

CRITICISM ON WEBERIAN BUREAUCRATION: RADICAL SUBJECT PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT. The Weberian narrative has become ingrained in the Indonesian bureaucracy has an impact on the fact that the bureaucratic reform agenda is not yet actual, so that public disappointment with the performance of the bureaucracy is still a general finding. The performance of the bureaucracy in Indonesia is still ineffective. To overhaul this order, Zizek's thoughts on the subject deserve to be placed as a critical activity in exploring the role of the state civil apparatus (SCA). This study aims to read the authentic potential of bureaucrats as agents of change in bureaucratic reform in Indonesia by borrowing the analysis of the Zizekian radical subject. This research method uses a desk study by collecting data and information based on information analysis and secondary data. The results showed that basically SCA has an authentic capacity as a radical subject, in this case the subject of reform which is able to overthrow the Weberian bureaucratic structure that has become the shackles of the Symbolic One. This can be done by organizing the subject of reform collectively which is continually breaking the Weberian bureaucracy. The important implication of this study is as an anchor for SCAs who believe in the importance of change in the bureaucratic environment and that their role is very important as agents of reform subjects who dare to risk themselves taking action towards better bureaucratic reform.

Keywords: Bureaucracy; Reformation; Radical Subject

KRITIK TERHADAP BIROKRASI WEBERIAN: PERSPEKTIF SUBJEK RADIKAL

ABSTRAK. Narasi Weberian telah mendarah daging dalam tubuh birokrasi Indonesia. Hal ini berdampak pada belum aktualnya agenda reformasi birokrasi sehingga kekecewaan publik terhadap kinerja birokrasi masih menjadi temuan umum. Kinerja birokrasi di Indonesia masih belum efektif. Untuk merombak tatanan tersebut, pemikiran Zizek tentang subjek laik ditempatkan sebagai aktivitas kritik dalam mendalami peran Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN). Studi ini bertujuan untuk membaca potensi otentik dari para birokrat sebagai agensi perubahan reformasi birokrasi di Indonesia dengan meminjam analisa subjek radikal Zizekian. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan desk study dengan mengumpulkan data dan informasi berdasarkan pada analisis informasi dan data-data sekunder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pada dasarnya ASN memiliki kapasitas otentik sebagai subjek radikal, dalam hal ini subjek reformasi yang mampu meruntuhkan struktur birokrasi Weberian yang telah menjadi belenggu dari Yang Simbolik. Hal ini bisa dilakukan dengan cara pengorganisasian subjek reformasi secara kolektif yang secara terus menerus mendobrak tatanan birokrasi Weberian. Implikasi penting dari kajian ini sebagai jangkar bagi para ASN yang meyakini pentingnya perubahan di lingkungan birokrasi dan peran mereka sangat penting sebagai agen subjek reformasi yang berani meresikokan diri melakukan action untuk menuju reformasi birokrasi yang lebih baik.

Kata Kunci: Birokrasi; Reformasi; Subjek Radikal

INTRODUCTION

Post-reform bureaucratic conditions in Indonesia have not yet achieved brilliant achievements. In a developing democracy like Indonesia, the bureaucracy is often rightly perceived as predatory, ineffective and illegitimate (Flom, 2020). In general, public dissatisfaction with the performance of the bureaucratic apparatus is still a recurring thing. In fact, the work in the form of bureaucratic reform has been carried out by the government. At the end of 2018, the Ministry of Administrative Reform and Bureaucracy Reform informed the fact that 30% or around 1.35 million civil servants had poor performance. On the other hand, at the street level, the Indonesian bureaucracy is exposed to post-truth. The integrity of the

bureaucracy has been hit badly by the fact that there are elements of the state civil apparatus (SCA) who actively participate in spreading hoaxes and hate speech (Faedlulloh & Duadji, 2019). Of course, this is a note that needs to be responded to and reflected together. In the context of local government, there has been Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning local governments that are not half-hearted in the release of this regulation is aimed at accelerating the welfare of the community through steps to improve public services.. Previously, there was Law no. 25 of 2009 concerning public services which fully emphasizes that public service is a right for citizens and is nothing but an obligation for the state. However, these steps have not had a significant impact.

Bureaucratic reform in Indonesia has only produced partial best practices, and is very casuistic in

certain locations. Renewal and a culture of innovation have not become objective conditions that are easily found by citizens when dealing with bureaucracy. So that public complaints become commonplace. Indonesian bureaucracy is still unable to escape from the latent problem of corruption that undermines the body of the bureaucracy. Data published by the Corruption Eradication Commission in 2018 informed that of 2,357 civil servants who had been convicted of being found guilty of corruption, only 891 were dishonorably dismissed. This means that 62 percent of civil servants involved in corruption cases have not been fired and still receive salary disbursements from the state budget (KPK, 2018). This could have a detrimental impact on public finances.

