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Communicative Model of Presidential Chief of Staff in Decision Making of Public Policy

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ABSTRACT

This research examined the communicative institution of the presidential chief staff of the Republic of Indonesia during Jokowi's administration. The purpose of this research was to find a communicative model applied by the presidential chief staff in making public decisions. The theory used was the role of Communicative Constitutive of Organization, the management concept of bureaucracy and public office, and the rational model of public decision making. The method used in this research was case study in which cases analyzed from policies through interview and observation, and literature study. The results of the research on decision-making processes of public policies based on national development planning in Jokowi's Nawacita were institutional communications carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff (PCS) in the form of monitoring, solving barriers related to bureaucracy management in communication toward public through various online media, talk shows, and news. Communication across institutions and internal communication were carried out exclusively. Based on rational decision making, the communicative model of the presidential chief of staff was one-way process providing no room for discussion or negotiation involving the community. stakeholder external participation in the institutional communicative model were in ministry department, non-institutional department, provincial, district, and city governments.

Keywords: *Model, communicative, presidential, public policy, decision making*

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mengkaji kelembagaan komunikatif para staf Kepala Kepresidenan Republik Indonesia pada masa pemerintahan Jokowi. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui model komunikatif yang diterapkan oleh jajaran pimpinan presiden dalam pengambilan keputusan publik. Teori yang digunakan adalah peran Konstitutif Komunikatif Organisasi, konsep manajemen birokrasi dan jabatan publik, dan model rasional pengambilan keputusan publik. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah studi kasus di mana analisis kasus dari kebijakan melalui wawancara dan observasi, serta studi pustaka. Hasil penelitian proses pengambilan keputusan kebijakan publik berdasarkan perencanaan pembangunan nasional dalam Nawacita Jokowi adalah komunikasi kelembagaan yang dilakukan oleh Kepala Staf Kepresidenan (PCS) dalam bentuk pemantauan, penyelesaian hambatan terkait pengelolaan birokrasi dalam komunikasi menuju publik melalui berbagai media online, talk show, dan berita. Komunikasi lintas institusi dan komunikasi internal dilakukan secara eksklusif. Berdasarkan pengambilan keputusan yang rasional, model komunikatif Kepala Staf Kepresidenan merupakan proses satu arah yang tidak memberikan ruang untuk diskusi atau

negosiasi yang melibatkan masyarakat. Partisipasi eksternal pemangku kepentingan dalam model komunikatif kelembagaan berada di departemen kementerian, departemen non-kelembagaan, pemerintah provinsi, kabupaten, dan kota.

Kata Kunci: Model, komunikatif, presidensial, kebijakan publik, pengambilan keputusan

INTRODUCTION

Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's administration faced a tough challenge (Grant & Government, 2018). The abundance of information as a result of the current development of the internet as a new medium for communication (Sivarajah et al., 2016) had made their governance performance to be often put in the spotlight. Various public discourses rolling very quickly on social media (Malawani, Nurmandi, Purnomo, & Rahman, 2020) often led to uncontrolled and wild issues. This posed a threat that endangers the government due to decreased levels of public satisfaction (Kiousis & Strömbäck, 2010) and trust in their government.

After the inauguration of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Jusuf Kalla (JK) as President and Vice-President of Republic of Indonesia in 2014, their governance performance immediately became the focus of public attention. Various issues, slander, and hoaxes continued to emerge related to ideology, performance, direction of development, and even the President's personality had helped in decreasing the level of public trust. Dissatisfaction towards the policies issued by Jokowi-JK's administration, such as the increase in fuel prices and the weakening of the rupiah exchange rate, was also triggered by the lack of communication carried out by the government (Burkhalter, 2009), especially in responding to these issues and conveying public policies. The following is the sequence of policies from Jokowi's era:

The slow handling of various issues attacking the government and the president in person (Rice, 2019), had made the violent issues spreading in public even more difficult to contain. Several policies issued by the government always incited reactions from the public (Swanstrom, Dreier, & Mollenkopf, 2008) which turned the decision of revoking policies it had enacted became no longer so uncommon. In fact, it was possible that Jokowi-JK had many programs and policies that originally benefited the community be the cause of public distrust because of it being poorly conveyed (Tallberg, Sommerer, Squatrito, & Lundgren, 2016).

