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Ethics Politic Kari Palonen of Weberian Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Talking about politics certainly cannot be separated from the study of ethics. Because politics is a form of realizing justice, an ethical community of justice that is harmonious and balanced and the highest metaphysical idea, namely goodness. Because politics is an art, namely a systematic effort to bring pleasure and happiness to all of society. This study aims to describe and analyze the political ethics of Kari Palonen's thoughts. The method used in this study is a descriptive-analytical method with a Weberian approach. The primary data used in this research is the works of Kari Palonen himself. While the secondary data in this study are books, journal articles, and other websites that discuss Kari Palonen's thoughts. The results of the study show that political ethics in Kari Palonen's perspective includes five dimensions, viz political (political action), polity (facilities; institutions), policy (policy; purpose), politicking (political activity), and politicisation. The five elements in the Weberian perspective constitute a scope of complexity that cannot be separated and are interrelated in forming and understanding a country's political ethics.

Keyword: Ethics, Politic, Kari Palonen, Weberian.

ABSTRAK

Berbicara politik tentu tidak terlepas dari kajian etika. Sebab politik merupakan bentuk merealisasikan keadilan, sebuah komunitas etikal keadilan yang selaras dan seimbang serta idea metafisik tertingginya, yaitu kebaikan. Sebab politik merupakan sebuah seni, yakni upaya sistematis untuk menghadirkan kesenangan dan kebahagiaan kepada seluruh masyarakat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dan menganalisis etika politik dari pemikiran Kari Palonen. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode deskriptif-analitis dengan pendekatan Weberian. Data primer yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah karya-karya Kari Palonen sendiri. Sedangkan data sekunder dalam penelitian ini adalah buku-buku, artikel jurnal, dan website lainnya yang membahas tentang pemikiran Kari Palonen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa etika politik dalam perspektif Kari Palonen mencakup lima dimensi, yakni politic (aksi politik), polity (sarana; institusi), policy (kebijakan; tujuan), politicking (kegiatan politik), dan politization (politisasi). Kelima unsur tersebut dalam perspektif Weberian merupakan satu cakupan kompleksitas yang tak bisa dipisahkan dan saling terkait dalam proses pembentukan dan pemahaman etika politik suatu negara.

Keyword: Etika, Politik, Kari Palonen, Weberian.

1. Introduction

In human life, politics seems to be inseparable from human civilization. This is because it is a fundamentalist part of the human paradigm and is difficult to separate. Politics in Greek, that is police which means city-state. In the Greek era, human interaction was aimed at achieving prosperity and goodness. Politics is a tool for empowering society and realizing the birth of a state, even state sovereignty (Situmorang, 2016). The state is an organization that has the highest legitimate authority and is obeyed by its people. However, political issues also cannot be separated from the study of ethics, because it involves matters of morality in it.

If politics is understood, in the sense of "match", "war", "an attempt to justify any means to gain power", which is popular in Sun Tzu's understanding (Kirom & Ghofur, 2020), then this is where some people understand the essence of politics, which of course will give birth to politicians who are always hungry for power; who inherited animalistic traits. Politics is interpreted as Aristotle's opinion (Copleston, 2020), that politics in the initial sense in Greece was "an effort to produce justice". That's why in the term "zoon political" which is often interpreted as "man is a political animal", which distinguishes humans from animals or other species. Because politics is a human need with the aim of creating a good and just society. Therefore, the essence of politics is to produce prosperity and justice. Of course, we need an instrument that helps to realize the scope of freedom and the building of just institutions. The instrument is political ethics which is a discussion in the realm of political philosophy (Wahid, Aliya, Sofiana, & Zahra, 2023). This ethic provides an ethical basis, especially for political/government actors in achieving their vision and mission which may or may not be in harmony with the views of the community (Huda & Maharani, 2021).

As explained by Franz Magnis Suseno, political ethics as a science and a branch of philosophy was born in Greece when traditional political structures began to collapse. With such a collapse, the question arises of how society should be organized. Political ethics continues to experience its development in such a way both in various parts of any country until it enters the modern and postmodern centuries. But basically, the function of political ethics in society is limited to providing theoretical tools to question and explain political legitimacy responsibly. So, this is not based on emotion, prejudice and a priori, but rationally, objectively and argumentatively. Political ethics-as ethics in general-cannot determine what a person should do, in this case, want to interfere in practical politics. The task of political ethics is a subsidiary, which is to help discuss ideological issues objectively, meaning that it is based on arguments that can be understood and responded to by all who understand the problem (Suseno, 2018). Political ethics does not serve to preach to politicians but can provide orientation standards and normative guidelines for those who really want to judge the quality of political order and life with the benchmark of human dignity. In addition, political ethics helps to provide an explanation of normative content indicated by historical, economic, social or cultural facts.