One of the things that are often highlighted in the performance of the bureaucracy is that the human resources that become a problem or what is commonly called bureaucrats or in the language of current regulations are the state civil apparatus (Gaus et al., 2017). On the other hand, the bureaucratic reform agenda has the aim not only to modernize state institutions and reduce inefficiency costs in public sector governance, but also hopefully create a dynamic collaboration across stakeholders in improving the quality of public services (Haryono, 2012; Agus, 2019; Meier et al., 2019). This means not only inward looking changes in the bureaucracy, but also outward looking. Building a democratic atmosphere so that the decision making process that is related to the public interest is always based on real community participation (Alfasi, 2003; Michels & de Graaf, 2010). Public sector performance is the result of feedback from various public aspirations that oversee the performance of public organizations.

Bureaucratic reform has now become a global phenomenon faced by all countries in the world (Penger & Tekavcic 2008; Rahadian 2013). Therefore, with the hope of such great reforms, assigning this task to human resources who are reluctant to organize, it will be difficult to find a common ground. However, choosing to accept the quality of bureaucrats for granted is also not a good choice. The performance and thinking of bureaucrats can develop if they are continuously trained and trained to understand that their job is an important part of life as a state. Because bureaucracy is the key to success as well as failure of a country.

Observing the human figure in a bureaucratic structure must be critically reviewed and must be emancipatory based. Humans as part of the totality of the social order are fragile (Kristiatmo, 2006; Butler, 2016; Sheikh, 2017). Often it is not possible

to determine the direction of history according to the will of the heart. Likewise in the context of the performance of the Indonesian bureaucracy. The bureaucrats, who are often criticized by the public, do not rule out the possibility of making improvements, at least in public organizations where they serve. However, there was always a Big Other present, handcuffing the apparatus who were making improvements.

Bureaucrats in Indonesia are often blindly loyal to the rules that shackle themselves and make the public embarrassed (Mariana, 2006). Procedure is a non-negotiable fixed price, so that often in many cases negates the human aspect as a human being. This submission needs to be dissected, why does this anomaly often infect many administrators in Indonesia? On many occasions, Agus Dwiyanto (2015), the Indonesian public administration thinker, explained this phenomenon as a result of the impact of the influence of the Weberian view that was applied so rigidly. So that this paradigm, instead of placing bureaucracy as an ideal, instead encourages bureaucratic behavior which is slow and inefficient. Finally, the state's function in serving the public is not well achieved.

The focus of the study in this discussion, instead of providing practical solutions, the writer prefers to explore things that are rarely seen in bureaucratic studies in Indonesia, namely through the philosophical anchor, the author will try to uncover the potential of the state civil apparatus as a subject. The subject in question is a radical subject capable of breaking through the systemic problem of the Indonesian bureaucracy, namely the Weberian cage. To analyze the role of the subject, the writer adapted from Zizek's thoughts on the subject.

In debates and discourses on bureaucracy reform in Indonesia so far, particularly the study of SCA human resources in a philosophical framework, is a step that academics and practitioners of public administration have rarely taken. Because the bureaucracy as a derivative of the scope of public administration is a praxis entity. So when the problem comes from a lack of worker capacity, the solution that can be done is to carry out training (Torsteinsen, 2012; Farida, 2013; Ridiyanto & Hartono, 2020), not apply philosophy. This study aims to explore the role of SCA as a subject in the midst of the bureaucratic symbolic order that applies to them everyday. The goal is none other than to explore the role of SCA as a subject in the midst of the bureaucratic symbolic order that applies to them everyday. The question is, do SCAs have authentic potential as agents of change as predicted by the bureaucratic reform campaign, or

on the contrary, expecting SCA to be an agency for bureaucratic transformation is a mistake? This article attempts to address this using the Zizekian subject analysis.

METHOD

In the process of writing this article, the author uses the desk study method, namely by collecting data and information based on examination and analysis of data and information using secondary data. The author uses this method because this paper only uses literature reviews without conducting direct field studies. Through literature reviews, researchers will parse the relationship between problems, relevant research and contextual theories (Nazir, 2009).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Bureaucratic Discourse: Theoretical Debates

Hegel saw the bureaucracy as a neutral entity. Bureaucracy, for Hegel, is a synthesis of dialectical relations of problems and interests of people who are diverse and complex. Therefore, the bureaucracy is here to carry out its function in bridging these different interests so that chaos does not occur. The bureaucracy is transformed into a mediating agent that bridges the particular interests of civil society and the state as a general interest (Tjokrowinoto, 1990). Hegel's typical bureaucratic idealism is synonymous with the translation of the contemporary bureaucracy / state. No matter how bad the public services provided by the bureaucracy, it will always be idealized, basically the bureaucracy is a good organization. Whenever there is bad behavior and corruption in bureaucratic behavior, it is because of the bureaucrat's factor. In common daily language, there is a term "unscrupulous" diction in labeling parties who act arbitrarily and are not responsible. The behavior of individuals causes the bureaucracy to be sluggish and lazy to move towards change. Not for reasons of structure in the bureaucracy.

