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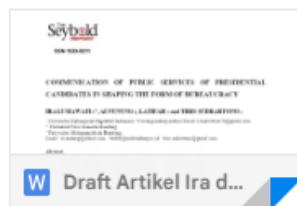
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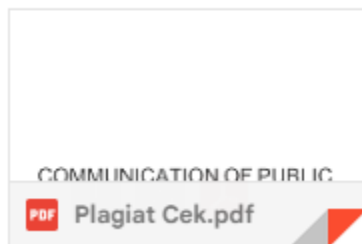
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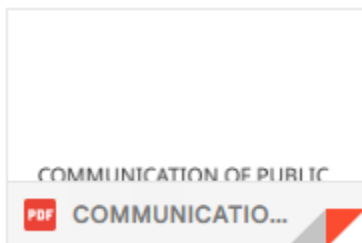
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ACCEPTANCE LETTER

20/12/2023

Author Name/s	Ira Lusiawati*, Ai Nunung, Latifah and Tiris Sudrartono
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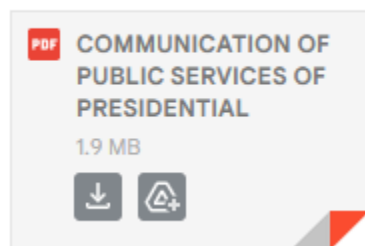
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Submission ID: 2361046996

File name: Manuscript_Ira_Lusiawati.docx (82.16K)

Word count: 4277

Character count: 24384

COMMUNICATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN SHAPING THE FORM OF BUREAUCRACY

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ABSTRACT

Whenever a government undergoes a change, policies are inevitably subject to alteration. The legacy of the previous administration is often deemed irrelevant and necessitates modification. However, it is essential to recognize that altering policies equates to changing the foundation of existing public services. Consequently, adjustments must be made on various fronts, as the transformation will impact the appearance of services provided by the bureaucracy. In light of this, the policy trends anticipated for 2024 and the subsequent five years can be gleaned from the communications conveyed by presidential candidates during the presidential election campaign (PILPRES). The three current contenders for the presidency have outlined the policies they intend to implement if victorious in the upcoming election. While some candidates express their commitment to maintaining existing policies, others have communicated their intentions to fundamentally alter them. Therefore, this research aims to ascertain the trajectory of policies over the next five years in alignment with the vision and mission of the three pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The chosen approach is a qualitative method employing media content analysis. The findings reveal that, based on the communications presented to the public during the campaign, a victory for the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Prabowo-Gibran would result in a transformation of both bureaucracies. Conversely, if the contest is won by the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Anis-Muhaimin or Ganjar-Mahfud, a different set of changes in bureaucratic structure and appearance is anticipated.

Keywords: Public Service, Policy, Communication, Presidential Election, Bureaucracy

INTRODUCTION

Three presidential-vice presidential pairs have communicated their plans to take the country to a better stage. Through campaigns involving as many people as possible, accompanied by promises that are actually used as a strategy leading to efforts to garner support from voters (Fatimah, 2018). The promises were communicated carefreely, as if everything can be done later if elected on Election Day on February 14, 2024. Campaign material that is a lie or seen as absurd is not a problem; what is needed is to ensure that the people give full support (Taufik & Suryana, 2022).

Campaign styles and models with promises are still an option (Sholeh, 2021) because in the process of delivering the vision and mission, they must be intertwined with common meaning (Abidin, 2020). This similarity can be established using empathetic and homophilic communication models (Muna et al., 2020). Until now, there is still no other method to convince voters other than to take them to dreamland. The pairs of presidential candidates are still trying to capture the imagination of the people with the allure of a prosperous and successful country (Paramita, 2020). It is as if there is no other diction that can replace the words welfare and prosperity, considering that these ideals and expected forms are the goals of

the state (Putra, 2021). Unfortunately, many times the change of leadership for welfare and prosperity has still not been able to be realized. The reason is that the bureaucracy formed by the elected government is not aligned with the program and character of the government leadership formed by the winner of the election or the influence of the strategic environment (Hidayat, 2020).

The work program of the elected candidates is outlined in the framework of realizing all programs contained in laws and regulations during the periodization of leadership. Because in the context of the new government, regulations may change or be replaced by those prepared by the team of the elected candidate-vice president pairs. This can be illustrated from the campaign process, which is the work plan of the upcoming government. Moreover, the pair of presidential candidates taking the position of the successor of the current ruling regime, it is likely that there will not be much change. However, if they have positioned themselves with themes of change, it can certainly change as a whole. This includes determining the criteria and posture of bureaucrats (Firmas & Maesarani, 2011).