Political ethics also serves as a means of criticism and testing the legitimacy of political decisions, institutions and political practices as well as ideological claims. Thus, political ethics is not at the level of a particular political legitimacy system and cannot compete with a state ideology. However, political ethics can help people's efforts to embody the noble state ideology into real political reality (Haryatmoko, 2014). For example, by reflecting on what is the essence of social justice, what is the ethical basis of the people, how power must be handled so that it is by human dignity, and so on. Therefore, the study of political ethics in general, of course, does not only discuss issues of politicians' behaviour alone, it also relates to the practice of social institutions, law, community, social structures, politics, and the economy. Political ethics also contains individual and social aspects (Haryatmoko, 2014). On the one hand, political ethics is both individual ethics and social ethics. Individual ethics, namely discusses the issue of the moral quality of behavior. Meanwhile, social ethics reflects legal issues, social orders, and just institutions. On the other hand, political ethics as well as institutional ethics and virtue ethics. Institutions and virtues are two ethical dimensions that mutually support one another. Virtue is a stabilizing factor of action that comes from within the doer. Meanwhile, institutions guarantee the stability of actions from outside the perpetrator.

In general, political ethics has three dimensions, viz policy (purpose; policy), polity (facilities; institutions), and political (political action) (Haryatmoko, 2014). Political behaviour is only one dimension of political ethics. Goodwill needs to be supported by just institutions. Goodwill functions to sharpen the meaning of responsibility, while institutions, such as laws, rules, customs, and social institutions play a role in organizing responsibility. One of the Western philosophers that the authors raise in this study is Kari Palonen, a professor emeritus of political science and political researcher at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. It may seem less familiar to hear the name, especially in Indonesia. But in Europe, his thoughts are quite influential and become a reference in the academic constellation of political thought. In one of his works entitled "Four Times of Politics: Policy, Polity, Politicking, and Politicization". He explained that the dimensions of political ethics are not only policy, polity, and politics, but there are also dimensions of politicking and politicization. He divides the concept of politics into four distinct and interrelated dimensions of meaning: policy (policy),

polity (political community), politicking (political activity), and politicization. Politicking is interpreted as the background process of these political activities and what influences the course of political activity. So, politicization which is literally interpreted as politicization. It needs to be clarified again, the meaning of politicization here is not understood as familiar in the general dictionary which is interpreted as an attempt to politicize something, whether it is offensive or defensive, especially in political contestation. Precisely the politicization that is meant by Kari Palonen here is interpreted as an effort to discover new perspectives on the construction of a perspective reinterpretation of a political phenomenon. Thus, it will be possible to open new perspectives on politics as a concept (Palonen, 2003).

In supporting continuity in this research, researchers did not find much previous research discussing Kari Palonen's political thought, especially in Indonesia. However, this insufficiency does not reduce the substance of this study. In the following, the researcher describes several previous studies related to the topic of research discussion. First, Sine Nørholm Just explains that in Palonen's "Anmeldelse af: Kari Palonen: Quentin Skinner. History, Politics, Rhetoric", on page one Palonen agrees with Skinner's proposal that "recentness should be used as the main criterion for judging the quality and importance of scientific contributions". It is Palonen's stated aim to be able to reveal that the reviewer should apply similar measures to Palonen's efforts. Using such a standard is beneficial because it is in a hermeneutical correspondence with Palonen and his subject, but it also exposes the problematic meta position of reviews (Just, 2004).

Furthermore, Michael Freeden explained that Topic–or in Palonen's preferred terms, *topos*–politicization is one of his most illuminating discussions, though not without its problems. Palonen explores the emergence and different meanings of politicization and shows how it became a narrow term associated primarily with party politics, or with the 'spreading' of political issues into fields previously unrelated to politics. But there are two fundamental differences at stake, implied but not always teased in Palonen's exploration. One refers to the important gap between a series of practices and the often imprecise vocabulary structured to indicate them. Politics as an actual phenomenon of human thought and action is far from being coterminous with the language used to show the range of political thought. Others may explain what conceptual historians of this kind have not always been aware of, and many political theorists distinguish between thinking about politics and thinking politically. Thinking about politics refers to patterns of ideological thinking that are revealed when humans, who are located in collectivities, consider salient and contested issues of socio-political life around justice, freedom, equality, national identity, and communal welfare.