The mainstream paradigm of bureaucracy is certainly that of Max Weber (1947). This sociologist from Germany built a model of the ideal type of bureaucracy which explains that a bureaucracy has a definite form and operates through rational means. For him, bureaucracy is the most rational means of efficiently exerting imperative control over human action. This ideal type can be used to compare between one organization and another.

The bureaucracy is a large-scale organization in which officials exercise rational-legal authority

by using administrative staff resources. In this case, authority is the power that is believed to be legitimate. In Weber's view, the basis for the legitimacy of authority is legal-rational. Meanwhile, legal-rational authority is based on belief in the legality of regulations which can be analyzed scientifically. The characteristics of the ideal type of bureaucracy according to Max Weber include:

1. Individual officials are free but limited by their positions. Officials cannot use the authority of their position for their own interests, including their families.
2. Positions in the bureaucracy are arranged based on clear hierarchical levels. The implication is that there are positions of superiors and also subordinates. Some have more power, some are smaller.
3. The duties and functions of each position in the hierarchy are specifically different from one another.
4. Each position has a position contract that must be carried out. Each job description must be executed according to the contract.
5. Each position formation is selected based on professional qualifications. Therefore we need a competitive merit system in the recruitment exam.
6. Every official receives income in the form of a salary and pension rights according to the level of position occupied.
7. There is a clear career development and promotion structure according to objective considerations.
8. Every official is prohibited from carrying out his position and agency resources for personal and family interests.
9. Every position is under the range of control and supervision of a system that is run in a disciplined manner (Weber, 1947).

The above characteristics are simplified into 5 basic principles of bureaucracy, namely 1) standardization and formalization, 2) division of labor and specialization, 3) hierarchy of authority, 4) professionalization, and 5) written documentation (Weber, 1947). These principles are the guidelines inherent in the practice of bureaucratic organizations in Indonesia. However, in reality, the Weberian paradigm has become a routine and formalism trap that attacks administrators in Indonesia.

The condition of the Weberian bureaucracy gives privilege to the top leaders who have control over all organizational activities. In his dreams, the leader is responsible for what happens to the organization he leads. Outsiders will see the quality of bureaucratic performance - from a Weberian

perspective, of course - depending on the leader. This is an inherent weakness in the Weberian bureaucracy. So that everything is believed for granted. What the bureaucracy does is accepted as a commendable and noble act (Zizek, 2009).

Different views exist from socialist thinkers. They consider the state, or bureaucracy, an extension of the upper class to oppress the lower class (Wikandaru & Cahyo, 2016). In other words, basically the state is an experiment of the ruling class. The state is a tool used by the ruling class to secure the power they have (Suseno, 2001; Wikandaru & Cahyo, 2016). This ruling class, historically materialist, is explicitly stated by Marx as the capitalist class. Therefore everything that the bureaucracy does is a representation of the voice and power of the capitalists.

However, empirically, even under state socialism, the domination of the bureaucracy is very strong at work. The bureaucracy manages all aspects of people's lives. Therefore it does not provide emancipation opportunities for the community. The bureaucracy is an organization that constantly monitors community activities. In fact, bureaucracy is able to have the ability to collect information and make it an all-knowing organization about its people (Zizek, 2008).

But of course these two situations are not intended for generalizations. Generalizations that capitalism will eat away all the activities and breath of the bureaucracy is not right. Therefore, the presupposition that everything under the realm of capitalism is capitalistic is inadequate for justification. Likewise, the bureaucracy under state socialism is not an absolute place for the practice of restraint. So in this text, the author will try to explore matters that are independent or at least have an over-deterministic and autonomous capacity from agencies or subjects that are above the state governance structure.

However today the state or bureaucracy is a social fact. The state of existence is an objective thing. Therefore, one of the most likely practices is to carry out rehabilitation on subjects in bureaucratic circles. Humans still have autonomy in the midst of a massive structural attack. It's difficult but the possibility is still open. Therefore, the ideas and concepts of bureaucratic reform continue to be developed by academics, technocrats and practitioners in an effort to open up the possibility of changing the sluggish bureaucratic structure.