Basically, bureaucrats are technical officers who carry out all the development work of elected vice presidents, but in the technical field, they may involve third parties. The presence of this third party often poses bureaucratic problems when dealing with them. The potential for bureaucracy to exhibit corruptive tendencies, collusion with third parties, or nepotism practices that only prioritize clans and groups will indirectly present a negative picture of the performance of the president-vice president-elected pair. In the future, it is not impossible to get a bad stigma from the community as a failed government.

The tendency and direction of the bureaucracy that will be realized by the president-vice president-elect will be illustrated by a number of promises made to the people during this campaign. Indeed, the candidates are communicating the form of bureaucracy. The importance of this bureaucracy is that public servants hold the key to implementing the programs of all candidates and vice-presidential pairs. The success of the entire program communicated through the campaign will depend on the main prerequisite of a professional, clean, and service-oriented bureaucratic posture. So far, changes in the posture of bureaucratic service officers are still in the form of slogans without significant changes. Bureaucracy is still seen as an obstacle to accelerating development towards a dream country. Inherent in the bureaucracy is service. All this will be the determinant that will allow the entire development plan to proceed smoothly.

The success of development is in the hands of bureaucrats (Endah & Vestikowati, 2021). If the president-elect focuses more on this plan, it requires a reliable bureaucracy with excellent service. However, the fact is that bureaucrats do not realize themselves as servants of the state. This is what makes the bureaucracy in a vortex of problems. The bureaucracy that aims to serve the public is instead run in feudal styles and even just wants to be served (Setiyono, 2012). With this kind of bureaucracy, the goals of the bureaucratic service system will not be achieved. The tendency of bureaucratic deviations when viewing service as an opportunity to gain financial benefits. This is because the corrupt mentality that is still inherent in the actual service apparatus will distance the ideals to be realized (Anggraeni, 2014). Many reasons cause the slow movement of bureaucracy in public services. One of them is because of the small salary (Wardana & Meiwanda, 2017). Although it has been raised, it does not necessarily provide economic ability considering that salary increases will be followed by increases in various prices of basic necessities. So, the increase he has received, means nothing if it is not for living a simple life. The opposite condition can be seen from the performance of bureaucratic leaders or officials who live well-off and tend to show off luxury.

Another tendency of bureaucracy is to be more dominant in serving its leaders or superiors than serving the community (Maruf, 2010). In this way alone it can be understood that in bureaucratic services there are differences in service. For whom excellent service is provided

and to whom the service is simply delivered. This is the bureaucratic dilemma. Not providing the best service to his superiors with regard to his performance appraisal. If it is considered bad, it will get a bad assessment or his career is hampered. Meanwhile, the provision of services to the community is considered not to have an impact on his bureaucratic career.

The community as the target of bureaucratic service delivery has a very decisive position. Society is not an inanimate object that has no judgment on what it has received from bureaucratic services (Rusfiana & Supriatna, 2021). People can voice their complaints if they receive unpleasant services. Even try your best to meet the conditions and requirements that have been set in taking care of something. It's just that the positions between officials and society are very different. The voice of officials will change the dimension of bureaucratic services directly with regard to the field of office they depend on, while voices and complaints from the public do not necessarily have an impact to change bureaucratic performance. In other words, changes to the bureaucratic system can take effect immediately while complaints from the public can suddenly go unnoticed or ignored.

The bureaucratic paradigm change has actually been stated by several previous presidents with plans for change through bureaucratic reform. Furthermore, bureaucratic changes are also carried out by transforming the service field through digitalization (Istianto, 2011). It's just that, it is currently still in the process of implementation and has not shown its success. What is happening now and in the next five years is whether bureaucratic development will continue with the commitment of elected presidents-vice presidents? Or it will fundamentally change the service side of the bureaucracy given the tendency of presidential candidates who are divided into two big programs: continue with improvements or change with a new face.

These plans have been recorded in public memory through the distinctive communication style of each vice presidential candidate. Of course, there are those who communicate clearly about the weaknesses of the bureaucracy, but there are also those who try to appreciate it with a good public service communication style. With this explanation, the purpose of this study is to find out the form of bureaucracy that will be applied by the president-vice president-elect pair through development programs communicated in political campaigns ahead of the presidential election contestation.

METHODS

In this study, the method used is a qualitative descriptive approach with qualitative content data analysis techniques. The qualitative approach is aimed at constructive perspective-based knowledge statements (e.g., meanings derived from individual experience, social and historical values with the aim of constructing specific theories or patterns of knowledge) or based on participatory perspectives (e.g., orientation toward politics, issues, collaboration or change); or both (Rita Fiantika et al., 2022). While the type of content analysis research, according to Krippendorff, is a research technique to make inferences that can be replicated (imitated) and valid data by paying attention to the context (Mochamad Taufik & Sila, 2023).

This type of qualitative content analysis is influenced by the naturalistic-interpretive paradigm. The research step is carried out by constructing and understanding meaning, so that research pays great attention to processes, events, and authenticity. The method of content analysis should observe the phenomenon of communication, by formulating precisely about the studied and all actions should be based on goals. Next, choose the unit of analysis to be studied, choose the object of research that is the target of analysis. If the object of research is related to messages in the media, it is necessary to identify the message and the media that delivers the message.