Thinking politically draws on the more basic, specific, and unique features of human thought as evident whenever—and at every level of social interaction—people address issues of order, stability and disorder, ranking collective goals, conferring an aura of finality and entitlement, about decision-making, garnering or rejecting support for communities and human groups, adhering to social visions and outlining ways to achieve them. At least, of course, it refers to the invariable involvement by people in the exercise of power which is obligatory in all speech and action: cajoling, reasoning, cajoling, threatening. While there may be shifts and recalibrations in the way we think about politics – in what attracts our attention and what we resist when we associate with others, it is inconceivable to imagine a group of people who have removed political thinking from their practice (Freeden, 2015)

2. Method

The method used in this study is a descriptive-analytical method with a Weberian approach. The Weberian approach to politics is to see politics from the standpoint of a struggle to share power or an attempt to influence the distribution of power for the state or for some groups within the state itself. So, matters relating to politics must first understand the configuration of power (Weber, 2021). Weber made a big distinction between state authorities and those who wield state power (rulers). Bureaucrats (police, military, etc.) are state authorities. They are the face of state authority. They act legally on behalf of the state. While politicians are the holders of state power. They are given the power to run the country. If the bureaucracy is the executor of the state monopoly on violence, then politicians are the holders of control over the monopoly of violence. It is because of his role as the holder of control over the monopoly of violence that politicians become very important. In addition, Max Weber also formulated two political ethics, namely the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of belief. The ethics of responsibility requires political actors to pay attention to and accept the consequences of every action they take as a leader, regardless of whether the results are as expected or not (Owen & Strong, 2004). This study aims to describe and analyze the political ethics of Kari Palonen's thoughts with a Weberian approach.

The primary data used in this research is the works of Kari Palonen himself. While the secondary data in this study are books and journal articles that discuss Kari Palonen's thoughts. The data analysis technique that will be used in this study is *First*, qualitative analysis which is a research procedure that will produce

descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the discussion under study. *Second*, descriptive analysis. The descriptive analysis in this study is to describe the dimensions of political ethics from the perspective of Kari Palonen (Moloeng, 2004).

3. Result and Discussion

Biography of Kari Palonen

Kari Ilmari Palonen is a professor born in 1947 in Finland. He is a professor emeritus of political science and a political researcher at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Palonen specifically studied political concepts from the perspective of historical concepts. He is also the editor-in-chief at Journal Redescriptions. Most of his research in politics is philosophically and semantically oriented. Such as *Mere rhetoric: Rhetorics of research and politics (1996)*, *The Chronicle of Politics: Theorizing the Politics of Time and the Time of Politics (2000)*, *Four Times of Politics: Policy, Polity, Politicking, and Politicization (2003)*, *Read politically: Profiles for Political Research (2004)*, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Politics of Democratization in Europe: Concepts and Histories (2008)*, *A Political Style of Thinking: Essays on Max Weber (2017)*, *Debates, Rhetoric and Political Action* (2017, with Claudia Wiesner and Taru Haapala) and others. Apart from Finland, Palonen has lived and conducted research in several countries, including Germany, France, Great Britain, and Sweden ("The Biography of Kari Palonen," 2021).

Palonen sees politics as a broader and more complex area than party politics and administration. Palonen divides the concept of politics into four distinct and interrelated dimensions of meaning: *Policy* (policy; program of action to realize political goals), *polity* (political community), *politicking* (political activity), *politization*. Exclusively, Palonen also sees politics in two concepts, namely politics as activity (politics-as-activity), and politics as a result (politics-as-consequently). Within this conceptual horizon, policy (policy) refers to aspects of political arrangements (politics), politicization refers to performative aspects, polity implies a metaphorical space with certain possibilities and limitations, while politicization marks the opening of something political (political), as " playable". *Policy-politicing* and *polity-politization* form two conceptual pairs. In the concept of public space, the political core is occupied by boundaries and spatial arrangements *policy-polity*, whereas in the concept of politics as activity (politics-as-activity) it is constituted by "verbal" figures, namely politicization and politicking (Palonen, 2003).