Bureaucratic reform is an effort that intended change, within a clear and directed framework, therefore the requirements for the success of reform are the existence of a road map, towards a condition, status and goals set from the start along with indicators

of success. (Prasojo, 2009). Currently the road map exists. The government already has a Bureaucratic Reform Grand Design that forms the basis and route to achieve the vision of world class bureaucracy by 2025. However, the existence of this road map does not necessarily make the bureaucratic reform agenda in Indonesia easy (Haning, 2018).

Normatively, bureaucratic reform is a conscious and planned effort to change: 1) Bureaucratic structures and procedures, i.e. changes made include structures and procedures in the bureaucracy intended to make the functions of the bureaucracy more effective and 2) Attitudes and behavior of bureaucrats, In order to increase organizational effectiveness or create a healthy administration and ensure the achievement of national development goals, the changes are meant to improve the attitudes and behavior of the bureaucracy itself, which creates bureaucratic awareness of its duties as public servants (Zauhar, 2007). However, this awareness is often assumed to be a completed concept. Awareness of the apparatus in the perspective of Weberian will certainly be different from the awareness of non-Weberian officials. Following procedures is an important matter and must be carried out in the consciousness of the apparatus which has been structured with a Weberian narrative. In other words, Weberian consciousness is actually a realm of unconsciousness because in essence what moves the apparatus is symbols and values that have worked ideologically in the bureaucratic mindset. Submission without reflection will result in the failure to fulfill the initial function of a bureaucratic entity (Kvachev, 2019). The bureaucracy that functions to serve the public actually leaves the human side that is close to the public. In this context, several examples that have occurred in Indonesia regarding the news of patients who are not served by the hospital because certain procedures are not fulfilled (for example due to costs, not served because the patient is a Insurance and Social Security user), can be a reflection in exploring this awareness (and unconsciousness). Therefore, in the midst of the siege of bureaucratic structures of the bureaucracy, the role of the subject in carrying out his agency function in a bureaucratic structure is very important to be empowered again in discussions to continue the bureaucratic reform agenda in Indonesia. (Paskarina, 2017) bureaucratic reform is understood as the practice of power operating through discursive process, that is, through the creation of a claim of truth on certain reform model, which subsequently is followed by disciplining practice to transform bureaucrat's behavior. To analyze it, this study uses a case study of the implementation of Competition

Funding Program to accelerate the achievement of Human Development Index in West Java Indonesia during the period of 2005–2010. The result shows how normalization and performativity is operated as technologies of power to construct an identity of innovative bureaucracy. This construction is justified by the idea of competition as a system of knowledge to produce regime of truth of competitive bureaucracy as a counter identity for conventional bureaucracy. Through normalization, bureaucracy is categorized into innovative bureaucracy (an expertise-based identity

Zizekian Subject

Before talking about the subject in the bureaucracy, there are important things that need to be explained first to understand the theoretical and philosophical positions of the attempt to explain what the subject is. Slavo Zizek is a Slovenian philosopher who is famous in contemporary philosophical debates. He writes and thinks in a very unique, even entertaining way. Zizek has been an influential thinker over the past two decades. He even made philosophy fun, like comedy. The argument is shocking. The way he delivered it was always clear and explosive. Zizek's philosophy actually developed from the failure of traditional philosophical institutions to accommodate his thoughts. In fact, Zizek's thought was able to develop, because he succeeded in distinguishing himself from the social system in which he lived and worked (Myers, 2003). This cannot be separated from Zizek's ability to compile various pieces of his previous thoughts so that Zizek is referred to as "Hegelian in Philosophy, Lacanian in psychology, Christian-materialist in religion, and communist in politics (Wood in Wahyu, 2014). One of the important thoughts is talking about the subject.

Amidst the onslaught of the subject's death in a postmodern blow, Zizek tries to revive the role of the subject. The subject for Zizek is an empty consciousness, free from all his interests and qualities. The subject is empty in its wholeness, and whole in its emptiness. The subject is dialectics itself (Wattimena, 2011). In this opportunity, the author will try to explain the concept of the subject Zizek in a simple way. Consequently, this effort may slightly reduce the veil of the complex substance of Zizek's debate: a combination of the rehabilitation of the Cartesian subject, the views of the Hegelian subject and the Lacanian subject. This was done solely to further ground the philosophical explanation of Zizek's subject.