With regard to this study, researchers conducted an online data search through the internet network. Especially to find data related to the suitability of themes that have been set in the study. As a form of analysis, this study emphasizes more on content that provides an overall

picture of the subject under study. Meanwhile, the research time was carried out a month before the implementation of the presidential election campaign and immediately after entering the campaign time, or more precisely taking place in October and November 2023. More precisely during the socialization of presidential candidates and during the implementation of campaigns.

DISCUSSION

Bureaucracy is one of the agendas of the overall development program plan that is likely to be held by the president-vice presidential candidate pair in the 2024 presidential election contestation. As an illustration of the commitment to organizing a modern and professional bureaucracy -or even maintaining its current condition- it has been stated by all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates in front of the people through campaigns. This is because state development must be holistic and comprehensive and can touch on all dimensions of statehood. In other words, bureaucratic development is a concern for Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates but does not seem to be on the top agenda and priority. The priority of electability for his victory is still putting in place the plan of welfare and prosperity. Although this theme has actually been used by presidents before during campaigns.

The implementation of this campaign is an election agenda within the framework of changing national leaders in February 2024. In this contestation will be elected a new president and vice president replacing the current president and vice president, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. However, officially the president and vice president elected in the presidential election contestation will occupy the presidential throne in October 2024. Thus, after being elected do not immediately serve as president and vice president.

Ahead of the 2024 presidential election, three pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates are campaigning to gain the sympathy of constituents with the aim of gaining real support from voters. To win the hearts of voters, each pair of presidential candidates communicates various visions and missions and programs that will be implemented later if elected president and vice president. As a national leader, the campaign materials he communicated concerned all sectors of life. But everything will lead to one point to realize the welfare of the people.

The measure to see the development of the welfare sector is from the HDI or Human Development Index. The implementation of HDI development will depend on how the bureaucracy understands and serves the types of services that lead to the realization of HDI as expected. But all of this can be achieved through the service apparatus incorporated into the government bureaucracy. It is the bureaucracy that will carry out all the tasks in the overall Indonesian human development plan.

This bureaucratic sector development plan has been depicted in the working documents of each pair of Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates. In general, the entire bureaucratic development agenda shows a completely similar program, especially with regard to bureaucratic development that emphasizes the welfare of civil servants by increasing the salaries of civil servants. During this period, all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Candidates intensively communicate their vision-mission and work programs to get support from the public. To find out the type of communication carried out by Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates, please see the following table:

Table 1. The commitment of the Indonesian Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for 2024-2029 for bureaucracy

No	Presidential Candidates-Vice	Commitment to Build Bureaucracy	Purpose
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	Presidential Candidates		
1	Prospective Spouse No.1	Its vision, mission, and work program document " <i>Indonesia Adil Makmur Untuk TALL</i> "	Improving the well-being of ASN through a system of fair pay and certainty of raising the minimum wage by 15% in five years.
2	Prospective Spouse No.2	Vision, mission, and work program document entitled "Together with Advanced Indonesia"	Go ³ public services will be carried out if the state civil apparatus (ASN), especially teachers, lect ³ ers, and health workers (NAKES), the Indonesian national army (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and state officials are in a prosperous condition.
3	Prospective Spouse No.3	Document Vision, Mission Ganjar Mahfud. Theme: Excellent Indonesia	ASN is increasingly prosperous, guarantees a clear work system, transparent, accountable promotion, concrete remuneration, and a cohesive transfer system for civil servants, and ensures excellent service for civil servants

Source: cnbcindonesia.com

Based on the table, all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates have a commitment to building a bureaucratic posture with one of them increasing welfare. The level of bureaucratic prosperity to be achieved is still in the form of material fulfillment for each bureaucrat. The candidates and vice presidents believe that welfare is the key to improving the public service system organized by the bureaucracy, but by providing a material system that supports the form of a modern and professional bureaucracy. This bureaucratic formation plan can be said to be an improvement of the bureaucratic performance practiced so far. It can even be called a form of disappointment from the presidential candidates towards the bureaucratic building that seems to have experienced saturation.

It's just that to show the real condition of the current face of the bureaucracy is not stated through open communication. What the vice presidential candidates communicated to the public was only an improvement plan without being able to communicate various bureaucratic weaknesses and shortcomings. This can be understood when referring to the vision-mission and program documents of the Presidential and vice presidential Candidates which only place them in the subtitle of the vision-mission and overall work plan. This is likely because public service communication is considered relatively good and only a small part of the overall plan of the country's development program.

The bureaucratic development plan of all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates has been widely exposed. Both delivered directly to the public through open campaigns in various community organizations and through various media channels. In their campaigns, the Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates have confirmed their program plans. In addition to building Indonesia with new programs, there are also those who are interested in continuing the program of the current government, Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin.