The Political Ethical Dimensions of Kari Palonen's Perspective

Political Purpose (Policy)

The objective dimension is formulated to achieve social welfare and live in peace based on freedom and justice. The main concern is the implementation of public policy (policy) in public management. In a country that adheres to a democratic system, the government is committed to administering the country and is responsible for that commitment, namely social welfare and peace. Facing state problems, the government's general policies must be formulated in terms of priorities, programs, methods and philosophical foundations, then it becomes transparent what should be accounted for. It is based on this general policy that the people's representatives (legislative, executive and judiciary) and community groups can make evaluations of the implementation and performance of the government and demand accountability. The clarity of objectives formulated in public policy will show an indication of the sharpness of a leader's vision and the form of concern of a political party for the aspirations of the people. The moral dimension lies in the ability to determine a clear orientation on public policies and their accountability (Haryatmoko, 2014).

In Palonen's view, policy refers to the direction of activities, lines, projects/designs, plans, programs or doctrines. Thus, the policy has a teleological connotation, an orientation to the future, which is considered a priority over the current situation as well as the activity itself. Moreover, the policy has a normative character as a criterion in selecting what should be realized among possible futures. The construction of a policy signifies the inclusion and coordination of various actions, movements or actions, through which they are transformed into a relative unit of activity, becoming a policy. In addition, a policy presupposes assessment criteria governing the inclusion and exclusion of activities, the type and degree of coordination, and so on. Thus, we can refer to the policy as a complex inclusion and coordination of steps into a design that is unified in one track (Palonen, 2003).

The normative and teleological orientations of a policy remain at odds with each other. The limiting case is *Realpolitik*, where the line realization is transformed into a pseudo-norm. Instead, we can speak of fixed "moral" goals that are upheld independently of their realization. These two situations mark the boundaries of a policy. In the first case, the flexibility of a policy is transformed into a doctrine of passive adaptation, whereas

in the opposite case, the policy is limited to the declaration of will. However, both can also contribute to change in an affair if used consciously as a political strategy.

In the Weberian perspective, no agent can perfectly realize the policies set before acting. It is not recognized in policy-making discourse if a government has a monopoly on the relevant division of powers. The time of doing policy, as a mode of politics, however, is best understood as a form of insight into the limited realization of any policy. Policies are often faced with a dilemma, namely how revisions and deviations to the policy itself are calculated, then what is the meaning of limited realization for the formation and acceptance of a policy.

Thus, understanding a policy does not only depend on the continuity of lines or projects but capitalizes on temporary break points within it. The more fixed a policy is, the more dramatic the deviations and the more improvisations are needed to achieve at least some of the desired goals of a particular policy. Such breaking points can be detected before confrontation with other policies, either by including the steps, by coordinating between them (political actors) or by naming a policy. After the confrontation, we can distinguish between things to be corrected, modified and revised or to give up on the policy. The teleological nature of policy time meant that, up to the last point, the elements of disconnection were understood to be beneath the internal coherence or consistency of a design.

A lack of policy is usually seen as a mess. Thus, any policy is considered better than no policy. This assumption rests on the superiority of continuity over discontinuity in politics. For Palonen it is possible to conceive of policy as a heuristic instrument in politics even while rejecting the assumption of sustainability. Temporary policies about the breaking point then become a requirement for clarity. In Weberian terms, policy also depends on the sharing of power as opportunity must be linked to all policy goals. One of the holders of state power is a politician. They are given the power to run the country. If the bureaucracy is the executor of the state monopoly on violence, then politicians are the holders of control over the monopoly of violence. It is because of his role as the holder of control over the monopoly of violence that politicians become very important. Politicians have special competence in distinguishing between different types of situations, have different contested imaginations, and are people who are ready to recognize the inherent paradoxes of situations and who can deal with politics with limited time (Palonen, 2005).

But the problem is, power struggles always aim to increase the chances of realizing certain goals formulated in policies. Associating policy with opportunities for power means linking the normative dimension to the teleology of a policy which presupposes an assessment of the horizon of opportunities. A priori fixation of a policy is not ideal, but policy managerial capabilities need to be improved and provided for any comprehensive policy. Due to the teleological-normative character of this type of politics, a policy cannot exclude a certain time continuity. Going beyond the actual situation with a consistent line or design is legal on the condition that we recognize the value of continuity relative to the different breakpoints. Dealing with these points of disconnection and their relation to continuity also alludes to forms of *politicking* that go beyond one type of policy. Policy alternatives do not consist of reliance on measures *to this*, but a free kind of politics not governed by normative teleological criteria, or future priorities (Palonen, 2003).