Zizek believes that the subject's independence still exists. There is a gap that can be pushed away

from the subject. However, the subject is always in a divided position, therefore the subject will always continue to move to fill him. In the process of moving and self-fulfillment, the subject is able to change the structure (Akmal, 2015). The subject is not a complete entity that is always able to understand and intervene about the "world-life". Self-reliance that is complete and autonomous through the accumulation of subjective capacities is not able to encapsulate a super complex reality. In other words, for Zizek the subject is a "lackness subject", namely the conflict between self-interest and collective needs. The subject cannot form itself or be formed by a total structure. The subject always experiences disintegration, change, and fracture (Wahyu, 2015) However, through the subject (capacity), Zizek also used it to reconstruct the fundamental structure of the ideological order so that it was useful in social transformation.

Zizek's thoughts cannot be separated from Lacan's thought, including his discussion of the process of forming the subject. Lacan understands the subject as always failing to identify himself. One of the ways the subject understands himself is by identifying himself with others. In the mirror phase, the subject looks for an image of himself through reflection on others. In the symbolic phase, subjects identify themselves through a set of symbols, becoming symbolic subjects. Being a subject means the ability to understand and deepen the nature of its shortcomings because the subject is never present except through a mirror representation or symbol representation which basically never defines the subject perfectly (Wahyu, 2014). The fragments of the process of forming a subject that Lacan initiated by Zizek were further developed into a unique and unique concept known as the Lacanian Triad concept. It means, according to Zizek, the subject can only be defined in relation to the process of forming the Lacanian subject, namely the Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic stages.

The Imaginary is anything that fails to be translated into language. The residual form of all discussion failures that appear in fantasy. The Imaginary can be traced in Lacan's concept of the mirror phase, namely the separation of oneself from the image of oneself. This is what creates the subject in a split state (Akmal, 2015).

In Lacan's view, the mirror phase occurs from the time the baby reaches six months of age. The baby has not been able to differentiate itself from the world around it. The definition of self is obtained from the image of himself in the mirror. The mirror here can be in a literal sense as well as in another

person. But in reality what the baby sees is the totality of the exterior self. It is through the mirror image that the self is formed, but the self is divided between self and self-image (Suryajaya, 2014). The baby will feel an extraordinary sensation when looking at a mirror. This will present the ego, that is, the drive for a permanent attraction to unity and togetherness. However, this phase is the beginning of the alienation condition. This alienation is present because there is a sense of wanting to unite with the reflection in the reflection of the mirror. There is an unfulfilled longing for the self-image that is reflected in the reflection of life. This longing that never met causes the ego to split in two, between himself and the image of him (Robert, 2010). There is a crack in the self because of longing that never materializes, and this lasts forever because humans will always try to fill the gap.

Furthermore, the Symbolic is the reality that has been exposed to symbols or when humans are totally integrated in the structure of language. Basically, there has been a translation of the baby's imagination with an image that is reflected from the mirror during the mirror phase. In this context, it means that humans have put themselves in the language. In the symbolic realm, the subject is constituted by negativitas, namely what Lacan calls a "lack" (Suryajaya, 2014). In this stage, all situations represent themselves to the Other and the Big Other, which is a picture of power capable of defining human self.

Furthermore, the real can be defined as the phase in which the world before it is captured by language or an unfamiliar arena (Zizek, 2009). The stage where language has not entered at all. The real one shows that in the process of forming a subject there is one area that can never be achieved because of the language that always interprets (Yusari, 2012). Language that tries to touch the human condition in the Symbolic One is an answer that is never enough, always lacking because there is a chain of signifiers that conditions humans to be trapped between the signifier and the signified which never ends. Therefore, the Real is a condition that humans continue to chase because it is considered an ideal area that has never been entered by Others who try to control humans through language.

When the subject wants to get out of the Symbolic, the subject is taking radical action. This is what distinguishes Lacanian subjects from Zizekian subjects, namely the presence of the concept of resistance. Axiologically, this subject's resistance is carried out by action. Through action, the subject is prepared to deal with the impossible, forcing into the

Real. The action carried out by the subject is not with the aim of shifting the coordinates of impossibility to possibility, but it is the meaning of the action that is important (Robert, 2010).

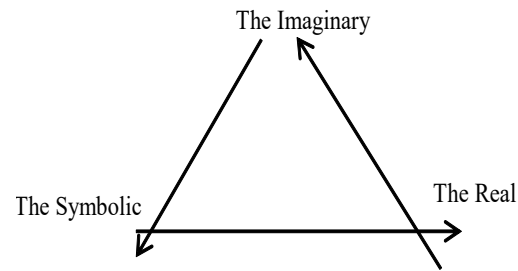


Figure 1. The Lacanian Triad Subject Formation Process

The most radical of the subject's actions is self-breaking or self-denial and attachment to objects that are owned. Subjects get the opportunity to act freely (Akmal, 2015). Subjectivity is born in a situation where the most important thing about self is eliminated, killing the "self" which is a symbolic interpellation (Robert, 2010). By giving up all objects that are valuable to himself and removing the main markers in the Symbolic order, the subject will get space for free action. Because the object inherent in the Symbolic order restrains and captivates the subject. This radical action is always destructive to the Symbolic order.