Based on online data searches through news media, there are two pairs of president-vice presidential candidates who are committed to continuing the national development program in the Jokowi era. The two pairs of Presidential Candidate and Vice Presidential Candidate are Prabowo-Gibran and Ganjar-Mahfud couple. The two pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice

Presidential Candidates are of the view that the current development must still continue. The reason is because the implementation of development programs has not reached the expected form, including the construction of the Capital of the Archipelago (IKN) in Kalimantan, bureaucratic reform that will begin in 2024, and the most important and very strategic is the downstream sustainability program of various commodities as the wealth of the earth contained by Indonesia²

The two **pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates** have a common view in Indonesia's development into the future, especially so that development no longer starts from the starting point, but there must be a commitment so that there is continuity in Indonesia's development which aims to achieve a golden Indonesia in 2045. This year is assumed to be a century of Indonesia, which of course leads to the year of taseut moving forward in various ways. Not only in terms of age, but Indonesia's position in the list as a developed country in the world is targeted to reach the top five positions. Support for the sustainability of development during the Jokowi administration era has been affirmed and has become a program that will be carried out.

Prabowo Subianto's Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM) is determined to continue President Jokowi's work program. The reason is that the policy direction outlined by Jokowi is considered correct. The work programs and policies built by Jokowi are considered to be the foundation for Indonesia as the main prerequisite to become a developed country in 2045. More strictly speaking, the number 2 pair views that one of Jokowi's policies in down streaming the natural resources industry (SDA) will be continued. One of the downstream policies of natural resources is to strengthen the Indonesian base through products created by the nation itself. The policies to be implemented such as the production of motorcycles and cars are directed at strengthening the domestic production base. The attachment of this pair of presidential candidates is very close. Jokowi's closeness with Prabowo is shown from Prabowo's position as Jokowi's aide in the position of Defense Pain. Meanwhile, Jokowi and Gibran are bound by family ties.

The commitment to continue the Jokowi-era program was also stated by the number 3 presidential candidate, Ganjar-Mahfud. Jokowi and Ganjar have a strong attachment because they come from the same party, namely PDI Perjuangan. Meanwhile, Jokowi is with Mahfud because Mahfud is tasked with strengthening Jokowi's cabinet in the position of coordinating minister for political, legal and human rights. The pair of presidential candidates are assumed to be very familiar with the country's work program and development plans for the future, so that the commitment to continue and complete the remnants of the work of the Jokowi era has been affirmed so that there is a process and direction of development plans into the future.

As a president-vice presidential candidate, Ganjar-Mahfud certainly does not duplicate Jokowi's entire program, but it is assumed that there will be strengthening on bases in accordance with their respective capacities and professionalism. Mahfud has emphasized that he will further strengthen the legal aspects that are fair to all Indonesian people. With the headline of freeing Indonesia from corrupt practices. As is known, corrupt practices and acts are users of state budgets that are misappropriated not for the implementation of state development but for the interests of corruptors.

The commitment of the Ganjar-Mahfud pair was stated through the National Winning Team (TPN). Ganjar-Mahfud promised to continue the program implemented by President Jokowi. This means that the pair will also continue and accelerate the development of the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN). In addition to continuing the Jokowi era program, Ganjar-Mahfud programs job creation by down streaming. That is, employment will be expanded as an industrialization project. Of course, downstream job creation is not only continued, expanded as a more comprehensive industrialization project

Unlike the two pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates Prabowo - Gibran and Ganjar-Mahfud, the Anies-Muhaimin pair will strictly carry out development programs in accordance with the plan that has been prepared with the winning team. In other words, the number 1 pair of presidential candidates will not continue the program that has been carried out during the Jokowi administration. Including continuing national-scale projects that are still under construction. The project that is now being built to be occupied immediately in 2024 is the IKN or the new capital of the country. The couple, through their party's coalition team, have made it clear that they will not move the national capital because they think Jakarta is still worthy of being the national capital.

The pair of Presidential Candidate and Vice Presidential Candidate number 1 is different from the two pairs of Presidential Candidates and other Deputy Candidates. It can be seen from the title that is very straightforward and bright, but basically the plan of the Anies-Muhaimin program will take its own path in developing Indonesia. The reason is that each leader has a different strategy, so it is legitimate if there is a program from Jokowi that is not carried out by the next president. Despite having different policies, Anies-Muhaimin will maintain the principle of nation and state towards national ideals and maintain the national joints that have been laid by the country's predecessors. Included in the development funding that will be carried out later if Anies-Imin wins, he will not use borrowed funds or external debts.