Polity (Facilities; Institutions)

In the following dimensions of political ethics, namely the means that enable the attainment of goals (polity). This dimension includes the basic organising systems and principles of state administration and the underlying social institutions (Palonen, 2003). This last thing also determines the regulation of people's behaviour in dealing with basic problems. These patterns contain normative imperatives accompanied by sanctions. This dimension of means (polity) contains two normative patterns: *First*, the political order (laws and institutions) must follow the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity and acceptance of plurality; the social structure is organised politically according to the principles of justice. *Second*, political forces are organised according to the principle of reciprocity. The moral dimension at the level of this facility lies in the role of ethics in testing and criticising the legitimacy of political decisions, institutions and practices (Handoyo, Susanti, & Munandar, 2016).

In Palonen's view, polity refers to a metaphorical space that delimits "political space" from other spaces. In terms of activity, polity can be thought of as a temporal space that has been politicized and generally accepted as political and limits the activity of what is not accepted as political. In other words, politics can be seen as the scope of activity, resulting from *politicization* previously. In Weberian terms, polity refers to a complex in which the division of powers is divided into legal and illegitimate. Certain sections of power have assumed a privileged position, others have faded and appear out of date, while attempts to create new ones are viewed with suspicion. Core "scope" Politics serves as a paradigm for politics. Disputes about the boundaries or demarcation of historically constituted, contingent and contentious governments also contribute to

reinterpreting the "core" of government. Parliamentary actions and thoughts provide us with the best examples of politics as a contingent and controversial activity (Palonen, 2019).

Power struggles introduce instability to the formation of a government as a political firmament. The discovery of new topics on the agenda, new dimensions of human agency or new political practices can destabilize politics, not only in its boundaries but also in the interpretation of what is important and decisive in it. Parliamentary politics, which are controlled by the electorate and by the government-opposition game in parliament, clearly characterize a time-oriented regime. The complexity of parliamentary practice is shaped by opportunities and controls, both of which are limited not only "in time" but also "by time". Different types of government opportunities to govern are shaped by time differences, by periodization of government politics to periods of high and low control by the respective opposition by the electorate. In nominalistic terms, "governance" must be understood as the division of powers of a particular regime, and not as a single "political system", but as *polity* interconnected and limited that transcends juridical, geographical, and other boundaries (Palonen, 2003).

Political Action (Politics)

In the following dimensions of political ethics, actors play a role in determining political rationality. Political rationality consists of the rationality of actions and virtues (the moral qualities of actors). Political action is called rational if the actor has a situation orientation and understands the problem. This presupposes the ability to perceive the interests at stake based on the map of existing political forces. This disposition of power helps to account for the capability and impact of political action. Avoiding violence becomes a moral imperative as an expression of respect for human dignity. Thus, mastery of conflict management is a condition for ethical political action. This is in line with what was stated by Ibn Khaldun, that the most important thing lies not in the form of the state but in how the state can operate fairly and honestly in terms of religious morals that guarantee good and moral development in various sectors of people's lives (Malik, Rahim, & Taufiqurachman, 2023).

Therefore, action presupposes virtue, namely self-mastery and the courage to decide and face the risks. *Fair* and justice for others. In this action dimension too, ethics is synonymous with rational and meaningful actions. Politics has meaning because it takes into account other reactions: expectations, protests, criticism, approval or rejection. The ethical meaning will be more profound if the politician's actions are based on compassion and partiality for the weak and uphold a sense of justice and the common good (Haryatmoko, 2014). In Palonen's view, Politics is a time-consuming activity and also a game of time. Thus we can distinguish between two models of playing with time in politics, namely background time (time in politics) and operative time (political time), or playing time and intermediate playing time. Palonen tries to read temporal presuppositions and political implications as activities, departing from a nominalistic perspective, as expressed in Max Weber's famous formula on politics, power and struggle. In other words, Palonen wanted to continue Weber's conceptualisation of politics by programmatically explaining the temporal dimension of the concept (Palonen, 2003).

