Article

Narrative policy of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia: Rules of narrative in mass media

Bambang Santoso Haryono[1,*], Alih Aji Nugroho[2], Fadillah Putera[1], Irwan Noor[2]

[1] Department of Public Administration, University of Brawijaya, Malang 65145, Indonesia

[2] Department of Development Administration, NIPA School of Administration Jakarta Campus, Jakarta 10260, Indonesia

* Corresponding author: Bambang Santoso Haryono, bambangsfia@ub.ac.id

Abstract: This paper aims to analyze the narratives that have emerged in the process of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia. The analysis is conducted using the Narrative Policy Framework at the mesa level. Using data from articles published in 6 credible national media about "bureaucratic reform" from 2010 to 2023. The collected data was classified according to the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) elements in the article: Issue setting, the cause of the issue, plot, character (villain, victim, hero), and recommendations for solutions offered. There were 31 articles analyzed. The result showed that the main plot in the process of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia is based on the corrupt bureaucracy and the slow public service provided. The victims in the plot are the people who will access the services. The villains of the narrative are civil servants who do not improve the required competencies. The heroes of the narrative are several government institutions (Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform, Commission of Corruption Eradication, and The Audit Board of The Republic of Indonesia) that are considered to expose the problem.

Keywords: bureaucratic reform; narrative policy framework; mass media narrative; policy process

1. Introduction

Bureaucratic reform is a major concern in public administration studies (Huque and Jongruck, 2020; Hwang, 2019; Lee, 2017; etc.). Bureaucratic reform is important to implement in order to build public trust and eliminate the negative image of the government bureaucracy by forming a professional state apparatus (efficient, effective and productive) and free from corrupt practices (Turner, 2013). In addition, bureaucratic reform is carried out to anticipate and smooth social changes (Hardiman and MacCarthaigh, 2017).

Bureaucratic reform is expected to create an effective and efficient bureaucracy in governance. All countries in the world have made bureaucratic reform a major (Farazmand and Pinkowski, 2006), including Indonesia, as one of the developing countries, bureaucratic reform (RB) has become a serious concern until now.

The process of Bureaucratic Reform in Indonesia has long been carried out. Starting from improving public services, trimming the bureaucracy, and improving the quality of human resources of the apparatus continues to be carried out (Suryanto et al., 2023; Suryanto and Nugroho, 2020). However, until now there are still many who consider the quality of bureaucracy in Indonesia to be low.

The public perception of the condition of the bureaucracy is influenced by the policy narrative that is built in the bureaucratic reform process. Policy narrative is a crucial point in the bureaucratic reform process (Boon and Verhoest, 2018; Poernomo

et al., 2022; Pratama and Manurung, 2022). In the Indonesian context, Turner et al.'s research (2022) explains that bureaucratic reform is a priority narrative and government of developing countries such as Indonesia. Policy narratives, especially in bureaucratic reform, are important to understand to map the ongoing bureaucratic reform process.

In the policy-making process, a policy narrative is a story told to convince decision-makers and their constituents to support a particular policy choice. Narratives that contain messages should be consistent and thorough about how and why a policy or set of policies are implemented enabling people to understand why change is happening and determine how they and their actions fit into the broader scheme of things. Narratives in the policy process will be effective when the narratives around these policies must be recognizable and catch the attention of many people (Shanahan et al., 2018).

The management of narratives in the policy process is important (Schlaufer et al., 2022). In Mintrom and O'Connor (2020) research, for example, taking a case study of the government responding to the Covid-19 pandemic, effective management of policy narratives is important for 2 reasons, namely the first, reducing ambiguity, which is no matter how good the narrative is delivered, if no resources are devoted to building a public health service system, then the jurisdiction will not be able to overcome this pandemic.

Policy narratives on bureaucracy have been carried out, for example the implementation of the Work from Anywhere (WFA) policy for ASN (civil service personnel) in 2023 (Pratama and Manurung, 2022). Massive information issued by the Public Relations of the State Personnel Agency (BKN) was that the hybrid work system during the COVID-19 period has a positive impact on the effectiveness of ASN performance and digitalization which leads to e-Government implementation. The narrative built from the WFA policy story is that the Protagonist (hero) is described as the Government (The Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform and the State Personnel Agency); Antagonist (villain): Community groups, academics, and local governments who criticize the WFA; Victims: people who need public services affected by the immature WFA plan. Strategies that need to be planned are preparing technical rules related to performance and assessment systems, inventorying ASN and position criteria that can be WFA and preparing digital infrastructure, and conducting pilot projects in ministries/agencies and local governments to implement WFA.

According to Schlaufer et al. (2022), the last decade has seen the rise of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) as a valuable theoretical framework for advancing knowledge of the policy process. Since 2010, the NPF has offered a systematic approach to understanding the role of narrative in the policy process. The NPF works well. However, it is important to conduct further research to conceptualize the macro level of NPF to replicate NPF studies outside the institutional context of liberal democracy and to affirm the capacity of the framework to be generalizable in various situations, both political systems, policy fields, levels of analysis, methodological approaches, and other theories in the policy process. Furthermore, according to Shanahan et al. (2018), all NPF research questions address the role of narrative in the

policy process, whether inspired by an interest in a particular policy issue or a reading of the literature.

This research seeks to analyze the narratives built on the bureaucratic reform process in Indonesia. Through mass media analysis, the author tries to map the policy narratives built on bureaucratic reform. This is important to know the position of each actor and the flow that is built in implementing bureaucratic reform. Policy narratives related to bureaucratic reform are urgent to study in assessing how bureaucratic reform policies are implemented, especially the widespread use of mass media has a role in influencing the policy-making process. In a study, Poernomo et al. (2022) found that mass media has become a platform that is able to influence the setting of the policy agenda. The development of mass media, both in the form of content and technology, has encouraged the implementation of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia over the past fifteen years. In addition, mass media shows the strong influence of narratives built in state administration.

