

Epistemology of Governmental Science: Paradigmatic Study of Thomas Kuhn's Scientific Revolution

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to describe the genealogy, history, interdisciplinary approaches, paradigms, and schools of government science, as well as their relationship to Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution, all examined epistemologically and actually. The research method used is a qualitative literature study that relies on literature in books, scientific journals, theses, dissertations, workshop notes, and webinars, and is then described descriptively. This paper reveals three genealogies and historicities of government science: Greece, Germany-Austria (Prussian Cameralism), and the Netherlands (bestuurkunde). The birth of government science in Indonesia began during the Dutch East Indies era. In the 1990s, government science study programs began to be established in many universities in Indonesia. In addition, government science also strives to give birth to new paradigms (Kybernology and Islam), new schools of thought (Governance and Timoho), new branches (government intelligence), as well as to intensify approaches (the Frankfurt school's critical approach) and the latest research (participatory research). These efforts are then an attempt by government science to free itself from the intervention of political science and administrative science, as stated in the objectives of the Indonesian Government Science Study Program (KAPSIPI), when viewed from the perspective of Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution. Although this paper contributes to the development of a unique and contextual scientific discourse in the field of government science epistemologically, this paper has not conducted an elaborative study in reviewing the ontological (the nature of the object of study) and axiological (the purpose and utility of science) aspects that need to be carried out in further research.

Keywords: Epistemology, Governmental Science, Paradigm, Thomas Kuhn

ABSTRAK

Paper ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan genealogi, histori, pendekatan lintas disiplin ilmu, paradigma hingga mazhab ilmu pemerintahan, serta hubungannya dengan revolusi saintifik Thomas Kuhn yang kesemuanya ditelaah secara epistemologis dan aktual. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif-studi pustaka yang mengandalkan literatur-literatur berupa buku, jurnal ilmiah, tesis, disertasi, catatan lokakarya, hingga webinar, kemudian digambarkan secara deskriptif. Paper ini menyingkapkan bahwa terdapat tiga genealogis dan historisitas ilmu pemerintahan yakni di Yunani, Jerman-Austria (Kameralisme Prusia), dan Belanda (bestuurkunde). Kelahiran ilmu pemerintahan di Indonesia sendiri bermula pada masa Hindia-Belanda yang kemudian pada tahun 1990an program studi ilmu pemerintahan mulai didirikan di banyak Perguruan Tinggi di Indonesia. Selain itu, ilmu pemerintahan juga berupaya untuk melahirkan paradigma-paradigma baru (Kybernology dan Islam), mazhab-mazhab baru (Governance dan Timoho), cabang baru (intelijen pemerintahan), serta memasifkan pendekatan (pendekatan kritis mazhab Frankfurt) dan riset terbaru (riset partisipatoris). Upaya-upaya ini kemudian merupakan usaha dari ilmu pemerintahan untuk melepaskan diri dari intervensi ilmu politik dan ilmu administrasi, sebagaimana termaktub dalam tujuan Kesatuan Program Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan Indonesia (KAPSIPI), jika dilihat dari

kacamata revolusi saintifik Thomas Kuhn. Kendati paper ini berkontribusi dalam pengembangan wacana keilmuan yang khas dan kontekstual di bidang ilmu pemerintahan secara epistemologis, paper ini belum melakukan pengkajian elaboratif dalam mengulas aspek ontologis (hakikat objek kajian) dan aksiologis (tujuan dan nilai guna ilmu) perlu untuk dilakukan pada penelitian lanjutan.

Kata kunci: Epistemologi, Ilmu Pemerintahan, Paradigma, Thomas Kuhn

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INTRODUCTION

One of the critical philosophical debates is a discussion that questions the beginnings of knowledge by researching, studying, and trying to reveal the main principles of the power structure of the mind given to humans (Bahrum, 2013). This debate also became the focus of the emergence of science. The starting point of science begins with immanent knowledge that moves freely without knots in the human mind. Next, the desire to know emerges into an orderly arrangement of knowledge systematically, methodically, and connectedly (Gafar & Jamil, 2018).

Defining something is the first step in an epistemology. In epistemology, six elements of basic assumptions form the philosophical basis of the paradigm, namely the knowledge base, humans, material objects, science, socio-cultural sciences, and the discipline or branch of science being studied (Prabowo, 2017). Terminologically, science is knowledge structured methodically, systematically, objectively, and generally (Nur, 2014). Confirming this definition, Ylst explained that science is a process of aggregating competence, namely the possession of abilities in a specific field of knowledge, which becomes science (from science knowledge), which means having an identity and being egalitarian with science/which previously existed, accompanied by the same rights and obligations (Ylst, 2017).