CONCLUSION

Public service policies that will be implemented in the next five years can already be discerned. This information was disclosed during the communication between all Presidential Candidates, Vice Presidential Candidates, and their prospective voters in the Presidential Election campaign scheduled for February 2024. The three pairs of presidential candidates are divided into two camps: those committed to maintaining the current bureaucratic conditions, with enhancements in line with the evolving situation, and those intending to introduce comprehensive changes or discontinue the development program initiated by the current government. Nevertheless, all three pairs of presidential candidates and vice presidents are committed to offering a special program to enhance bureaucracy, with a focus on salary increases for all civil servants.

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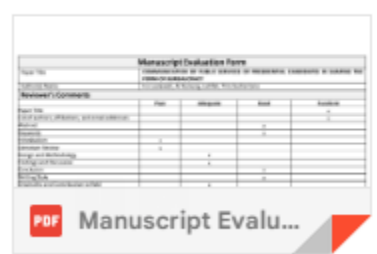
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COMMUNICATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN SHAPING THE FORM OF BUREAUCRACY

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Abstract

Whenever a government undergoes a change, policies are inevitably subject to alteration. The legacy of the previous administration is often deemed irrelevant and necessitates modification. However, it is essential to recognize that altering policies equates to changing the foundation of existing public services. Consequently, adjustments must be made on various fronts, as the transformation will impact the appearance of services provided by the bureaucracy. In light of this, the policy trends anticipated for 2024 and the subsequent five years can be gleaned from the communications conveyed by presidential candidates during the presidential election campaign (PILPRES). The three current contenders for the presidency have outlined the policies they intend to implement if victorious in the upcoming election. While some candidates express their commitment to maintaining existing policies, others have communicated their intentions to fundamentally alter them. Therefore, this research aims to ascertain the trajectory of policies over the next five years in alignment with the vision and mission of the three pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The chosen approach is a qualitative method employing media content analysis. The findings reveal that, based on the communications presented to the public during the campaign, a victory for the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Prabowo-Gibran would result in a transformation of both bureaucracies. Conversely, if the contest is won by the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Anis-Muhaimin or Ganjar-Mahfud, a different set of changes in bureaucratic structure and appearance is anticipated.

Keywords: Public Service, Policy, Communication, Presidential Election, Bureaucracy.

INTRODUCTION

Three presidential-vice presidential pairs have communicated their plans to take the country to a better stage. Through campaigns involving as many people as possible, accompanied by promises that are actually used as a strategy leading to efforts to garner support from voters (Fatimah, 2018). The promises were communicated care freely, as if everything can be done later if elected on Election Day on February 14, 2024. Campaign material that is a lie or seen as absurd is not a problem; what is needed is to ensure that the people give full support (Taufik & Suryana, 2022).

Campaign styles and models with promises are still an option (Sholeh, 2021) because in the process of delivering the vision and mission, they must be intertwined with common meaning (Abidin, 2020). This similarity can be established using empathetic and homophilic communication models (Muna et al., 2020). Until now, there is still no other method to convince voters other than to take them to dreamland. The pairs of presidential candidates are still trying to capture the imagination of the people with the allure of a prosperous and successful country (Paramita, 2020). It is as if there is no other diction that can replace the

words welfare and prosperity, considering that these ideals and expected forms are the goals of the state (Putra, 2021). Unfortunately, many times the change of leadership for welfare and prosperity has still not been able to be realized. The reason is that the bureaucracy formed by the elected government is not aligned with the program and character of the government leadership formed by the winner of the election or the influence of the strategic environment (Hidayat, 2020).

The work program of the elected candidates is outlined in the framework of realizing all programs contained in laws and regulations during the periodization of leadership. Because in the context of the new government, regulations may change or be replaced by those prepared by the team of the elected candidate-vice president pairs. This can be illustrated from the campaign process, which is the work plan of the upcoming government. Moreover, the pair of presidential candidates taking the position of the successor of the current ruling regime, it is likely that there will not be much change. However, if they have positioned themselves with themes of change, it can certainly change as a whole. This includes determining the criteria and posture of bureaucrats (Firnas & Maesarani, 2011).

Basically, bureaucrats are technical officers who carry out all the development work of elected vice presidents, but in the technical field, they may involve third parties. The presence of this third party often poses bureaucratic problems when dealing with them. The potential for bureaucracy to exhibit corruptive tendencies, collusion with third parties, or nepotism practices that only prioritize clans and groups will indirectly present a negative picture of the performance of the president-vice president-elected pair. In the future, it is not impossible to get a bad stigma from the community as a failed government.

The tendency and direction of the bureaucracy that will be realized by the president-vice president-elect will be illustrated by a number of promises made to the people during this campaign. Indeed, the candidates are communicating the form of bureaucracy. The importance of this bureaucracy is that public servants hold the key to implementing the programs of all candidates and vice-presidential pairs. The success of the entire program communicated through the campaign will depend on the main prerequisite of a professional, clean, and service-oriented bureaucratic posture. So far, changes in the posture of bureaucratic service officers are still in the form of slogans without significant changes. Bureaucracy is still seen as an obstacle to accelerating development towards a dream country. Inherent in the bureaucracy is service. All this will be the determinant that will allow the entire development plan to proceed smoothly.