2. Review of literature

2.1. Narrative and public policy

Narratives are stories that arise as an attempt to interpret policy (Hourcade, 2021). Narrative is a part of changing ideas when conducting policy analysis (Béland, 2019). In addition, narratives are often considered a summary of the latest observations about evidence, to ensure that the policies issued by the government are well disseminated to the public (Wallace et al., 2020). Therefore, narratives are often associated with public policy because they contain facts that will produce an accurate and trustworthy narrative when policies are made.

Policies contribute to the social hierarchy, and increase public trust (Lamont, 2018). Public policy is considered to be able to change and support an organization because the government is the main actor in it and works with various stakeholders (Whitsel et al., 2023). Narrative is considered very important in analyzing policy change because it affects policy adoption. Thus, this is closely related to narratives that take the form of social consensus and are related to history, minority recognition, and symbolic integration in the community (Hourcade, 2021).

A policy narrative is a story or argument that a party seeks to reinforce as an assumption in the process of discussing a controversial policy issue (Rigolon et al., 2022). Policy narratives in this case are based on the identification of codes that usually appear together, besides that the links in it are very diverse from problem definition, objectives, arguments to support or weaken a policy (Toivonen et al., 2021). Policy narrative is also considered a rhetorical device in which the development process in policy making and strategy is very strong (Burt et al., 2021). On the other hand, the purpose of policy narratives is to create and change information that has its own meaning with strategies that will create new perceptions for existing policies (Burt et al., 2021). In addition, policy narratives are used to emphasize an argument or a situation that really happened to change public opinion and avoid other assumptions of truth (Rigolon et al., 2022).

This strong interaction between stakeholders is a bridge for policy makers to get information from various sources which will later take the form of a policy narrative

(Billore et al., 2023). Community involvement in policy-making will also result in more effective and efficient policies. The intervention of narratives and public policies in this case should further reduce the tendency of people who issue aspirations and excessive consumption.

2.2. Narrative policy framework

A policy framework is a statement about the role of narrative in the public policy process (McBeth and Lybecker, 2018). A narrative policy framework is something in which it discusses how policymakers understand complex issues by developing stories that can later be used as decision-making (Esposito et al., 2021). On the other hand, a narrative policy framework can also be a person or abstraction such as an economy, environment, city or region (Esposito et al., 2021). So, it is a system that analyzes and builds policy narratives that focus on an opinion related to long-term changes and transitions (Miedziński, 2018). The policy process has two main explanations such as core assumptions, levels of analysis, hypotheses, and the definition of the concept of narrative (Shanahan et al., 2018).

Through the process of integrating framework analysis with theoretical opinions related to change and linking the historical dimension with the policy narrative perspective (Miedziński, 2018). The purpose of this narrative policy framework is to understand how strong a particular narrative or set of narratives is, so this process uses certain narrative elements and strategies that are used as variables to make it easier to understand the components in making decisions (Shanahan et al., 2018). Therefore, it is considered very useful when making decisions because it already has a framework to carry it out. This narrative policy framework often only answers who receives this narrative policy and what the conditions of these recipients are.

According to McBeth in Kirkpatrick and Stoutenborough (2018), this narrative policy framework is often considered to be a "competing narrative" this is debated because it contains the setting, characters, storyline, and moral of life that will give rise to policy initiatives and make the policy relevant to those who read it. In addition, the advantage of using this narrative policy framework is the integration of various levels of analysis, namely from macro, meso, and micro (Kirkpatrick and Stoutenborough, 2018). There are policy disputes regarding the use of the narrative policy framework by expanding policy conflicts, and the impact on hampering policy making and victimizing democracy (McBeth and Lybecker, 2018). Therefore, it is hoped that narratives can have an impact on policy change and policy outcomes. The way to achieve this is by going through the agenda stage and setting the agenda must have an impact and be able to explain the narrative when moving to a different policy agenda (McBeth and Lybecker, 2018). This narrative policy framework always seeks to explore the role of policy narratives at every stage of the public policy process. Often this narrative policy framework is the center of attention regarding how each agency utilizes policy narratives in influencing public policy.

For example, in the United States sanctuary cities based on analysis using the narrative policy framework explains that there is no evidence of differences in crime rates between sanctuary cities and non-sanctuary cities, news circulating about the death of someone who becomes a public problem but the results are no real evidence

(McBeth and Lybecker, 2018). In the research, the process of extracting data through Google Trends to find out the real facts related to whether it is indeed a problem that needs to be addressed and there must be a solution to the problem.

However, after extracting the data, it turned out that this was not true, which resulted in the sanctuary city becoming a concern at that time and long term. The narrative policy framework includes narrative and impact analysis related to the policy process. In India, the narrative policy framework on agricultural biotechnology policy is a fairly intense public debate on agricultural issues that damage scientific evidence with Indian and English through generalizable narrative elements, based on analysis of various media coverage that this narrative element has implications for the application of narrative policy frameworks from various languages) (Huda, 2019). In this case, it proves that real data or facts can be used as a basis for analysis that can later have an impact on others or in policy making.

This narrative policy framework is not only done at the central level, but can be used at the local level. An issue related to local policies, such as the policy on residential water shut-offs in Detroit in the United States during 2014, but based on the results that at the local level the advocacy coalition prefers to explain that it is not intentional or there is no explanation for the water shut-off other than blame, so there is no strong evidence to find a solution to the problem (O'Donovan, 2018).

2.3. Narrative policy framework in bureaucratic reform

The policy narrative framework (NPF) is an integral part of the narrative and policy process (Shanahan et al., 2018). Reform is something that brings change for the better and the narrative itself is part of the form of reform ideas that are considered politically relevant (Weiss, 2020). In this case, the policy narrative framework is also related to bureaucratic reform. With this policy narrative framework, it can help solve existing problems, especially issues in the mass media (Aji Nugroho and Fitri Azmi, 2021).