Epistemology must be placed within the framework of human philosophy, where talking about human nature within this framework and human efforts to acquire knowledge is also part of the necessity (Mahfud, 2018). Epistemology is one of the three fundamental pillars of science (ontology and axiology) that support science in the study of philosophy of science (Saifullah, 2013). The object of scientific study (ontology), procedures, processes, and means used to obtain knowledge (epistemology), and the use of knowledge (axiology), are three necessary elements in the formation of knowledge (Lubis, 2014). In line with this, Garna explained that to distinguish between types of knowledge, it is

necessary to explain what the science studies (ontology), how to obtain that knowledge (epistemology), and what the knowledge is used for (axiology). The answers to these three problems can form a gap between sciences and have an autonomous stance on their existence (Karniawati, 2017).

As a part of science, governmental science also experiences something similar, where the circulation of struggles between figures in positioning the science of government is still an interesting study. Government science as a science in expeditions and the direction of its development in scientific modernization is experiencing fierce debate (Kapsipi, 2020). According to Zainal, the history of government science began centuries ago, starting with the emergence of classical government science and continuing with the emergence of new and contemporary government science (Zainal, 2019). Government and the science of government are two sides of one coin, so it is difficult to say that the science of government was born after the ancient Greek government was formed. In Sahdan's (2020) perspective, the science of government was the forerunner to the birth of ancient Greek government because, without the science of government, it would be impossible for a government to be formed. Strengthening this argument by referring to the Montevideo decision in paragraph 1, Polyando (2016) emphasized that governmental science is as old as the objects established first in a country.

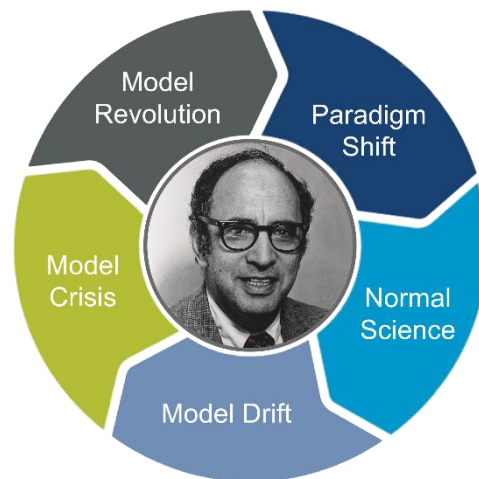
The definition of government differs from the political concept, which is more tendentious to control, exists to dominate, and tends to care less about citizens as subjects in state government. Government science has an essential goal of contributing to achieving good governance through ideal scientific development (Kuswandi, 2011). Furthermore, by distinguishing the science of government from the science of constitutional law, Tabusasa Tonralipu wrote that the focus of the science of government is on government administration. In contrast, the focus of the science of constitutional law is its study of the products of that government (Tabusassa Tonralipu, 2020). To differentiate government science from other social and political sciences, Putra also supports the existence of government science as an autonomous scientific discipline by explaining that the focus of government science is the government, which has the authority to carry out government administrative powers (Putra, 2020).

In contrast to these researchers, Pratikno explicitly stated that the development of government science methodology cannot be separated from the development of political science methodology. According to him, the context of the government science approach must be faster to adopt new approaches currently developing in political science (Haboddin

et al., 2016). In the same family as Pratikno, Yunanto, who has been involved in government science for three decades, conveyed self-criticism of the existence of government science by elaborating on government science starting in the 1980s. Yunanto distinguished three ways of looking at government science, namely: (1) the founding elders and pioneers of Continental European leanings, arguing that the science of government is independent, (2) generations of political scientists and public administration scholars following the Anglo Saxon tradition), who support the existence of a science of government, but not an autonomous science of government, but rather government science as part/derivative of political science, and (3) a group of scientists who believe that government is not a scientific discipline, but only a field (object) of study/government as a study, which, among other things, can be approached with the discipline of public administration (Yunanto, 2020b). Referring to the profiles of Harvard University and Cornell University, Budi Kurniawan considers that the science of government is political (Kurniawan, 2020).

The connection regarding the existence of government science within the internal science of government is expected in the development of science, which also occurs in other sciences. Jack C. Plano states that developing new approaches to political and government research is part of efforts to develop a more scientific, thorough, and systematic scientific discipline (Haboddin et al., 2016). This is in line with Thomas Kuhn's intention through his scientific revolution cycle that science will experience a scientific revolution, where a new paradigm will become the established normal science and then be believed to be the best paradigm for dealing with various problems, until the time comes for anomalies and crises, then a revolution occurs. more scientific (Damayanti & Ma'ruf, 2018). These debates about the existence of the science of government will then confirm the position of the science of government as a genuinely autonomous science that does not intersect with other socio-political sciences in an opaque manner.