The success of development is in the hands of bureaucrats (Endah & Vestikowati, 2021). If the president-elect focuses more on this plan, it requires a reliable bureaucracy with excellent service. However, the fact is that bureaucrats do not realize themselves as servants of the state. This is what makes the bureaucracy in a vortex of problems. The bureaucracy that aims to serve the public is instead run in feudal styles and even just wants to be served (Setiyono, 2012). With this kind of bureaucracy, the goals of the bureaucratic service system will not be achieved. The tendency of bureaucratic deviations when viewing service as an opportunity to gain financial benefits. This is because the corrupt mentality that is still inherent in the actual service

apparatus will distance the ideals to be realized (Anggraeni, 2014). Many reasons cause the slow movement of bureaucracy in public services. One of them is because of the small salary (Wardana & Meiwanda, 2017). Although it has been raised, it does not necessarily provide economic ability considering that salary increases will be followed by increases in various prices of basic necessities. So, the increase he has received, means nothing if it is not for living a simple life. The opposite condition can be seen from the performance of bureaucratic leaders or officials who live well-off and tend to show off luxury.

Another tendency of bureaucracy is to be more dominant in serving its leaders or superiors than serving the community (Maruf, 2010). In this way alone it can be understood that in bureaucratic services there are differences in service. For whom excellent service is provided and to whom the service is simply delivered. This is the bureaucratic dilemma. Not providing the best service to his superiors with regard to his performance appraisal. If it is considered bad, it will get a bad assessment or his career is hampered. Meanwhile, the provision of services to the community is considered not to have an impact on his bureaucratic career.

The community as the target of bureaucratic service delivery has a very decisive position. Society is not an inanimate object that has no judgment on what it has received from bureaucratic services (Rusfiana & Supriatna, 2021). People can voice their complaints if they receive unpleasant services. Even try your best to meet the conditions and requirements that have been set in taking care of something. It's just that the positions between officials and society are very different. The voice of officials will change the dimension of bureaucratic services directly with regard to the field of office they depend on, while voices and complaints from the public do not necessarily have an impact to change bureaucratic performance. In other words, changes to the bureaucratic system can take effect immediately while complaints from the public can suddenly go unnoticed or ignored.

The bureaucratic paradigm change has actually been stated by several previous presidents with plans for change through bureaucratic reform. Furthermore, bureaucratic changes are also carried out by transforming the service field through digitalization (Istianto, 2011). It's just that, it is currently still in the process of implementation and has not shown its success. What is happening now and in the next five years is whether bureaucratic development will continue with the commitment of elected presidents-vice presidents? Or it will fundamentally change the service side of the bureaucracy given the tendency of presidential candidates who are divided into two big programs: continue with improvements or change with a new face.

These plans have been recorded in public memory through the distinctive communication style of each vice presidential candidate. Of course, there are those who communicate clearly about the weaknesses of the bureaucracy, but there are also those who try to appreciate it with a good public service communication style. With this explanation, the purpose of this study is to find out the form of bureaucracy that will be applied by the president-vice president-elect pair through development programs communicated in political campaigns ahead of the presidential election contestation.

METHODS

In this study, the method used is a qualitative descriptive approach with qualitative content data analysis techniques. The qualitative approach is aimed at constructive perspective-based knowledge statements (e.g., meanings derived from individual experience, social and historical values with the aim of constructing specific theories or patterns of knowledge) or based on participatory perspectives (e.g., orientation toward politics, issues, collaboration or change); or both (Rita Fiantika et al., 2022). While the type of content analysis research, according to Krippendorff, is a research technique to make inferences that can be replicated (imitated) and valid data by paying attention to the context (Mochamad Taufik & Sila, 2023).

This type of qualitative content analysis is influenced by the naturalistic-interpretive paradigm. The research step is carried out by constructing and understanding meaning, so that research pays great attention to processes, events, and authenticity. The method of content analysis should observe the phenomenon of communication, by formulating precisely about the studied and all actions should be based on goals. Next, choose the unit of analysis to be studied, choose the object of research that is the target of analysis. If the object of research is related to messages in the media, it is necessary to identify the message and the media that delivers the message.

With regard to this study, researchers conducted an online data search through the internet network. Especially to find data related to the suitability of themes that have been set in the study. As a form of analysis, this study emphasizes more on content that provides an overall picture of the subject under study. Meanwhile, the research time was carried out a month before the implementation of the presidential election campaign and immediately after entering the campaign time, or more precisely taking place in October and November 2023. More precisely during the socialization of presidential candidates and during the implementation of campaigns.