This NPF can be used to understand the dynamics of reform, it is considered as a medium for compiling a clear narrative analysis. On the other hand, there must be a connection between facts and social conditions, which is very important in the process of bureaucratic reform. Bureaucratic reform can run well thanks to the reform narrative created by the stakeholders involved in it. On the other hand, NPF has an important role in bureaucratic reform, namely as a narrative of reform stories that have long been embedded at the macro level regarding the status quo, complaints, and hopes for changes that are needed by the government and society.

Analyzing the ongoing bureaucratic reform process with the NPF framework will provide an overview of why public perceptions of bureaucratic reform exist in a country (Schlaufer et al., 2022). The narrative that is built can provide an overview of the direction of bureaucratic reforms carried out. Thus, the government can set a strategy so that the implementation of bureaucratic reforms runs well according to the demands of society.

2.4. Mass media and narrative

Mass media is a tool made by humans that is used to interact that can reach both

physical and social objects, mass media has a very influential role in society (Klinkhammer, 2020). Mass media and social media are strongly related in people's daily lives; besides that, they not only distribute information and provide influence but also affect the social structure of their interactions. In modern society, these mass media are considered such as the press, radio, television, and the internet (Liu et al., 2019). Therefore, in this case, the mass media is closely related among people's social life. Narratives built by the media can build public opinion (Maschmeyer et al., 2023).

Narratives are the most important part of life because storytelling is closely related to emotional life, it can also shape the process and mobilization of emotions both in groups and individuals (Feldt, 2023a). Narrative is a medium used by a person or party to narrate a particular event or phenomenon (Feldt, 2023b). So, this narrative is related to what is usually told by a person or party about what they feel or certain issues.

Mass media and narrative have a relationship with each other because a lot of news that is present in this case also comes from the narratives that people make. These narratives made in the mass media can also be opinions of themselves or others. However, in this case, the mass media narrative such as news is also divided into factual narratives and emotional narratives (Wearn and Shepherd, 2020). Factual narrative is a writing that is based on factual or true information in the form of a narrative or description. This emotional narrative is more about the encouragement of healthy behavior and questions that cause fear in the reader.

3. Methodology

The approach used to analyze at the messo level (Shanahan et al., 2018) is a qualitative approach. The narrative of bureaucratic reform in post-reform Indonesia was carried out in several stages. Establish criteria for credible mass media as the main source. Then determine the NPF elements contained therein, namely: setting issues, causes of issues to arise, plot, characters (villains, victims, heroes) and recommendations for solutions offered. Setting issues identified type or evidence, plot form issues dynamic from beginning, and to identify villains, victims, heroes from narrative at articles. The technical process of data collection is as follows: first, the analysis focused on narratives built in credible national mass media. Based on the List of Top Newspapers in Indonesia 2019 by International Media and Newspaper (4 International Media & Newspapers, 2023), researchers determined the 6 best mass media in Indonesia, namely Koran Tempo, Jawa Post, Kompas, The Jakarta Post, Media Indonesia, and Republika. After determining the media, secondly, opening the website pages of the six media and searching with the keyword "bureaucracy" with a range of years after the reformation and overall, 292 news articles were found; third, determining 16 news articles that are considered relevant to the topic adjusted for relevance.

Especially for Kompas and Jakarta post media there is no specific number so it is searched using selecting the most relevant article issues with: 1) keyword bureaucratic reform, 2) selection of articles with the most recent year of publication in the period 2018–2023, 3) prioritizing articles that contain case reports on bureaucratic reform, 4) prioritizing articles that contain case reports on bureaucratic reform. From

the total number of articles found, data reduction was then carried out by looking at the suitability of the title and content with the topic of bureaucratic reform so that a total of Jawa Post 5 articles, Koran Tempo 16 articles, Jakarta Post 7 articles, Kompas 20 articles, Republika 20 articles and Media Indonesia 22 (12) articles. From a total of 90 articles, those that had a direct relationship with bureaucratic reform were selected. The author eliminates from the title, which is continued for analysis is that which contains the word "Bureaucratic Reform". Then analyze articles that have complete elements of NPF analysis.

Media Indonesia 7 articles, Republika 7 articles, Kompas 4 articles, Jakarta Post 2 articles, Koran Tempo 6 articles, Jawa Pos 5 articles, so the total articles analyzed were 31 articles related to bureaucratic reform in Indonesia.

4. Findings

The analysis was conducted qualitatively from 31 articles collected from six of the most credible online mass media in Indonesia. Then classified and analyzed from: narratives, issues discussed, issue settings (context and evidence), causes of issues to arise, issue plots, characters (villains, victims, heroes) and narrative recommendations offered. The data can be shows in **Table 1**.

Table 1. Component of the article.

Media	Narrative	Issues	Setting (context and evidence) *Type of evidence: anecdotal, law/legal reasoning, statistics	The reason why the issue arises	Issue plot (issue dynamics from the beginning to the ttt period)	Character			Policy recommendations are offered to resolve the issue	Total Article
						Villain	Victim	Hero		
Media Indonesia	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	7
Kompas	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	4
Jakarta post	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	2
Koran Tempo	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	6
Jawa pos	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	5
Republika	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	7
Articles total v										31

Source: Author.

Analysis is conducted at the messo level of bureaucratic reform policy (Shanahan et al., 2018). The narrative is seen in the context of a story that is built nationally. The messo level will bring up the setting, plot and actors in the policy.

According to the article (Koran Tempo, 2007) in Indonesia the bureaucracy still needs improvement as evidenced by the unresponsive services in Indonesia. In addition, employees who do not perform well are also an obstacle to bureaucratic reform so that in serving the community they are not in accordance with the rules (Koran Tempo, 2014). This was proven in 2007 that 51 airlines were banned from flying and based on a survey by Political and Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd that Indonesia has the worst bureaucracy in the world. A slow service related to the reply letter to the EU Commission was one of the reasons why people could not fly because

15 airlines were delayed. This is due to a service that is indeed very slow by the bureaucratic criminals who come from the Department of Transportation so that the victim here is the public. The bureaucratic criminals were sanctioned.