Figure 1. Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution



Source: Damayanti & Ma'ruf (2018)

Previous studies that examined the science of government existentially have been carried out by several researchers. As far as the author is concerned, during the 2011-2020 period, several researchers conducted research covering the existence, nature, and ontological, epistemological and axiological self-criticism of government science, namely; research Karniawati (2015) with the title "The Nature of Government Science: A Philosophical Study," Ylst (2015) with the title "The Existence of Government Science," Polyando (2016) with the title "Tracing the Position of Government Science," Gafar & Jamil (2018) with the title "Inquisitorial: Tracing the Terminal Point of Departure of Government Science in Indonesia," Sahdan (2020) with the title "Removing the Veil of Government Science Ideology: Governmentality Perspective," and research Eko Yunanto (2020) with the title "Government Science: Anti on Politics, Forgetting the Law, and Reluctant on Administration."

The focus of this research is more focused on the dissertation written by Franciscus Van Ylst (2008), with the title "Epistemology of Government Science: A Critical Review of Scientific Characteristics and Identity," which emphasizes that government science is a science with a critical epistemology that has an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary character, concerning figures from the Vienna Circle and the Frankfurt School as a framework for thought. This research aims to explain the actual discourse surrounding the existence of government science by focusing on epistemological studies. The researcher will try to explain descriptions of genealogy, new schools of thought other than Continental

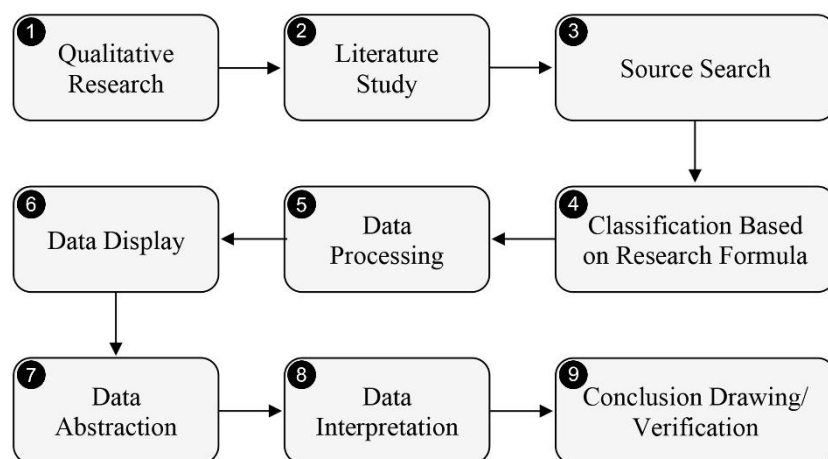
Europe and Anglo-Saxon, the latest research, Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution, and matters related to government science that have yet to be studied in previous studies.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a combination qualitative-literature study method, which is then explored descriptively. Qualitative research focuses on scientific research activities with a path of decomposition and understanding in observing social phenomena. Qualitative research is carried out by collecting data/information comprehensively so that it is possible for researchers to understand phenomena as a whole (Hardani et al., 2020: p. 39 & 41-42).

In collecting data, researchers used library research, where literature researchers were the spearhead of this research. Library study is a series of activities related to collecting library data, reading, then recording and processing research materials. Zed, in Supriyadi, 2016), stated that there are at least four main characteristics that need to be considered in library research, namely: (1) vis-a-vis between researchers and literature, (2) the data is "ready to use," (3) generally it is a secondary source, and (4) the condition of library data is not limited by space and time.

Figure 2. Type of qualitative research-literature review



Source: Darmalaksana (2020)

After collecting literature data, the researcher will carefully describe the findings regarding the studied object. Explaining the characteristics or nature of a product is the subject of research unique to the descriptive method (Zaluchu, 2020).

In the initial stage, the researcher will explore sources that discuss the science of government epistemologically, including books, journals, theses and dissertations, webinar

results, workshops, and other documents relevant to the research problem. The collected documents will then be classified, processed, and presented narratively to conclude. All types of documents from various schools of thought with different epistemological and ontological foundations, such as the tradition of logical positivism (the Vienna Circle and early Wittgenstein), ideology critique (the Frankfurt School), and the genealogy of power approach (Foucault), will be collected by the author to examine the track record of discussions about the science of government epistemologically from the perspective of Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Genealogy and History of Government Science: An Overview

Since independence, the development of governmental science in Indonesia has undergone an anomalous process, characterized by the development of governmental thought by scholars from various disciplines, such as law, sociology, administration, and even engineering and ecology. All have contributed to and characterized governmental science, resulting in polemics and controversies surrounding the discourse on governmental science. The development of government science has been the subject of heated debate among scholars of government science and those affiliated with political, social, and legal sciences. Even Gajah Mada University and the University of Indonesia consider government science part of political science. In his book, Syafiie (2019) explains that the criterion for distinguishing one science from another lies in its formal object. According to him, the material object of a science may be the same as another, but to distinguish it from other sciences (to be called an autonomous discipline), its formal object must be different.