In the the communication management carried out by Jokowi-JK government was performed sporadically and was not well coordinated, personal gain and benefit were undeniably dominant when the plan was implanted from the lower administration division. Bureaucracy was basically a highly costly tool (Sharif & Irani, 2017) which made the loss became more apparent while priority programs remained vague (Simpul, 2017, p. 10).

Moreover, at that time Jokowi decided not to have a spokenperson because he wanted to directly convey his policies (Krishna & Kim, 2020) and cabinet ministers to the public and through media simultaneously. However, along the way, the communication made by Jokowi often resulted in blunders due to differences in information asserted by his staff.

The communications expressed by the President before Jokowi were quite distinct. The uniqueness was in accordance with the character of the leadership(Rice, 2019). Jokowi's communications were mostly exposed to negative issues directed at his personal life, his family, the political party that carried his candidacy, and the public policies he proposed. The implication was that Jokowi's image with his role as president would definitely worsen the image of the government (Mergel, Gong, & Bertot, 2018).

Since its inception, Presidential Chief of Staff had reaped pros and cons because this institution was considered to have too broad an authority. In addition to monitoring priority programs, Jokowi also assigned the Head of Presidential Chief of Staff to provide information and conduct analysis resulted in material to be used by the President in making policies. Presidential Chief of Staff had revealed that the Presidential chief of Staff had the responsibility to ensure that the ongoing presidential program (Kiousis & Strömbäck, 2010) which was promised to community (Lewis & Marsh, 2012) during his campaign to be carried out. In realizing this promise, the study conducted by Presidential Chief of Staff became a strategic role in making decisions to be carried out by the ranks of his ministries. A strong organization is one that is able to position itself in the external entity of the organization. Based on a survey conducted by an Indonesia Indicator (Susanti, 2018), the coverage of the Jokowi-JK government ranked at the top. The national and international online media policies reached the number of 1,638 for national and 3,855 for international media. Political, economic, and security issues were chosen as the main topics. In this case, Presidential Chief of Staff played its role in managing issues and ensuring the situation leading up to the simultaneous regional elections and 2018 presidential election as part of their duties.

On the other hand, the Presidential Chief of Staff was not a bureaucratic organization because the professional staff working as a team (Linfield & Posavac, 2019) in the deputy of staff were professionals who worked during the agreed working period and based only on performance targets set by the president (Villalobos, Vaughn, & Cohen, 2014). This was an opportunity for Jokowi's success team whose funding at that time was financed by the State Budget. Meanwhile, the role of Presidential Chief of Staff itself was said to be unclear and overlapping with other ministries and state institutions.

Some of the issues that had often emerged in the society during the more than three years of Jokowi's administration generally covered the topic related to foreign debt, foreign labor policies, development programs of national infrastructure, news of violence against religious leaders, and human development issues. In addition, issues of ethnicity, religion, race and inter-racial group (SARA) such as the issue of Jokowi being a member of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), foreign stooges, pro-China, and not being close to Muslims were also widely circulating in society. All of these issues certainly needed to be managed (Krishna & Kim, 2020) and handled appropriately by both the government and President's communication team in order to avoid violent and wild triggering issues among the society that lead to the deterioration of public confidence in government performance.

Based on the above conditions, ideally the Presidential Chief of Staff had learned a lot in carrying out its functions for changes in the organization would serve the organization positioning (Finn, 2011), Mc.Pee (2015; 155) states being an organizational institution cannot be explained by the label of the institution (Quayle & Kelly, 2019), but from aspects that include the position the Presidential staff institution which leads to the goals of the organization. In this case the communicative role (Burkhalter, 2009) of the organization was explained through Deputy IV in charge of Political Communication and Information Dissemination. The focus of the research was on how the institutional communicative model of the Presidential Chief of Staff was used in making public policy decisions. Aim this reseach to find the model of communicative Presidential Chief of Staff was used makin public policy decisions

METHOD

The constructivist paradigm used in this study viewed social science as a systematic analysis of socially meaningful action, which meant that the meaning of institutional communication carried out by the Presidential chief of staff in the process of public policy decision-making was written into priority program of Indonesia's national development. The method used was case study in which according to Stake (2010, p. 56), the perception of knowledge personally "constructed" versus the one of knowledge as "discovery" of what the world was. This study analyzed the case through informants' experience and knowledge in the process of making public policy decisions. The research data were collected through interviews, observations, and combined results of seeing, listening and asking questions.