Indonesia in the process of bureaucratic reform is still experiencing obstacles such as in the Regional Government the bureaucracy is still fat and inefficient. According to the article (Kompas.com, 2016), this is evident from: First, institutional arrangements that are not yet oriented towards an efficient and lean bureaucracy. This has resulted in a long decision-making process. Second, in the field of human resources (HR). Third, the quality of public services at the local government work unit (SKPD) level has not been oriented towards aspects of fast, cheap, and certain services. Fourth, no government agency has integrated the public complaint management system in the Lapor! application.

Bureaucratic reform is often a failure because the process has cost a lot of money and always says that the bureaucracy has changed. According to the article (Koran Tempo, 2012) in Indonesia there is a waste of budget this is due to employee spending and official travel increases. In addition, data submitted by the Ministry of PAN RB has wasted the State Budget (APBN) of Rp. 392.87 trillion (Kompas.com, 2017a). Based on Indonesian Forum data related to budget transparency in the 2013 Draft State Budget, employee spending increased by 28 trillion and the official travel budget rose to 21 trillion.

Indonesia often experiences budget waste due to programs that are often not on target. According to the article (Kompas.com, 2017a), this waste is caused by the existence of activities carried out by ASN that are not focused, therefore resulting in not on target such as comparative study activities that are considered irrelevant. On the other hand, the construction of irrigation but in reality, there is no water flow so that it cannot benefit the community. This is all caused by poor government performance, the criminals, such as unscrupulous ASN and the Regional Government. So that the community is the victim in this program that is not on target, the budget is wasteful but the activities have no impact properly.

Indonesia experiences a high number of corruption cases, when this corruption occurs it is often not matched by significant developments in bureaucratic reform. According to the article (Koran Tempo, 2017) in Indonesia alone there were more than 10 regional heads arrested based on the results of hand-catching operations. Based on the Global Competitiveness Index 2016–2017 report by the World Economic Forum, it explains that bureaucratic inefficiency ranks second, namely (9.3%) but the number of corruptions is (11.6%). Based on data from Indonesia Corruption Watch in 2017, it is stated that civil servants are the first perpetrators of corruption, followed by Regional House of Representatives (in Indonesia called DPRD) and Regional Heads. The criminals in this corruption are State Civil Apparatus (ASN), DPRD, and Regional Heads who are involved in the process of buying and selling positions which results in the number of corruption cases in Indonesia experiencing a continuous increase. So, in this case the victim of these cases is the community. Thanks to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning the State Civil Apparatus, we know who is the villain behind this case, perhaps if they had not become heroes this case would not have been revealed properly.

If the above corruption is caused by buying and selling positions carried out by the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), and the Regional Head (Koran Tempo, 2017). However, according to the article (Kompas.com, 2017b), in contrast to the data submitted by Corruption Watch, the criminals are the State Civil Apparatus throughout the Region, around 3417 people, this is based on 2016–2017 data. This causes the quality of public services to not run well because there is minimal support from the government. So that in this service process it is not supported by capacity building and a fundamental change in mindset for these ASNs. Based on The Global Competitiveness Report 2016–2017 released by the World Economic Forum, Indonesia ranks 41st out of 138 countries. The failure of this reform is due to unscrupulous ASN, Regional Heads and legislative institutions that are often involved in the public service process. So that this is again the community who is the victim in the failure of this bureaucratic reform due to corruption.

According to the article (Republika, 2019), the Indonesian bureaucracy has often been used by the authorities for short-term political interests. The problem of bureaucracy in Indonesia, since the Dutch era, has always been an intermediary tool for the colonizers, but when it became independent, the Indonesian bureaucracy was controlled by political parties (Parpol), since the new order the bureaucracy belonged to Golkar and the government then since the reform in the era of the government of President BJ Habibie to Joko Widodo this has made improvements related to the bureaucracy, but until now it has not been effective. In addition, the bureaucracy is not running properly so it must be addressed again in the reform of the Indonesian bureaucracy.

According to the article (Republika, 2020a), bureaucratic reform has not been carried out optimally, one of the reasons is the excess of personnel needed and the shortage of personnel needed. Minister of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform also considers that during the Covid-19 Pandemic, bureaucratic reform is very necessary (Republika, 2020a). The government since 2010–2025 has focused on implementing the grand design based on Presidential Regulation No.81/2010 concerning the Grand Design of Bureaucratic Reform 2010–2025. In this case, the productive group at the time of work from home (WFH) becomes excessive and must do work that cannot be completed by the unproductive group. The villains of this case are ASNs who are not competent in their respective fields so that they hamper the bureaucratic reform process and the community becomes the victim. However, in this case the heroes are the Central Government, DPR-RI, and Menpan RB. This is because the Minister of Kemenpan RB agreed with BKN to reformulate ASN human resource management (HR) in accordance with the new normal order through the strategy of changing ASN competency formation.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, in this case bureaucratic reform is needed because of the condition of ASN working from home, so in terms of effectiveness it is good and the budget is quite economical (Republika, 2020b). This Covid-19 pandemic requires ASN to work quickly and make bold decisions. So in this case, like it or not, ASN must try to continue to serve the community as well as possible in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. To improve ASN that does not have integrity while providing services in the midst of this outbreak, the Minister of Kemenpan RB conducted a level

one national leadership training. This non-optimal service is the result of ASN criminals who do not have integrity, so the victims here are the community and Kemenpan-RB who are heroes for providing training facilities to improve integrity.