Table 1. Formal objects and material objects of the social and political

Disciplines	Material Objects	Object Form
Government Science	State (old paradigm), Society (new paradigm)	Symptoms of Government
Political Science	State	Power
State Science	State	Constitution
Public Administration	State	Services
Constitutional Law	State	Regulations
Sociology	Society	Society
Social Anthropology	Society	Culture

Source: Syafiie (2019)

Referring to Korsten & Toonen (1988), Soewargono, in their anthology book, explains that it was only around the sixties that the science of government felt capable of becoming an autonomous science, and then attempted to separate itself from the discipline of political science. Only around the seventies was its autonomy generally recognized in the world of science (Labolo et al., 2015: 3). Meanwhile, in his presentation on a webinar, Yunanto (2020) entitled "Decolonization of Governmental Science," he dissects opinions on the history and genealogy of governmental science, which originated in Greece, Germany-Austria, and the Netherlands. First, Ancient Greece. Surianingrat (1992) in his book, explains that the science of government itself was born in ancient Greece, in Athens, with the term polis. However, according to him, political and state science have monopolized the word polis. This is in line with the opinion Kurniawan (2020) in the notes of the 2020 governmental science curriculum workshop, which is based on the profiles of Harvard University and Cornell University, and then concludes that governmental science is political science. If referring to the etymological meaning of the widely circulated word politics (polis), then Kurniawan's opinion can automatically be said to be in line with Surianingrat's opinion, that governmental science was born in ancient Greece. Furthermore, more emphatically than Kurniawan, Sahdan (2020) argues that the science of government became the forerunner to the birth of ancient Greek government, namely in 469 BC-399 BC, during the time of Socrates. However, according to him, the science of government experienced a delay in development, leaving it far behind political science.

Second, Labolo et al., (2008) in their book's, explains that government science originated from Prussian Cameralism in the 1770s. This discipline is known as *Kameralwissenschaften*. Its foundation is the idea that a group of disciplines is directly related to the performance of government officials' functions. This group of disciplines needs to be identified and then taught in universities (Labolo et al., 2015: 8). Third, Ndraha (2015) in his book, writes that government science originated from the Netherlands under the name *bestuurkunde* (which later became *bestuurswetenschap* and *bestuurswetenschappen*), which was known in Indonesia in the 1940s. Continuing this discourse, Gafar & Jamil (2018) explain that government science introduced by the Dutch East Indies during the colonial period was also influenced by the system of government implementation in Germany and France (Cameralism), which means government science originated from Prussian Cameralism.

Regarding legality and constitution, the science of government in Indonesia is seven decades old. This is based on the Academy of Political Science (AIP) in Yogyakarta, which

was founded by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on March 1, 1948. In subsequent developments, AIP was then dissolved based on Government Regulation Number 23 of 1949, then integrated into social and political sciences (as well as legal science) to become the Faculty of Law, Social and Political Sciences (FHSP) at Gajah Mada University, on September 1, 1952. In further developments, the Academy of Domestic Government (APDN) was also born from negotiations between the Ministry of Home Affairs and Gajah Mada University, which was inaugurated by Ir. Soekarno in 1956. The birth of the New Order brought good fortune to the condition of government science, where based on the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 119 of 1967, in conjunction with the Joint Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Education and Culture Number 8 of 1967, the Institute of Government Science (IIP) was established on May 25, 1967. In subsequent developments, IIP was merged with the College of Domestic Government (STPDN), which is now called the Institute of Domestic Government (IPDN) in 2004. In addition, with the establishment of the Department of Government Science in various universities since the 1990s, government science has become one of the study programs in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences that we know today.

On November 24, 2015, thanks to the efforts of the Government Science Study Program of Padjadjaran University Bandung (UNPAD), the name "Indonesian Government Science Study Program Unity (KAPSIPI)" was born, which was previously preceded by the Government Science Symposium on November 23, 2015. The establishment of KAPSIPI is a concrete manifestation of the efforts of government science throughout Indonesia to study Government Science philosophically, ontologically, epistemologically, axiologically, and academically, to produce genuine knowledge that is free from political intervention and only becomes an academic realm in the future. The establishment of KAPSIPI is legally and constitutionally based on Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia Number AHU-0067894.AH.01.07 of 2016 concerning the Ratification of the Establishment of the Legal Entity of the Association of Indonesian Government Science Study Programs. As of 2019, 75 government science study programs affiliated with KAPSIPI in all universities in Indonesia have registered as members. The historical series of developments in the journey of Government Science can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. The journey of Government Science