The subject through the action breaks the old Symbolic chain. The action taken was an effort to emancipate himself from the symbolic confinement. This subject's actions depart from oneself not due to external forces. According to Zizek, subjects must be able to change their own conditions retroactively and then create their own possible situations. The subject must kill the Symbolic by taking actions that were not predicted before (Yusari, 2012).

Subjects in the Bureaucratic Structure

From the explanation above, there are things that can be contextualized from the explanation of the Zizek subject in the realm of public administration, especially administrative reform. On the other hand, although the recruitment of ASN in Indonesia has been running openly, when viewed from the aspect of planning and implementation it still has significant obstacles so that it has implications for the output of bureaucrats received (Amalia, 2020). Rules became one of the Weberian symbols.

The Weberian bureaucracy has become a kind of symbolic in the Indonesian bureaucratic order (Dwiyanto, 2015; Paskarina, 2017) bureaucratic reform is understood as the practice of power operating through discursive process, that is, through the creation of a claim of truth on certain reform model,

which subsequently is followed by disciplining practice to transform bureaucrat's behavior. To analyze it, this study uses a case study of the implementation of Competition Funding Program to accelerate the achievement of Human Development Index in West Java Indonesia during the period of 2005–2010. The result shows how normalization and performativity is operated as technologies of power to construct an identity of innovative bureaucracy. This construction is justified by the idea of competition as a system of knowledge to produce regime of truth of competitive bureaucracy as a counter identity for conventional bureaucracy. Through normalization, bureaucracy is categorized into innovative bureaucracy (an expertise-based identity. This is indicated by problems in the field in terms of Ease of Doing Business (EoDB), Indonesia is ranked 73 out of 190 economies in terms of ease of doing business as reviewed according to the World Bank's annual ranking. Indonesia's ranking remains unchanged at 73 in 2019 from 73 in 2018. This position is still lagging behind other countries in ASEAN. Amid the rapid technological transformation, public services have not had a significant impact on business license services in Indonesia. The bureaucracy is still trapped in the Weberian pattern.

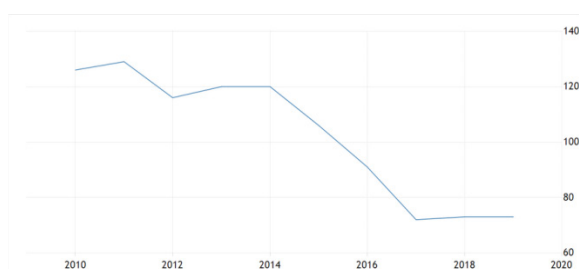


Figure 2. *Ease of Doing Business (EoDB) di Indonesia*

Source: Tradingeconomics.com (2019)

Therefore, this Weberian view is in the realm of the human unconscious. Administrators think and move themselves because they are driven by this unconscious desire (Grace, 2009; Faedlulloh, 2017). The Weberian bureaucracy is irrelevant to the work of government in the 21st century because it creates obedience which is controlled by instruments of military power in society (Kvachev, 2019). Moreover, the Weberian bureaucracy with its various derivatives has become a rule, lecture material, and training that is often applied in the world of bureaucracy, whether delivered directly or indirectly.

As Lacan puts it, desire is always the desire of what other people desire. The desire to do good actions according to the bureaucrat is a good action that has been manifested in the Weberian framework. An example that can be taken is the administrator's adherence to procedures, which is the desire of

the bureaucrats to obey which is marked by being obedient to existing procedures that apply in the bureaucratic environment. So far, the bureaucracy has been trapped in the shackles of a paradigm that believes that work discipline occurs because of direct supervision so that physical presence is needed. However, the obligation to always be behind the desk is pseudo-disciplinary because it is only a matter of formality (O'Neill, 1986; Kvachev, 2019). Implicitly, this situation can be read as a desire structure, namely a legal structure that forces people in the bureaucratic environment to submit in accordance with other orders. Bureaucratic conditions are complex, Zizek once considered bureaucracy like God. "Like God, bureaucracy is simultaneously all powerful and impenetrable, capricious, omnipresent and invisible" (Zizek, 2006).