The Covid-19 pandemic is one of the obstacles in the process of simplifying the bureaucracy. According to the article (Media Indonesia, 2020a), in 2020 amid the Covid-19 pandemic, bureaucratic simplification has reached 70%, this aims to solve the bureaucratic problems that have been considered slow and convoluted. The government targets this bureaucratic simplification in Ministries/Institutions to only reach around 70%. Echelon III positions that originally amounted to 8786 are now reduced to 5106. Echelon IV positions from 30,123 to around 19,130 and echelon V positions from 19,865 to 5072. Because the villain in this bureaucratic reform obstacle is also the existence of ASNs who are not competent, especially in the field of technology. So that this incompetent ASN becomes an obstacle to the bureaucratic simplification process. Thus, the victim is the community. According to the article (Media Indonesia, 2020b), the existence of a fat institution, this forces to simplify the bureaucracy to speed up decision making, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic.

According to the article (Republika, 2020a), President Joko Widodo in this case for the process of simplifying the bureaucracy has dissolved 10 non-structural institutions, which consist of Commissions, Agencies and Councils, this is stated in the policy of Presidential Regulation Number 112. Positions from echelons III, IV, and V are being phased out, in this case the president is determined to cut the long bureaucracy by simplifying the bureaucracy (Media Indonesia, 2022). This is the villain, namely the overlapping institutions, the community who is the victim again because surely when going to do services it is hampered by regulations, slow, and so on. The heroes are the President, the Ministry of Bureucratic Reform, the National Korpri Executive Board (DPKN).

Bureaucratic reform in Indonesia is still a lot of reports about licenses that are slow or not processed and even not submitted by the Head of Service to the community if before giving money. According to the article (Media Indonesia, 2020c), this bureaucratic reform has an impact on the government effectiveness index (IE) by 26 levels, Indonesia which initially ranked 121 in 2015 to 95 in 2019, with an IEP score of 54.8 on a scale of 0–100. Thus, the ability of ASN in carrying out its duties and functions is only at the level of ASN of the Lower Middle-Income Country, in the same class as the Philippines, Vietnam, and Cambodia. Therefore, Kemenpan-RB came to the rescue by simplifying the bureaucracy to increase efficiency and speed up decision-making.

Business processes and trade in the food, medicine sector in this case are vulnerable to rent-seeking practices carried out by individuals in search of personal wealth. According to the article (Thejakarta Post, 2020), since the encouragement of bureaucratic reform regarding business licensing and commerce with the aim of preventing people from making personal profits, there has been a focus on preventing fraud by rent-seeking elements related to Indonesian trade. This is the criminal, namely the rent-seeker, so it has a bad impact on the people who are victims because the processing of their business licenses is hampered.

District/city governments in carrying out bureaucratic reforms are still considered low. According to the article (Sulistyo, 2021), based on an evaluation conducted by

Kemenpan-RB, districts/cities only have 24.41 percent of the bureaucratic reform index in the good category. In fact, for the provincial level, 79.41 percent are in the good category and for ministries/institutions, 96.39 percent are in the good category. There are 59 districts/cities that have not carried out procedural bureaucratic reforms (Republika, 2021a). In the process, there are still obstacles because when having a position in this case is used as a commodity by many Regional Heads. On the other hand, in the selection of Regional Heads, there is buying and selling of positions. So that this becomes a political pressure or intervention from various political parties that support the victory of this matter during the Regional Head election, which in this case is very difficult to avoid. According to the article (Republika, 2021b), only six Regency/City Governments have submitted a self-assessment related to the implementation of bureaucratic reform in 2020, but it was not carried out again in 2021, but the 59 Regency/City in 2021 submitted a self-assessment related to bureaucratic reform.

The Indonesian government in carrying out bureaucratic reform is still experiencing various challenges, both internal and external. According to the article (Media Indonesia, 2021), the obstacles that occur internally are such as the low commitment of Regional Leaders as in the case described above, the orientation of their employees is not yet service oriented, and there are still practices of buying and selling positions, the external challenge is that there is a plan to revise Law Number 5 of 2014 concerning the State Civil Apparatus which has the potential to fundamentally change the implementation of the merit system.

The Indonesian government in 2021 will revise the ASN Law. According to the article (Republika, 2021b), in this case the government is really preparing to discuss the Draft Law (RUU) on Amendments to Law (UU) No. 5 of 2014 concerning the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) with the House of Representatives (DPR). However, in this case, it is worrying that it will weaken the bureaucratic reform process in Indonesia. The revision of the ASN Law is also a challenge in the bureaucratic reform process, especially in external factors (Media Indonesia, 2021).

4.1. Constructed policy actor narrative

4.1.1. Criminal

Bureaucratic reform in Indonesia often experiences various problems such as convoluted services and slow processes. This is considered the villain, namely the Civil Servant (PNS). In bureaucratic reform in Indonesia, civil servants are considered as criminals because they have poor performance so that in providing services to the community they are not satisfied. It is also due to the existence of a bureaucracy that is demanding, resulting in ineffectiveness and inefficiency. Thus, slow and complicated services can also be due to long decision-making by civil servants. As is the case in the Regional Government, the reforms carried out have not run optimally because civil servants in regional agencies often prioritize their own egos. So that in this case it results in the bureaucratic reform process not running properly in accordance with the initial national provisions.

Bureaucratic reform in its process is definitely related to the budget. In this case, the implementation still has the name of using the budget inappropriately, illegal levies,

the process of buying and selling positions, and other corruption. Here the criminals are often civil servants and political officials, because in the service process there are often illegal levies (extortion). When the process is related to promotion, there is often political interference with payments to occupy certain positions. Thus, hampering the bureaucratic reform process in Indonesia. The corruption committed above is not only in the central government but also in local governments. Therefore, this has resulted in bureaucratic reform in Indonesia until now not really running well.

4.1.2. Victim

The poor services and corruption that occur in Indonesia have an unfavourable impact. In this case, the victims in the process of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia are the people. Because when the services provided by civil servants are not good, it will affect them. For example, when people need a land permit quickly for any administrative process. However, because the services provided by civil servants are slow and convoluted, the targets that have been set are not running well. As a result, the community feels disappointed with the services the government provides, because in the process there are many problems. Supposedly, civil servants both in the Central Government and in the Regional Government when serving the community must be wholeheartedly in accordance with the performance they have and their competence. So that it affects the service process carried out to the community. Because the existence of a service carried out by civil servants is not in accordance with existing procedures resulting in extortion, slow and convoluted.