Year	Explanation
1880	The establishment of <i>Hoofden School</i> in Bandung City
1900	The establishment of <i>OSVIA (Opleiding School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren)</i> in Bandung, Serang, Magelang, Blitar, Madiun and Pekalongan.
1909	The establishment of <i>Rechtsschool</i> .
1924	The establishment of <i>Rechtshoogeschool te Batavia</i> .
1927	The establishment of <i>MOSVIA (Modelbare Opleiding School Vor Indlansche Ambtenaaren)</i> as an improvement of <i>OSVIA</i> , which was held in Magelang and Bandung.
1942-1945	The establishment of <i>Sekolah Pengreh Praja (SPP)</i>
Independence period	The term <i>Pangrehpraja</i> , since Indonesia's independence, has changed to <i>Pamongpraja</i> .
1946	<i>Pamongpraja Corps</i> actively participates in efforts to realize a government system.
1947	The establishment of <i>Akademi Ilmu Politik (AIP)</i> in Yogyakarta.
1947	The origins of <i>Departemen Politik dan Pemerintahan (DPP)</i> began with the establishment of <i>Akademi Ilmu Politik (AIP)</i> in Yogyakarta.
1949	AIP is integrated into Universitas Gadjah Mada
1955	The issuance of the Decree of the Minister of Education, Teaching and Culture Number 5379/Kab. dated September 15, 1955, where the social and political section was separated from the HSP Faculty (Law, Social and Political) to become a separate faculty, namely the Social and Political Faculty (FSP).
1956	The establishment of <i>Akademi Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri (APDN)</i> .
1967	The establishment of <i>Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan (IIP)</i> .
1990s	The establishment of Government Science Departments at various Universities.
1992	<i>APDN</i> status was upgraded to <i>Sekolah Tinggi Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri (STPDN)</i> .
2004	The merger of <i>STPDN</i> into <i>IIP</i> became <i>Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri (IPDN)</i> .
2015	The Department of Government Science/ <i>Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan (JIP) UGM</i> changed its name to the Department of Politics and Government/ <i>Jurusan Politik dan Pemerintahan (JPP)</i> , and officially changed its name back to the Department of Politics and Government/ <i>Departemen Politik dan Pemerintahan (DPP)</i> .

Source: Supriyatno (2022: 119-130)

Hybridity of Governmental Science

Epistemologically, an interdisciplinary approach is vital to be able to give birth to new disciplines, or at least new studies (hybrids), which, in turn, these hybrids will develop and be autonomous in the shadow of their parents (Ndraha, 2015). Call it government intelligence, which is a new sub-discipline of government science, explored by Irhamni Zainal. The effort of government intelligence to become a sub-discipline of government science itself is the result of government science's efforts to form a government capable of handling AGHT (Threats, Disturbances, Obstacles, and Challenges), which threaten the nation's and state's integrity.

Furthermore, the literature that describes the science of government contains sections that discuss the results of the hybridity of scientific disciplines from the science of government and other social and political sciences. For example, government politics results from the knitting of political science and government science, and government sociology is born from the marriage of sociology and government science, as well as government communication, which is sewn from the fabric of communication science and government science to various hybridities of government science and other sciences which are discussed in depth. Gradually, by Ndaraha, there were as many as twenty hybrid results. This is in line with what was conveyed by Budi Kurniawan, in his article "A New Breath in Government Science: Notes from the 2016 UNILA Government Science Department Curriculum Workshop," who wants government science to take a pluralist approach with other sciences so that the foundation and contribution of government science become more muscular. Kurniawan suggested that government science be intertwined with economics by looking back at the new institutionalist approach. By reflecting on Dani Rodrik's argument that economic trends must study politics (government) so that we know the context of a nation's problems, Kurniawan considers that government science should take a pluralistic approach, namely by studying economics so that we can find out how rational economists think in the process—decision making in government.

On the other hand, even though he supports Ndraha and Kurniawan's opinion regarding the need for a pluralistic approach, Gregorius Sahdan criticizes the results of disciplinary hybridity between government science and other sciences, which according to Ndraha, increasingly enriches government science. According to Sahdan, the hybridity of scientific disciplines such as government politics, government sociology, and government communication makes government science increasingly lagging. Sahdan wrote that the science of government is increasingly lagging because there are no terms such as economic

government, sociological government, anthropological government, etc. Compared to government science, political science already has its position with terms such as government politics, economic politics, political sociology, etc. Using a normative approach that is too dominant in government science seems to confirm that the approach used is not the result of a hybrid between government science and legal science, but rather an extension of legal science. By citing Edwar W. Said (2016), Sahdan (2020) offers a new approach (governmentality approach) resulting from the intersection of government science and sociology introduced by Michel Foucault (1926-1984), where Foucault's thinking is the result of Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) and Gilles Deleuze (192-1955). The governmentality approach tries to dismantle the ideology of government science archaeologically (history of government science), combined with discourse techniques that question the ontological nature of government science, its epistemological position amidst the social and political sciences, and its axiological position in society.

Another approach that government science activists rarely use is the fruit of the Frankfurt school of thought (critical approach). In a dissertation written by Ylst (2008), using the theories of Moritz Schlick, Karl R. Popper, Thomas Kuhn, and Jurgen Habermas, he examined it critically to see the epistemology of government science, its identity and characteristics as a science. In contrast to Sahdan and Kurniawan, Muhtar Haboddin suggested that government science activists carry out participatory research as often as possible. Participatory research itself was influenced by the thoughts of the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1921-1997), whose emphasis was on dialogue between researchers and the community to raise people's awareness so that they have the strength to act to free themselves from the grip of poverty and oppression caused by developmentalism. The governmental science paradigm, which many observers consider still based on power, is the mastermind behind the birth of participatory research. It is hoped that participatory research will be studied and developed en masse by non-governmental organizations and social, political, and government scientists, considering that many approaches have yet to encourage people to act. This is similar to the paradigm shift described by Syafiie and Ndraha, where the old paradigm of government science, which was too biased towards power, has shifted to a new paradigm that prioritizes the name of society as the material object of government science.

