currently developing phenomena [18]. If the “Mental revolution” is a resolution for the state apparatus, then, of course, the cherished spirit must be implemented optimally and professionally in order to create optimal governance and a “clean” government. In the course of Indonesia’s history, the idea of a “Mental Revolution” cannot be separated from President Sukarno. As a creator and conceptualist, Sukarno began promoting this idea in 1957. Sukarno saw that the goals of the Indonesian national revolution had not been achieved. Let’s highlight the factors that prevented its implementation [18]:

1. The decline of the revolutionary spirit among both the people and national leaders.
2. The presence of diseases of colonial heritage in political leaders, such as “Hollands Denken” or the Dutch colonial style of thinking.
3. Abuses in the economic, political and cultural spheres.

Sukarno [19] figuratively defines the “Mental Revolution” as a movement aimed at encouraging Indonesians to become new people, with a white heart, with a will of steel, with the spirit of an eagle and with a soul burning with fire. According to Jokowi, the need to implement a “Mental Revolution” is related to further strengthening sovereignty, increasing competitiveness and strengthening the national unity of Indonesians. In addition, according to Ida Farida — a researcher from Indonesia, the mental revolution helps strengthen the character and identity of the Indonesian nation.

The expected result is the formation of a competitive person with noble character, morality, tolerance, capable of mutually beneficial cooperation, patriotic, dynamic, cultured, focused on science and technology, based on the ideology of Pancasila and characterized by faith and devotion to Almighty God. Understanding the history and noble values of national culture is seen as the basis for strengthening a harmonious life. This is one of the tasks of the “Mental Revolution” aimed at transforming national character and identity. Mental revolution is a form

of cultural strategy that plays a role in determining the direction for achieving the good of national and state life. According to President Jokowi, there are goals of the “Mental Revolution”, namely [18]:

1. Changing the point of view, thoughts and attitudes, behavior and ways of working.
2. Raising awareness of citizens and creating an optimistic attitude.
3. The creation of a sovereign Indonesia, independent and possessing individuality.

The success of a mental revolution is linked to the realization of society in it as a subject of revolution. This requires a transformation of the point of view of the leader and government bureaucrats responsible for public services [28].

Conclusion

The concept of “mental revolution” is becoming in demand in a new, emerging view of the world order. Having a culturally constructed component in its structure, mentality once again becomes an object of philosophical, cultural, historical, and political reflection. The concept of “mental revolution” is detailed and meaningfully filled out in connection with the specific tasks of the countries following the path of sovereign development.

In Indonesia, the movement for mental revolution is becoming increasingly relevant. Hopes are associated with him that constantly implemented values will form a new culture. The efforts that need to be made to change the mentality are seen as related to both the processes of education and training, as well as constant supervision. The effectiveness of the processes is positioned in conjunction with the introduction of a consistent system of rewards and punishments to increase the motivation and awareness of all government employees. The policy of implementing a mental revolution is thought about on an ongoing basis using various means of communication, covering all government agencies and all levels of society.

Indonesia’s economy is an important component of the mental revolution. Indonesia’s open economic system, conditioned by globalization, appears to be effective provided government intervention guarantees balanced and equitable competition. The primary task is to prevent the process of widening inequality, since the opportunities that arise from an open economy can only be used by more developed regions, sectors or economic groups. The key role of Government is to ensure equality and empower citizens. The heads of state governments must have a firm commitment to the interests of the people and the ideals of social justice. The “mental revolution” of the government bureaucracy in Indonesia really needs to be used as a guideline for achieving state goals: the

formation of a sovereign Indonesia, independent and possessing individuality in accordance with the ideology of Citizenship of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia — Pancasila.

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