The integrity of civil servants and public officials that is not implemented properly has bad consequences for the people who are victims. Because with this, public trust has decreased due to unsatisfactory services provided. On the other hand, the existence of extortion, the use of inappropriate budgets and the buying and selling of positions also victimize the community. When performing services but there is extortion, the community will experience a loss of money but sometimes the service remains the same and is not satisfactory.

4.1.3. Hero

Policies carried out by the government in this case become one of the important roles when facing the problem of bureaucratic pathology in Indonesia. In the process of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia, the hero is often the Ministry of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (Kemenpan-RB), because when there is a problem, they will provide solutions such as Indonesia's poverty rate is quite high, so they carry out thematic bureaucratic reforms that can reduce poverty in Indonesia. Then, create training for civil servants to have more integrity when there is poor performance in them, encourage ASN and agencies to collaborate, professionalism, devotion to the community, nation and state and provide the best service, as well as formulating bureaucratic reform strategies and so on.

The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) and other survey institutions in this case are also heroes because they have proven cases and existing data to reform the bureaucracy. Because, when the government does not know the bureaucratic problems supported by inaccurate data, this will hinder the bureaucratic reform process. However, with the activities carried out by the agency or survey institute, it becomes the basis for bureaucratic reform in

Indonesia by collaborating between Kemenpan-RB and the President. Thus, it becomes known what the problems are and how the government should make the right policies so that it knows what needs to be improved. With this, it becomes an evaluation material by the government because it can be a comparison between data from year to year. So, later it will be known whether it has changed in accordance with the initial objectives or has changed not according to the objectives that have been determined from the start.

5. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the narratives built in the mass media above, it can be seen that the bureaucratic reform process does not always go well. Often there are obstacles in the implementation process. So far, obstacles to bureaucratic reform have often occurred due to corruption cases committed by unscrupulous ASN, Regional Heads, Legislative Institutions and so on. This is also when the reform does not go well, the victim is the community. Because often this Indonesian bureaucratic reform is related to public services. So when corruption occurs, those who will feel the impact directly are the people. However, until now there has not really been a solution regarding the eradication of corruption because so far there are still a lot of cases that are endless. Corruption has indeed been a bureaucratic pathology since time immemorial, so there is no telling when it will stop. Maybe it will just subside, but if the case is completely zero it seems quite difficult for Indonesia itself.

Incompetent ASN is also a criminal who is often mentioned because it not only causes corruption cases but also the service process is hampered due to inadequate competence. Therefore, when pruning the bureaucracy, it must really be seen whether the competence they have is in accordance with the field they will run. If they are only transferred but their competence is not appropriate, this will not cut bureaucratic reform but slow down the service process for the community.

These bureaucratic reform problems occur because they come from criminal ASN elements, legislative institutions, regional heads, and incompetent ASNs. With the various actions they take, this results in the community always being the victim. Whereas the community has the same rights without any differentiation between one another. So far, those who often become protectors or heroes when problems occur in bureaucratic reform are the President, Ministries/Institutions, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK), Regulations, Local/Central Government and other survey bodies. In this case, they are the heroes of certain cases, from the disclosure of the case to the solution, this is usually done by them. Therefore, with them, we know what causes bureaucratic reform in Indonesia is still not well implemented until now. This is caused by various kinds of internal, external and other factors.

Bureaucratic reform is still really in need of improvement. Because often this activity is only carried out sectorally. Local governments that find it difficult to carry out bureaucratic reforms in this case have hampered the bureaucratic reform process at the central level. Local governments must also be united to carry out bureaucratic reforms so that later they can complete the goals that have been determined nationally. Because when this bureaucratic reform is only carried out at the central level, it will

worsen the performance of regional level organizations as well, the slogan of development from the village to the village should really be implemented. Because so far, the Regional Government is very reluctant to carry out bureaucratic reforms even though in this case it is very necessary. People in the regions also want to get services without having to pay illegal levies and convoluted processes. Therefore, to improve bureaucratic reform, especially related to community services so that there are no cases of slow service, illegal levies, so that bureaucratic reform is needed between the Central Government, Local Governments and the community to collaborate with each other to achieve the goals of national bureaucratic reform.

ASN's lack of integrity, corrupt mentality and desire to be respected are what really make Indonesia's reforms not really going well. Because Indonesia should have reformed the bureaucracy a long time ago, but until now there are still a lot of bureaucratic problems that occur. Even though this should have started to decrease but in reality, it is still not really visible. Therefore, a joint effort is needed in achieving true bureaucratic reform so that corruption cases can be reduced, ASN mentality can be well organized and existing services are not complicated and the community really feels the good impact. However, in this case, diseases such as corruption seem to have been embedded in Indonesian public officials without thinking about the people, only their personal interests. These things are what cause the bureaucratic reform process in Indonesia to be endless, there are continuous challenges and so on. This bureaucratic reform should be better, but in reality, there are still many problems that hinder the process. Simplifying positions is also not really a solution, because there are still long procedures that still do not cut time but remain the same. So, with this, it is hoped that the existing problems can be resolved immediately by the government such as always conducting evaluations, revising laws, improving quality and so on.