Table 3. Actual efforts of government science scientists

Efforts	Explanation
Hybrid (governmental and economics)	Study economics to find out how rational economists think at work in the decision-making process in government.
Participatory research	It is hoped that participatory research will be studied and developed en masse by non-governmental organizations and social, political, and government scientists, considering that the government science paradigm is still robust and requires power.
Government intelligence	A new sub-discipline of government science, based on forming a government capable of handling AGHT (Threats, Disturbances, Obstacles, and Challenges) that threaten the integrity of the nation and state.
Governmentality approach	The result of the intersection of government science and sociology was introduced by Michel Foucault (1926-1984) to dissect the ideology of government science in a critical-philosophical manner.
Government Science as Indonesian Scientific Local Wisdom (Indigenous of Government Science)	Decolonization efforts to create a model of government derived from the spirit (indigenous) of local wisdom and the richness of the scientific treasure of Government Science, drawn from the governance practices of the Indonesian archipelago's kingdoms.

Source: Kurniawan (2016); Haboddin et al. (2016); Zainal (2019); Sahdan (2020); Luhur & Abdillah (2020)

Efforts to Create a New Paradigm and School of Governmental Science

Referring to the Indonesian legal system, a legacy of the Dutch East Indies legal system, namely Continental Europe, there is another pole in looking at legal science, namely Anglo-Saxon. These two paradigms then influenced government science, where the condition of Indonesia at that time was still under the influence of *bestuurkunde*, *bestuurswetenschap*, *bestuurswetenschappen* in the Dutch East Indies colony (Continental Europe) as well as the direction of thought of government science scientists at universities in America who did not distinguish between political science and government science (Yunanto, 2020b). Yunanto divides three paradigms towards the science of government; the first paradigm is the founders of the science of government with a Continental European bent, who stated that the science of government is autonomous and has an equal position with other social and political sciences.

The second paradigm is the Anglo-Saxon paradigm, which considers that the science of government is part/derivative of political science, even part of the science of public administration. Based on the profile of Harvard University and Cornell University, which are called the Department of Government, Maswadi Rauf in Yunanto believes that government science is derivative and is not even differentiated from political science when compared to the Department of Political Science in the United States on the other hand. The third paradigm is a group of scientists considering government science the object of study (government science as a study). Yunanto attributed this paradigm to thinkers such as Samuel Huntington and Daniel Ziblatt, who held their status as political scientists, even though they were part of the Department of Government, Harvard University, whose study was politics over government. In Indonesia, the science of government in the Anglo-Saxon paradigm can be attributed to the Bulaksumur school, while the Continental European paradigm is attributed to the Jatinangor school (Yunanto, 2021).

In its development, Inu Kencana Syafie, in his book "Governmental Philosophy (as well as his other books, which only have one substance), describes two new paradigms, namely the kybernology paradigm and the Islamic paradigm. In its classification, according to Syafie, the kybernology paradigm is the brainchild of Taliziduhu Ndaraha, whereas, on the other hand, Ndraha was grouped by Sutoro Eko Yunanto into a group of scientists affiliated with the Continental European paradigm. According to Syafie (2019), the kybernology paradigm is a substantial transformation of the paradigm that previously had the material object "state" shifted to a new material object, namely "society." The material objects and form objects of government science in the old paradigm, which Syafie compared with political science and state administration science, instead shifted to a comparison between the new government science (kybernology), public health science, and sociology science. This further dissolves the position of governmental science as a scientific discipline, which, according to Continental European schools such as Ndraha, emphasizes the existence and position of governmental science as an autonomous science. Similar to the kybernology paradigm, the Islamic paradigm offered by Syafie is also blurry. Syafie's Islamic paradigm seems to result from a fermentation between the Continental European paradigm and communist socialism and the Anglo-Saxon and capitalist liberalism paradigms. This kind of classification creates new confusion and, at the same time, emphasizes that the position of government science still needs to be clarified.

Table 4. New paradigms and schools of government science

Paradigm and School	Explanation
Continental European Paradigm	The paradigm used by the founding fathers of government science argued that government science is an autonomous scientific discipline.
Anglo-Saxon Paradigm	The paradigm used by scientists who consider that the science of government is a derivative/part of the science of politics and public administration.
Kybernology Paradigm	A new paradigm was born due to changes in the material object of government science, which originates from the thoughts of Taliziduhu Ndraha.
Islamic Paradigm	The paradigm is the fermentation of communist socialism (Anglo-Saxon) and capitalist liberalism (Continental Europe).
Governance School of Thought	Shifts in various phenomena, such as government to governance, to state government to market government.
Timoho School of Thought	The school is framed from the five main concepts of government science (government, governing, governance, governance, and governability).