In particular, what Weber idealized for bureaucracy is rational and therefore applicable in answering several bureaucratic problems. For example, when talking about professional qualifications. Every public office must be based on professional capacity, therefore to occupy that position needs to go through a competitive test. There is nothing wrong with that. Likewise in discussing job descriptions. In order to avoid overlapping authority, a clear job description is required in each job domain. What has been the task becomes the responsibility of each of them together in the context of organizational performance. However, when this framework transforms into a desire that humans obey, this Weberian paradigm turns into a Symbolic one. Both consciously and unconsciously, this view is able to confine administrators, in other words, there is a process of desubjecting administrators in the Weberian bureaucracy platform.

The Weberian paradigm, in Zizek's (2000) though, is 'the big other'. Therefore, efforts to reform the bureaucracy within the Zizekian framework are an attempt to overthrow the Big Other. So, the utopia that must be built to overhaul this order is, following the reading of Robertus Robert (2010), namely becoming a radical subject as SCA. People in the bureaucratic environment who crave a new situation, need to be brave enough to create innovation in the work of public services.

The radical subject here is the subject of reform: a subject that calls for changes in the body of the bureaucracy. The subject of reform emphasizes his radical action to destroy the domination of old ways, rules and structures with new hopes and various interventions (Wahyu, 2014). Reform subjects are ready to step in to improve the condition of the bureaucracy by contributing political ideas,

movements and actions. In the context of the subject, basically Zizek has never explained a concrete agency model that is transformative and does not place the collectivity aspect on the subject (Robert, 2010). This means that the view of the subject Zizek is about the quality of the special subject, even elitist. On this occasion, the writer did not follow this elitist political subject, on the contrary, the writer wanted to place the collectivity aspect on the subject (Robert, 2010). In this case, collectivity is not interpreted as representation, because in the context of bureaucratic reform, representativeness is not no panacea to treat all problems of diverse societies and non-responsive bureaucracies (Schröter, 2019).

The results of the study show that the subject of reform can be born - elitist - as an individual who might be represented by one or two public officials chosen by the people who are brave enough to make fundamental changes, but this is of course constrained by time and uncertain political conditions. Change cannot be waited for, but created. Then this work projection cannot be done alone. The serving and progressive bureaucratic imagination must be built collectively.

The bureaucracy must be able to escape the Weberian narrative. The task of the reform subject is slowly creating new momentum to break away from the rigid Weberian habitus. The first task of the subject of reform is to open the door to the Real order phase. It could be that the standard framework for these changes has not been clearly thought out, or has not been enumerated. However, dialectically, when the Real order phase has been traced, then large agendas with the aim of getting out of the Weberian trap can be practiced gradually.

At the heart of the Symbolic order there has always been a void of marker. In other words, the destruction of the Symbolic order already exists within itself, namely in the form of emptiness (Wattimena, 2011). Following this view, basically means that Weber's bureaucratic system which has become a Symbolic has the potential to be destroyed.

In some simple observations in a bureaucratic environment, writers often meet figures or figures who have big ideas in bureaucratic change. However, due to hierarchy constraints and latent problems of primordial and feudalism in the format of seniority, the voice of reform evaporated before being conveyed. Though ideas are potential. Whether the idea can be implemented or not, can be debated later. But unfortunately, there is no room to exchange these ideas. In the end, the idea just became a grumble that didn't arrive.

The voice of change has not been connected and coordinated with other voices. So the subject of this reform becomes possible if ASNs who have a change imagination organize themselves to resonate the voice of change. Indeed, Indonesian bureaucracy already has Korpri as an SCA organization, but objectively Korpri does not yet have the capacity as an innovator organization. Especially historically, Korpri has actually become the sole vessel and means of perpetuating the power of the New Order. Therefore, the subject of reform needs to go beyond the existing conditions. Self-grooming is a way to avoid being alone on a lonely road. Study results from Hasmath et al., (2019) show that bureaucrats in the midst of an authoritarian order can still make various innovations to make changes in public organizations. There are still bureaucrats who dare to take risks in creating change. This shows the opportunity for transformation amidst the hierarchical Weberian bureaucracy model is still open.

Making changes is not an easy thing, moreover, the existing situation has become a symbolic shackle. From the study of Amber et al (2019) show that when bureaucrats find a clash between personal and collective interests, they tend to pursue personal interests. Therefore, militancy is needed for radical subjects who want reform in the bureaucracy. In any public organization, whether one division or across divisions, SCA, which believes in the urgency of change, needs to create a kind of intellectual chain that acts as an amplifier and amplifies the resonance of the sound waves of change.

The subjects of reform are people who believe that not everyone who enters a bad system will also catch it. In carrying out the agency function, the subject is not seen as a conscious subject of a metaphysical facticity but as an agent with a fragmentative and contingent identity (Wahyu, 2014). So the important thing from the collective work of the subject of reform which has a fragmentative and contingent identity is to build innovation, jointly compile proposals for change, and continually try them out to prove that there is still autonomous space in the bodies and minds of bureaucrats. This work is carried out in a sustainable manner to create an atmosphere of change in the bureaucratic environment. This can be encouraged to be more accelerated by the presence of empowering leadership who can function as a mediator in the transformation process in the bureaucracy (Hendryadi et al., 2019). Creating small cracks until the Weber system breaks. Because the optimal subject is the subject who is able to break the structure.