References

International Media & Newspapers (2023). Top Newspapers in Indonesia. Available online: https://www.4imn.com/id/ (accessed on 17 October 2023)

Aji Nugroho A, Fitri Azmi I (2021). Alleviating society's economic crisis: Narrative policy on social safety nets policy process during Covid-19 pandemic. Policy & Governance Review 5(2): 113–127. doi: 10.30589/pgr.v5i2.443

Béland D (2019). Narrative stories, institutional rules, and the politics of pension policy in Canada and the United States. Policy and Society 38(3): 356–372. doi: 10.1080/14494035.2019.1644071

Billore S, Anisimova T, Vrontis D (2023). Self-regulation and goal-directed behavior: A systematic literature review, public policy recommendations, and research agenda. Journal of Business Research 156: 113435. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.113435

Boon J, Verhoest K (2018). On the dynamics of reform resistance: Why and how bureaucratic organizations resist shared service center reforms. International Public Management Journal 21(4): 533–557. doi: 10.1080/10967494.2016.1276494

Burt G, Mackay D, Mendibil K (2021). Overcoming multi-stakeholder fragmented narratives in land use, woodland and forestry policy: The role scenario planning and 'dissociative jolts. Technological Forecasting and Social Change 166: 120663. doi: 10.1016/j.techfore.2021.120663

Esposito G, Clement J, Mora L, Crutzen N (2021). One size does not fit all: Framing smart city policy narratives within regional socio-economic contexts in Brussels and Wallonia. Cities 118: 103329. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2021.103329

Farazmand A, Pinkowski J (2006). Handbook of Globalization, Governance, and Public Administration. Routledge. doi: 10.1201/b13629

Feldt L (2023a). Total devotion in the ancient world: Emotions and narrative in radical religion. Religion 53(1): 1–23. doi: 10.1080/0048721x.2022.2150405

Feldt L (2023b). Training for total devotion: Emotionality and narrativity in Deuteronomy. Religion 53(1): 43–67. doi: 10.1080/0048721x.2022.2150402

Hardiman N, MacCarthaigh M (2017). State retrenchment and administrative reform in Ireland: Probing comparative policy paradigms. Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice 19(2): 100–118. doi: 10.1080/13876988.2015.1103432

Hourcade R (2021). Emotions, narratives, and the art of making meanings: Nantes' memorial to the abolition of slavery. Critical Policy Studies 15(3): 292–310. doi: 10.1080/19460171.2020.1818110

Huda J (2019). Policy narratives across two languages: A comparative study using the narrative policy framework. Review of Policy Research 36(4): 523–546. doi: 10.1111/ropr.12344

Huque AS, Jongruck P (2020). Civil service reforms in Hong Kong and Thailand: Similar goals, different paths. Public Administration and Policy: An Asia-Pacific Journal 23(2): 111–123. doi: 10.1108/pap-03-2020-0015

Hwang K (2019). Understanding complexity of administrative reform. International Journal of Organizational Analysis 27(3): 630–643. doi: 10.1108/ijoa-02-2018-1356

Kirkpatrick KJ, Stoutenborough JW (2018). Strategy, narratives, and reading the public: Developing a micro-level theory of political strategies within the narrative policy framework. Policy Studies Journal 46(4): 949–977. doi: 10.1111/psj.12271

Klinkhammer G (2020). Interreligious dialogue groups and the mass media. Religion 50(3): 336–352. doi: 10.1080/0048721x.2020.1754604

Kompas.com (2016). Bureaucratic reform in the regions has not been maximized (Indonesian). Available online: https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/05/19/20380631/reformasi.birokrasi.di.daerah.belum.maksimal (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Kompas.com (2017a). State budget wasted Rp 392 trillion per year due to bureaucratic problems (Indonesian). Available online: https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/10/11504501/apbn.mubazir.rp.392.triliun.per.tahun.karena.masalah.birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Kompas.com (2017b). Failure of bureaucratic reform (Indonesian). Available online: https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/04/07/17595581/kegagalan.reformasi.birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Koran Tempo (2007). Accelerate bureaucratic reform (Indonesian). Available online: https://koran.tempo.co/read/editorial/107389/percepat-reformasi-birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Koran Tempo (2012). Bureaucratic reform failed? (Indonesian). Available online: https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/287380/reformasi-birokrasi-gagal (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Koran Tempo (2014). Ahok and bureaucratic reform (Indonesian). Available online: https://koran.tempo.co/read/editorial/340706/ahok-dan-reformasi-birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Koran Tempo (2017). Corruption and the stalling of bureaucratic reform (Indonesian). Available online: https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/411986/korupsi-dan-macetnya-reformasi-birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Lamont M (2018). Addressing recognition gaps: Destigmatization and the reduction of inequality. American Sociological Review 83(3): 419–444. doi: 10.1177/0003122418773775

Lee H (2017). Bureaucracy, regulatory management, and Korean democracy. In: Public Policy and Governance. Emerald Publishing Limited. pp. 83–111. doi: 10.1108/s2053-769720170000028004

Liu S, Cai L, Zhao X (2019). The role of mass media in education policies: A Chinese case study. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management 41(2): 186–203. doi: 10.1080/1360080x.2018.1554548

Maschmeyer L, Abrahams A, Pomerantsev P, Yermolenko V (2023). Donetsk don't tell—'Hybrid war' in Ukraine and the limits of social media influence operations. Journal of Information Technology & Politics 2023: 1–16. doi: 10.1080/19331681.2023.2211969

McBeth MK, Lybecker DL (2018). The narrative policy framework, agendas, and sanctuary cities: The construction of a public problem. Policy Studies Journal 46(4): 868–893. doi: 10.1111/psj.12274

Media Indonesia (2020a). Korpri anniversary, president asks for bureaucratic reforms to be accelerated (Indonesian). Available online: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/364923/hut-korpri-presiden-minta-reformasi-birokrasi-dipercepat (accessed on 17 November 2023).

Media Indonesia (2020b). Bureaucratic simplification is 70% complete (Indonesian). Available online: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/349244/penyederhanaan-birokrasi-sudah-70 (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Media Indonesia (2020c). Bureaucratic reform to face international competition (Indonesian). Available online: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/354798/reformasi-birokrasi-hadapi-persaingan-internasional (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Media Indonesia (2021). Government effectiveness index rises, Moeldoko: Bureaucratic reforms continue (Indonesian). Available online: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/435669/indeks-efektifitas-pemerintah-naik-moeldoko-reformasi-birokrasi-terus-dijalankan (accessed on 17 November 2023).