Source: Author processed from various sources (2025)

Apart from offering a new paradigm, government science also offers new schools of thought, namely the Governance and Timoho schools. The Governance School itself was only briefly touched on by Sutoro Eko Yunanto in one of the slides from his presentation on "Decolonizing the Science of Government" at the webinar. Yunanto's depiction only revolves around several shifts, such as the crisis of capitalism and big government in the 1970s, which gave birth to neoliberalism, the emergence of new public management, the concept of government to governance (specifically good governance), and the shift from state government to market government. This neoliberal-influenced study of government focuses on market interests and must possess marketable elements. According to Firdaus, (2020), the concepts of good governance and reinventing government are often used to demonstrate that governmental science can be a reliable field of study. Furthermore, from the presentation of previous paradigms and schools of thought, the APMD College of Village Community Development (STPMD) offers a new school of thought, namely the Timoho school of thought, which was launched at the same time as the launch of the Governability journal at a webinar with the theme "Decolonizing the Science of Governance" on July 16, 2020. According to Yunanto, government science experienced a clash of paradigms between Continental Europe and Anglo-Saxon. This clash gave rise to

confusion and an opaque understanding of the position of government science. In essence, the Timoho school is a framework of five main concepts in government science, namely government, governing, governability, governance, and governability, which, according to Yunanto, are unique to Indonesia. The birth of this school of thought aimed to look at phenomena more broadly, taking sides in small communities and free from the shadows of political and administrative science.

Scientific Revolution in Governmental Science

Scientific revolution is a term applied to Thomas Samuel Kuhn (1922-1996), thanks to his phenomenal work "The Structure of Scientific Revolution (1962)," which was published when Kuhn was a professor at the University of California (Putri & Iskandar, 2020), where In his book Kuhn introduced the concept of paradigm which later became Kuhn's central concept. This term was later popularized by Robert Friederichs (The Sociology of Sociology, 1970), Lodhal and Cardon (1972), and Philips (1973). Masterman formulated the paradigm as a fundamental view of science, which is the subject of the studied problem. Meanwhile, George Ritzer defines *paradigm* as what must be studied, what problems must be studied, how they should be answered, and a set of social interpretation rules in answering these problems (Kristeva, 2015)

In direct terms, Kuhn explains that a paradigm in science means a period in which traditions of thought form tendencies in scientific research (Thovan & Najah, 2018). If we refer to this explanation, the period before this is called the pre-paradigm period, which is the initial step in the cycle of a scientific revolution. In contrast, the period in which a paradigm reigns is the standard scientific period, a continuation of the pre-paradigm period. The anomaly itself was born when debates about science began to emerge, where an anomaly is the failure of an old paradigm in explaining social phenomena. A massive collection of anomalies will then give rise to a scientific crisis, resulting in the birth of a new paradigm called revolutionary science. In their writing, Thovan & Najah (2018) explain that a scientific revolution takes quite a long time, depending on the strength of intervention from the old paradigm, and requires trust from society and scientists to shift to a new paradigm.

Table 5. Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution in governmental science

Scientific Revolution	Explanation
Paradigm Shift	The time when the elders who founded the science of government emphasized that the science of government was an autonomous, separate, and equal scientific discipline with other social and political sciences. Based on Sutoro Eko Yunanto's elaboration, this period occurred in the 1980s.
Normal Science	The normal science of government science also happened in the time of the elders, where the paradigm of government science still had the object-matter of "state," and the position of this paradigm was still strong.
Model Drift	The shift of the old paradigm of government science, which still focuses on the "state," to a new paradigm of government science that focuses on "society."
Model Crisis	The birth of criticism from government science scientists (Sutoro Eko Yunanto, Gregorius Sahdan, Budi Kurniawan, Franciscus van Ylst) regarding the old paradigm of government science, which was too tendentious towards power, as well as the mistakes of the elders in interpreting government science whose etymology was taken from the word <i>bestuurkunde</i> ..
Model Revolution	The efforts of government science scientists in carrying out a scientific revolution can be seen in the existence of new paradigms (Islam and Kybernolgy), new schools of thought (Governance and Timoho), as well as the formation of KAPSIPI as a forum for government scientists throughout Indonesia.

Source: Author processed from various sources (2025)

In the context of governmental science, we can read about this cycle of scientific revolution in the arguments and writings of the founding fathers to new scientists in government science. Suppose we refer to the thoughts of Sutoro Eko Yunanto (2020). In that case, we can attribute the paradigm period of government science in Indonesia to the elders who created government science and used the Continental European paradigm in positioning government science. In this pre-paradigm period, the founding fathers' thinking was still widespread that government science was an autonomous, separate, and parallel scientific discipline with political and administrative science. New scholars of governmental science also confirm this, arguing that the material object of governmental science (the state) is too close to power, which is the result of Dutch East Indies heritage thinking and Soeharto's authoritarianism. The strength of the old paradigm, which still had

the term "state" as its object, and had a tendency towards power and was a legacy of the Dutch East Indies government and Soeharto's authoritarianism, then gave birth to normal science, where the background, for this reason, was due to the still decisive intervention and power of the extended paradigm.