DISCUSSION

Bureaucracy is one of the agendas of the overall development program plan that is likely to be held by the president-vice presidential candidate pair in the 2024 presidential election contestation. As an illustration of the commitment to organizing a modern and professional bureaucracy -or even maintaining its current condition- it has been stated by all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates in front of the people through campaigns. This is because state development must be holistic and comprehensive and can touch on all dimensions of statehood. In other words, bureaucratic development is a concern for Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates but does not seem to be on the top agenda and priority. The priority of electability for his victory is still putting in place the plan of welfare and prosperity. Although this theme has actually been used by presidents before during campaigns.

The implementation of this campaign is an election agenda within the framework of changing national leaders in February 2024. In this contestation will be elected a new president and vice president replacing the current president and vice president, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. However, officially the president and vice president elected in the presidential election

contestation will occupy the presidential throne in October 2024. Thus, after being elected do not immediately serve as president and vice president.

Ahead of the 2024 presidential election, three pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates are campaigning to gain the sympathy of constituents with the aim of gaining real support from voters. To win the hearts of voters, each pair of presidential candidates communicates various visions and missions and programs that will be implemented later if elected president and vice president. As a national leader, the campaign materials he communicated concerned all sectors of life. But everything will lead to one point to realize the welfare of the people.

The measure to see the development of the welfare sector is from the HDI or Human Development Index. The implementation of HDI development will depend on how the bureaucracy understands and serves the types of services that lead to the realization of HDI as expected. But all of this can be achieved through the service apparatus incorporated into the government bureaucracy. It is the bureaucracy that will carry out all the tasks in the overall Indonesian human development plan.

This bureaucratic sector development plan has been depicted in the working documents of each pair of Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates. In general, the entire bureaucratic development agenda shows a completely similar program, especially with regard to bureaucratic development that emphasizes the welfare of civil servants by increasing the salaries of civil servants. During this period, all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Candidates intensively communicate their vision-mission and work programs to get support from the public. To find out the type of communication carried out by Presidential Candidates and Deputy Candidates, please see the following table:

Table 1: The commitment of the Indonesian Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for 2024-2029 for bureaucracy

No	Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates	Commitment to Build Bureaucracy	Purpose
1	Prospective Spouse No.1	Its vision, mission, and work program document " <i>Indonesia Adil Makmur Untuk TALL</i> "	Improving the well-being of ASN through a system of fair pay and certainty of raising the minimum wage by 15% in five years.
2	Prospective Spouse No.2	Vision, mission, and work program document entitled "Together with Advanced Indonesia"	Good public services will be carried out if the state civil apparatus (ASN), especially teachers, lecturers, and health workers (NAKES), the Indonesian national army (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and state officials are in a prosperous condition.
3	Prospective Spouse No.3	Document Vision, Mission Ganjar Mahfud. Theme: Excellent Indonesia	ASN is increasingly prosperous, guarantees a clear work system, transparent, accountable promotion, concrete remuneration, and a cohesive transfer system for civil servants, and ensures excellent service for civil servants

Source: cnbcindonesia.com

Based on the table, all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates have a commitment to building a bureaucratic posture with one of them increasing welfare. The level of bureaucratic prosperity to be achieved is still in the form of material fulfillment for each bureaucrat. The candidates and vice presidents believe that welfare is the key to improving the public service system organized by the bureaucracy, but by providing a material system that supports the form of a modern and professional bureaucracy. This bureaucratic formation plan can be said to be an improvement of the bureaucratic performance practiced so far. It can even be called a form of disappointment from the presidential candidates towards the bureaucratic building that seems to have experienced saturation.

It's just that to show the real condition of the current face of the bureaucracy is not stated through open communication. What the vice presidential candidates communicated to the public was only an improvement plan without being able to communicate various bureaucratic weaknesses and shortcomings. This can be understood when referring to the vision-mission and program documents of the Presidential and vice presidential Candidates which only place them in the subtitle of the vision-mission and overall work plan. This is likely because public service communication is considered relatively good and only a small part of the overall plan of the country's development program.

The bureaucratic development plan of all pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates has been widely exposed. Both delivered directly to the public through open campaigns in various community organizations and through various media channels. In their campaigns, the Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates have confirmed their program plans. In addition to building Indonesia with new programs, there are also those who are interested in continuing the program of the current government, Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin.

Based on online data searches through news media, there are two pairs of president-vice presidential candidates who are committed to continuing the national development program in the Jokowi era. The two pairs of Presidential Candidate and Vice Presidential Candidate are Prabowo-Gibran and Ganjar-Mahfud couple. The two pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates are of the view that the current development must still continue. The reason is because the implementation of development programs has not reached the expected form, including the construction of the Capital of the Archipelago (IKN) in Kalimantan, bureaucratic reform that will begin in 2024, and the most important and very strategic is the downstream sustainability program of various commodities as the wealth of the earth contained by Indonesia.