Media Indonesia (2022). Ministry of home affairs affirms bureaucratic reform is important for Indonesia's progress (Indonesian). Available online: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/507659/kemendagri-tegaskan-reformasi-birokrasi-penting-bagi-kemajuan-indonesia (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Miedziński M (2018). Do policy makers tell good stories? Towards a multi-layered framework for mapping and analysing policy narratives embracing futures. Futures 101: 10–25. doi: 10.1016/j.futures.2018.05.003

Mintrom M, O'Connor R (2020). The importance of policy narrative: Effective government responses to Covid-19. Policy Design and Practice 3(3): 205–227. doi: 10.1080/25741292.2020.1813358

O'Donovan KT (2018). Does the narrative policy framework apply to local policy issues? Politics & Policy 46(4): 532–570. doi: 10.1111/polp.12265

Poernomo M, Bungin B, Winarno S (2022). The power of mass media in social construction of the reform of Indonesia bureaucracy. Webology 19(1): 2811–2823. doi: 10.14704/web/v19i1/web19187

Pratama M, Manurung L (2022). Bureaucratic reform: Analysis of work from anywhere policy plans for ASN. Jurnal Administrasi Publik 20(2): 263–274.

Republika (2019). Short-term politics still color bureaucratic reforms (Indonesian). Available online: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/q0hpra380/politik-jangka-pendek-masih-warnai-reformasi-birokrasi (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Republika (2020a). Menpan RB: Bureaucratic reform is important during Covid pandemic (Indonesian). Available online: https://news.republika.co.id/berita//qh3e6p354/menpan-rb-reformasi-birokrasi-penting-di-saat-pandemi-covid? (accessed on 18 October 2023).

Republika (2020b). Overmanned, DPR highlights weak bureaucratic reforms (Indonesian). Available online: https://news.republika.co.id/berita//qc6bj9396/kelebihan-tenaga-dpr-soroti-lemahnya-reformasi-birokrasi? (accessed on 18 October 2023).

Republika (2021a). Mahfud MD reminds governors to foster bureaucratic reforms (Indonesian). Available online: https://news.republika.co.id/berita//r3fibo484/mahfud-md-ingatkan-gubernur-bina-reformasi-birokrasi? (accessed on 18 October 2023).

Republika (2021b). Revision of ASN law should not undermine bureaucratic reforms (Indonesian). Available online: https://news.republika.co.id/berita//qzxy12430/revisi-uu-asn-jangan-sampai-lemahkan-reformasi-birokrasi? (accessed on 18 October 2023).

Rigolon A, Yañez E, Aboelata MJ, Bennett R (2022). "A park is not just a park": Toward counter-narratives to advance equitable green space policy in the United States. Cities 128: 103792. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2022.103792

Schlaufer C, Kuenzler J, Jones MD, Shanahan EA (2022). The narrative policy framework: A traveler's guide to policy stories. Polit Vierteljahresschr 63(2): 249–273. doi: 10.1007/s11615-022-00379-6

Shanahan EA, Jones MD, McBeth MK (2018). How to conduct a narrative policy framework study. The Social Science Journal 55(3): 332–345. doi: 10.1016/j.socscij.2017.12.002

Sulistyo PD (2021). Bureaucratic reform in regency/city is still low (Indonesian). Available online: https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2021/08/18/reformasi-birokrasi-di-kabupaten-kota-masih-rendah (accessed on 18 October 2023).

Suryanto A, Nugroho AA (2020). Improving Public Participation in Innovation Management of Village-Owned Enterprise: Lesson Learned from the Best Village-Owned Enterprise in Indonesia. PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology 17(4): 2072–2082.

Suryanto A, Prasetyo AG, Nurdin N, Aswad M. (2023). The Reform of Apparatus Competence Development in Indonesia: Improving the Implementation System and the Implementing Actors. Information Sciences Letters 12(4): 1307–1317. doi:10.18576/isl/120445

Thejakarta Post (2020). Despite reforms, red tape still "main problem" for regional projects. Available online: https://www.thejakartapost.com/business/2023/01/19/despite-reforms-red-tape-still-main-problem-for-regional-projects.html (accessed on 17 October 2023).

Toivonen R, Vihemäki H, Toppinen A (2021). Policy narratives on wooden multi-storey construction and implications for technology innovation system governance. Forest Policy and Economics 125: 102409. doi: 10.1016/j.forpol.2021.102409

Turner M (2013). Why is it so difficult to reform some Asian bureaucracies? Building theory from cambodian evidence. Public Admin & Development 33(4): 275–285. doi: 10.1002/pad.1655

Turner M, Prasojo E, Sumarwono R (2022). The challenge of reforming big bureaucracy in Indonesia. Policy Studies 43(2): 333–351. doi: 10.1080/01442872.2019.1708301

Wallace TC, Bailey RL, Blumberg JB, et al. (2020). Fruits, vegetables, and health: A comprehensive narrative, umbrella review of the science and recommendations for enhanced public policy to improve intake. Critical Reviews in Food Science and Nutrition 60(13): 2174–2211. doi: 10.1080/10408398.2019.1632258

Wearn A, Shepherd L (2020). The impact of emotion-based mass media campaigns on stigma toward cervical screening non participation. Journal of Applied Social Psychology 50(5): 289–298. doi: 10.1111/jasp.12659

Weiss J (2020). The evolution of reform narratives: A narrative policy framework analysis of German NPM reforms. Critical Policy Studies 14(1): 106–123. doi: 10.1080/19460171.2018.1530605

Whitsel LP, Ajenikoko F, Chase PJ, et al. (2023). Public policy for healthy living: How COVID-19 has changed the landscape. Progress in Cardiovascular Diseases 76: 49–56. doi: 10.1016/j.pcad.2023.01.002

Zeng Q (2020). Managed campaign and bureaucratic institutions in China: Evidence from the targeted poverty alleviation program. Journal of Contemporary China 29(123): 400–415. doi: 10.1080/10670564.2019.1645489