The development of government science then gave birth to an anomaly, namely the transformation of the paradigm of government science from the old paradigm, which still had the object of "state," shifting to a new paradigm, which had the object of "society" by Taliziduhu Ndaraha, at the same time followed by a new term for government science, namely kybernology (new science of government). The idea that the science of government has experienced a paradigm shift is also confirmed by Inu Kencana Syafie through many of his works, by trying to explain the comparison of the material objects of government science before and after the transformation. The existence of government science, which is often questioned by government science activists (Sutoro Eko Yunanto, Gregorius Sahdan, Fransiscus van Ylst, Budi Kurniawan), is the crisis of the scientific revolution in government science which is still hotly debated. Government science scientists then attempted this massive collection of anomalies (crisis) to give birth to a scientific revolution in government science. The pursuit of a scientific revolution in the science of government can be seen from the birth of new paradigms (apart from Continental Europe and Anglo-Saxon, namely the Kybernology paradigm and the Islamic paradigm), new schools of thought (the Governance and Timoho schools of thought), to the formation of the Unitary Study Program Indonesian Government Science (KAPSIPI) in 2015, which legally and constitutionally was in 2016, with 75 members registered in government science study programs in all universities in Indonesia. This effort is part of an effort to grow and develop the trust of government science scientists and the public towards the new paradigm of government science, which has the term "society" as its object. In addition, with the opening of government science departments and study programs throughout Indonesia, both at the undergraduate level which has reached 100 study programs and postgraduate level which has reached 16 master's programs and four doctoral programs (Rahman, 2022), it is appropriate that government science scientists from all related affiliations conduct a large discourse to explore and provide confirmation about the position of government science. Government scientists must establish a clear demarcation between government science, political science, constitutional law, until administrative science.

CONCLUSION

By using a pragmatist approach, this paper aims to provide an initial epistemological exploration of governmental science using the scientific revolution perspective of Thomas Kuhn. Based on the description above, this paper has several conclusions: Since its birth in 1948, the discourse of genealogy and the history of governmental science has sparked heated debate among governmental science scholars. There are three views on genealogy and history of governmental science, namely, governmental science was born in Ancient Greece, Germany-Austria (Prussian Cameralism), and the Netherlands (*bestuurskunde*, which later became *bestuurswetenschap* and *bestuurswetenschappen*). Meanwhile, the birth/entry of governmental science in Indonesia began after Indonesia's independence on March 1, 1948, which was then integrated into law, social science, and political science at Gajah Mada University (UGM). In subsequent developments, the Academy of Domestic Government (APDN) was born in 1956, the Institute of Government Science (IIP) in 1967, and the College of Domestic Government (STPDN), now known as the Institute of Domestic Government (IPDN), from the merger with IIP. Since the 1990s, with the establishment of the government science study program within the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, the government science we know today has emerged. In turn, in 2015, KAPSIPI (Government Science Study Program Unity) was formed, signaling the existence of government science that is not influenced by political science.

In addition, the interdisciplinary approach taken by governmental science with other sciences also gave birth to new sub-disciplines of governmental science, such as government intelligence proposed by Irhamni Zainal. Budi Kurniawan also offered a marriage between governmental science and economics, intending to understand the rational thinking of economists in the policy-making process in government. In addition to providing a link to other sciences, governmental scientists also offered governmental science activists to use approaches rarely used as often as possible, such as the critical approach (Frankfurt school), the governmentality approach, and participatory research, which is also seldom used. Furthermore, governmental science also slowly gave birth to new paradigms (the Kybernology paradigm and the Islamic paradigm), new schools of thought (the Governance and Timoho schools), and attempted to revolutionize governmental science so that its existence is recognized as having a new material object, namely "society" based on the perspective of Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution. However, claims about developing new paradigms, such as the "Islamic paradigm" or the

"Timoho school," appear more normative-descriptive than based on empirical evidence or systematic testing. Therefore, future improvements to establish and provide clear scientific justification for these two paradigms are necessary to enrich scholarly discourse.

Although this paper has explained the genealogy, history, cross-disciplinary approach, paradigm, schools of thought, and Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolution framed as problems of governmental science as an initial exploration effort, this paper has limitations in dissecting the issues of governmental science because it still uses one analytical basis, namely epistemological. Therefore, further research is needed to examine governmental science with a more actual and comprehensive theoretical perspective, and can elaborately review the ontological (nature of the object of study) and axiological (purpose and utility of science) aspects of governmental science.

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