In this opportunity, of course the writer will not lead to the author's subjective ideal. Because the direction of the new road will be determined by the SCA itself through the circle of radical subjects that are built together. From this collective work, ideas that are judged as truth will be born, whose truth will be fought for in the field.

The way to get out of the Weberian narrative is to create the antithesis of the Weberian character himself. Eliminating the Symbolic Essence of the Weberian. In other words, reverse Weber's view. For example from the paradigm of the structure of the bureaucratic hierarchy into a network. From closed management to more open and liberating. From span of control to empowering, from rigid planning to experimentation. This step is the manifestation of action that can move the coordinates of the situation, so that there is movement between impossibility and possibility that is understood politically. By embracing the antithesis, bigger changes are more likely.

Changing the typical Weberian hierarchical structure into an organization that prioritizes networking aspects is something that needs to be an antithetical practice. This is done so that the people who serve in the bureaucratic environment are not constrained by structures, so that the emancipation of SCAs is more sowed. Each party will have a role in the collaboration.

Faced with external conditions that are always contingent and dynamic, then using a closed management structure is no longer sufficient. The organization must be adaptive to all the changes that come with it. Open management is an inevitable choice. Then, instead of tightening the span of control, an empowering approach needs to be initiated. SCA is a human being, has a bad side as well as a good side. Therefore, instead of continuing to condemn your behavior, it is better to provide opportunities for SCAs to provide quality as public servants. Strict control and assuming staff are a group of people who are unable to work will not produce any good for the public as well as for the organization. With this process, the experimental approach step becomes possible. That is, it does not mean that planning is not important, but facing contingent and sweetened situations, experimentation from SCA is a mandatory activity. This experimentation is not just a short-term coping mechanism, but a continuous renewal. Of course, this experimentation is intended only for the interests and needs of the public. In this context, there has been a recent experience of the Indonesian government who had a stutter in responding to the contingency of social dynamics, namely changes that

occurred due to the Industrial Revolution 4.0. When non-state parties have disrupted a lot, the government has not had any preparations. This happens because the government and its officials are not used to experimenting and innovating according to the real needs of the public and changing times, so that when it was born, for example online transportation, which eventually became dominant and had never been thought of before, the government was late in responding. The implication of this delay was that there was a serious horizontal conflict between online transportation drivers and conventional motorcycle taxi / taxi drivers who were both struggling to make a living. This problem certainly needs to be observed so that bureaucrats have the capacity to become radical subjects in order to get out of the "comfort zone" of the bureaucracy.

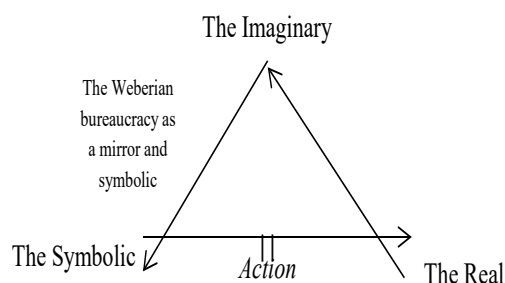


Figure 3. Subject Process of Reform in the Bureaucracy

Again, the role of the subject is to intervene against the Impossible or the Real. Dialectics in carrying out this antithesis is the first step as a moderation to the Real. Real order in the bureaucracy will be traced through negativity or efforts to transcend symbolic barriers. So it takes loyalty to the subjects of reform who are diligent in making changes and improvements to the bureaucracy. It may be that the new narrative has never been thought of before, but that is the goal of the radical subject: to create a completely new bureaucratic order.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that the Weberian bureaucracy has become a symbolic problem that reform subjects need to hack. There is a potential for bureaucrats to become the subject of reforms that make changes in the bureaucracy collectively. The Weberian narrative must be beaten up until the opportunity to lead to the Real order opens up. So fidelity is a prerequisite for the subject of reform to transform the bureaucracy. Therefore, loyalty in change, the momentum of change must be held tightly by the subject of reform. This research is a preliminary research using a literature study approach that is full of limited data in the field. Therefore,

the authors realize immanently that there are still deficiencies in the results of this study. So, the next important agenda is to follow up this research with more in-depth research from various perspectives, even multidisciplinary ways to project, even build a model of radical subjects in the bureaucracy into ideas that can be actual and can be implemented in the field.

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