The two pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates have a common view in Indonesia's development into the future, especially so that development no longer starts from the starting point, but there must be a commitment so that there is continuity in Indonesia's development which aims to achieve a golden Indonesia in 2045. This year is assumed to be a century of Indonesia, which of course leads to the year of taseut moving forward in various ways. Not only in terms of age, but Indonesia's position in the list as a developed country in the world is targeted to reach the top five positions. Support for the sustainability of development during the Jokowi administration era has been affirmed and has become a

program that will be carried out. Prabowo Subianto's Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM) is determined to continue President Jokowi's work program. The reason is that the policy direction outlined by Jokowi is considered correct. The work programs and policies built by Jokowi are considered to be the foundation for Indonesia as the main prerequisite to become a developed country in 2045. More strictly speaking, the number 2 pair views that one of Jokowi's policies in down streaming the natural resources industry (SDA) will be continued. One of the downstream policies of natural resources is to strengthen the Indonesian base through products created by the nation itself. The policies to be implemented such as the production of motorcycles and cars are directed at strengthening the domestic production base. The attachment of this pair of presidential candidates is very close. Jokowi's closeness with Prabowo is shown from Prabowo's position as Jokowi's aide in the position of Defense Pain. Meanwhile, Jokowi and Gibran are bound by family ties.

The commitment to continue the Jokowi-era program was also stated by the number 3 presidential candidate, Ganjar-Mahfud. Jokowi and Ganjar have a strong attachment because they come from the same party, namely PDI Perjuangan. Meanwhile, Jokowi is with Mahfud because Mahfud is tasked with strengthening Jokowi's cabinet in the position of coordinating minister for political, legal and human rights. The pair of presidential candidates are assumed to be very familiar with the country's work program and development plans for the future, so that the commitment to continue and complete the remnants of the work of the Jokowi era has been affirmed so that there is a process and direction of development plans into the future.

As a president-vice presidential candidate, Ganjar-Mahfud certainly does not duplicate Jokowi's entire program, but it is assumed that there will be strengthening on bases in accordance with their respective capacities and professionalism. Mahfud has emphasized that he will further strengthen the legal aspects that are fair to all Indonesian people. With the headline of freeing Indonesia from corrupt practices. As is known, corrupt practices and acts are users of state budgets that are misappropriated not for the implementation of state development but for the interests of corruptors.

The commitment of the Ganjar-Mahfud pair was stated through the National Winning Team (TPN). Ganjar-Mahfud promised to continue the program implemented by President Jokowi. This means that the pair will also continue and accelerate the development of the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN). In addition to continuing the Jokowi era program, Ganjar-Mahfud programs job creation by down streaming. That is, employment will be expanded as an industrialization project. Of course, downstream job creation is not only continued, expanded as a more comprehensive industrialization project

Unlike the two pairs of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates Prabowo - Gibran and Ganjar-Mahfud, the Anies-Muhaimin pair will strictly carry out development programs in accordance with the plan that has been prepared with the winning team. In other words, the number 1 pair of presidential candidates will not continue the program that has been carried out during the Jokowi administration. Including continuing national-scale projects that are still under construction. The project that is now being built to be occupied immediately in 2024 is the IKN or the new capital of the country.

The couple, through their party's coalition team, have made it clear that they will not move the national capital because they think Jakarta is still worthy of being the national capital. The pair of Presidential Candidate and Vice Presidential Candidate number 1 is different from the two pairs of Presidential Candidates and other Deputy Candidates. It can be seen from the title that is very straightforward and bright, but basically the plan of the Anies-Muhaimin program will take its own path in developing Indonesia.

The reason is that each leader has a different strategy, so it is legitimate if there is a program from Jokowi that is not carried out by the next president. Despite having different policies, Anies-Muhaimin will maintain the principle of nation and state towards national ideals and maintain the national joints that have been laid by the country's predecessors. Included in the development funding that will be carried out later if Anies-Imin wins, he will not use borrowed funds or external debts.

CONCLUSION

Public service policies that will be implemented in the next five years can already be discerned. This information was disclosed during the communication between all Presidential Candidates, Vice Presidential Candidates, and their prospective voters in the Presidential Election campaign scheduled for February 2024.

The three pairs of presidential candidates are divided into two camps: those committed to maintaining the current bureaucratic conditions, with enhancements in line with the evolving situation, and those intending to introduce comprehensive changes or discontinue the development program initiated by the current government. Nevertheless, all three pairs of presidential candidates and vice presidents are committed to offering a special program to enhance bureaucracy, with a focus on salary increases for all civil servants.

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ACCEPTANCE LETTER

20/12/2023

Author Name/s	Ira Lusiawati*, Ai Nunung, Latifah and Tiris Sudrartono
Paper Title	COMMUNICATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN SHAPING THE FORM OF BUREAUCRACY
Paper Status	ACCEPTED

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