The contingent political dimension of opportunity refers not only to the formal possibility of acting otherwise, but also to the presence *double agent* conflicted in the struggle for power. Politics as a "struggle" is something whose results cannot be predicted, both because of the mere facticity of the existing situation and its existence from deliberate activity against efforts to gain new portions of power. Here we can distinguish between facticity contingency and struggle contingency.

Process of Political Activity (Politicking)

In the political dictionary, *politicking* is understood as apolitical activities, namely all activities directly or indirectly aimed at efforts to achieve state government power by an individual or a certain group. According to Palonen, politics as a business should not be judged only by its "results", but by how the process or effort goes towards realizing the results, including calculating the unexpected consequences. In other languages, being political is not only asking what to do but also how to do it (Palonen, 2003).

Politics as performance also depends on the distribution of available power to increase relative advantage in its distribution. The key to executing politics consists of choosing between different types and levels of opportunity, which then leads to different styles of performance. The simplest variation concerns the contrast between cautious and daring politicking styles. While a policy consists of coordinated steps that have resources and time constraints, politics consists of operations that require time and events that take advantage of time. Apart from its origin and purpose, politics has its duration and rhythm, just like the performing arts. This can be seen as an extension of the present time in politics into a performative unit that cannot be measured by the time spent but is, in a sense, capable of intervening during the performance.

The primacy of the performance is judged by its ability to present the impression of temporal autonomy from events that are extended as internal political time. Continuing political moments comprise the show, which cannot be rehearsed in advance but presupposes improvisation and taking advantage of the details of the unfolding situation. If the essence of the policy is understood as an effort to overcome the breakpoint of its continuity, then it marks a situation of limitation politicking where continuity emerges as a regulation of performance improvisation politicking. In politics, the goals that become the direction of policy become instruments in the power struggle. Limits to policy realization mark boundary situations, which can be turned into new sources of opportunity, or at least into relative advantages compared to similar boundary encounters by opponents and their policies. Political judgment must therefore extend to expertise in the competence to deal with the beginnings and ends of political administration. In this sense, politicking also presupposes the coordination of activities, not to organize them but as an extension of the simple political organizing events to the interconnection and disconnection between political administrations (Palonen, 2003).

Perspective Politicization or Reinterpretation (Politization)

The word "politicization" was first used in German in 1907, when historian Karl Lamprecht spoke of the *die Politisierung der Gesellschaft*, although in a harmless sense to increase interest in politics. However, over time it has turned into a more offensive politicized view, rather than a perspectiveistic reinterpretation of a phenomenon. Here, politicization does not mean the juxtaposition of things with politics nor the increased "interest in politics" among certain people. On the other hand, by politicizing, we can characterize phenomena as political. As such, politicization refers to the act of naming something as political, including the controversy surrounding the acceptance of this naming. However, it seems unnecessary to identify initial or original politicization, because the question of what constitutes politicization depends on the perspective of interpretation (Palonen, 2006).

In Palonen's understanding, if a government is the result of a certain politicization, we cannot refer to a normal political sense; politicization has no quasi-subject matter. While nothing in human life can be exempt from politicization, it always demands a special and concentrated effort to politicize something new, for which no established political practice is available. Politicization must be more than just a declaration and must at least provide some indication of the forms of politicization opened up by certain politicking movements (Palonen, 2003).

Therefore, politicization can become a discovery, a construction of opportunities about opportunities that have never been seen or acknowledged before. Discoveries of this kind require the construction of new perspectives that make things look different. However, it opens up new horizons for acting politically and politically thematically as a concept, which can then be used in different and even contradictory ways.

4. Conclusion

Thus, it can be understood, exclusively, ethics politic of Kari Palonen divides politics into two concepts, namely politics as activity (politics-as-activity), and politics as a result (politics-as-consequently). Within this conceptual horizon, policy refers to aspects of political arrangements (politics), politicization refers to performative aspects, polity implies a metaphorical space with certain possibilities and limitations, while politicization marks the opening of something political (political), as "playable". Policy-politicking and polity-politicization form two conceptual pairs. In the concept of public space, the political core is occupied by boundaries and spatial arrangements policy-polity, whereas in the concept of politics as an activity (politics-as-activity) it is constituted by "verbal" figures, namely politicization and politicking. Thus, it is hoped that Kari Palonen's thoughts on political ethics will become one of the references and enrich the discourse or study of the development of political ethics, especially in Indonesia and does not rule out opening new perspectives on politics as a concept.

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