DISCUSSION

The coordination was carried out by the Presidential chief of staff through the ministries' integration which lead to Indonesia's change of priorities through national strategic projects. According to the head of Presidential chief of staff, in making presidential policy decisions, coordination was carried out (Simpul, 2017, p.10) and the following is his statements (Masduki, presidential chief of staff, 2017):

> "The government is being very difficult and slow. If the bureaucracy is static, it will be very difficult. The discourse has never been dependent on Ministry of Communication. The need for flexibility for money makes coordinators of the central government policy have no direct power while the investment area is in the region. It needs a joint agreement to withdraw investment by simplifying regulations which leads the region to be benefitted."

By planning through the ministry's integration of the president's policies on Nawacita which became the priority of national development, the implementation could not be separated from the competence of professional human resources. In this case, the implementation of presidential policy decisions was carried out with policy implementation interventions (Masduki, Presidential Chief of Staff, 2017). We tried to intervene in the planning process regarding the implementation of Nawa Cita. The ministry needed to translate Nawa Cita into work plans and coordinate programs in an integrated manner. The Ministry of National Development Planning is assigned to integrate strategic programs that are certainly across, multi-years, and maintain their sustainability. The Ministry of National Development Planning had the capability to coordinate the preparation of programs with integrated strategic issues along with budgeting. It came with the hope that the program could run well in 2018. We would oversee the implementation and it must be done fast, including the regulatory side. One example of implementing presidential policies related to Nawacita was infrastructure development (Masduki, Presidential Chief of Staff, 2017):

> "We are indeed more concerned with infrastructure development, such as the construction of sea tolls, ports and airports.. The integrated village development between K / L and local government is still not optimal. Other priority programs, one of which is the deregulation package to cut procedures, are very difficult to implement in the regions. Moreover, it is part of PAD revenue. Business and other permits are also not easy in the regions. In the development of the human resource sector, we have left more to the field of education. "

An inflexible bureaucratic communication and requires changes in coordination by reducing structural flexibility, PCS can involves in the ministries, regions and other institutions related to the implementation of presidential policy decisions. So, PCS had the power to coordinate, supervise and make policies of the bureaucracy regarding land acquisition and permissive policies towards betting the tender in toll road construction. Later on, it could make the land acquisition process to be be carried out more quickly and immediately "(Torto.id, 2020).

Negotiation as a Rational Political Action in Policy Decision Making

The stages of the agenda setting that were built in prioritizing dreams had an impact on the formation of negative opinions formed in this society which could be influenced by various things. To build communication between people and government, there are three main components which are the key points in building public communication. The first is credibility, which is a matter of believing or not believing. The second is reliance, which is the level of importance of trust for someone(Morden, 2016), something which has been considered as not necessarily important for the public. The third is welfare values(Melin & Wihlborg, 2018) where almost all opinions are related to what the public feels and strives regarding the welfare and life of all people in general.

Therefore, to increase positive opinions and news related to the results of infrastructure development, especially toll road in the community, the government had issued a communication policy and several communication strategies(Siagian et al., 2020). One of which is through strengthening Government Public Relations (GPR) by issuing Presidential Instruction No. 9 in 2015 concerning public information management. Essentially, it contained the implementation of single narrative, dissemination, and education related to government policies and programs, especially government strategy programs through all available news media (Pollard, 1951). In the Presidential Instruction, the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of Republic of Indonesia received several instructions: 1) Acting a coordinator for implementing public communication for the government starting from the planning to its implementation; 2) Reviewing data and information submitted by ministries and non-ministerial government institutions; and 3) Performing media monitoring and analyzing media content related to government policies and programs. (Presidential Instruction no. 9, 2015).

Regarding every Public Relation (PR) stunt not in favor with the president's strategic policies (Burkhalter, 2009), the coordination was conducted by maximizing the PR's function (Imesha Dharmasena, Toledano, & Weaver, 2020) of ministries and non-ministerial institutions. In this case, the presidential chief of staff coordinated with the public relations institutions whose goal was to choose new ways in conveying information to the public (Bang Nguyen Dilip S. Mutum, 2015) and requiring the removal of old patterns, for example by using popular social media channels, because people wanted to see the government present in solving problems. The condition was strengthened by the president's message (Kiousis & Strömbäck, 2010); public participation (Burkhalter, 2009) in government and State-Owned Corporation programs, for example, the names chosen for toll roads, airports, fast trains or ports. Jokowi also asked public relations of the ministry and State-Owned Corporation to move faster and be more sensitive in providing information.

As a non-ministerial institution, one of Presidential Chief of Staff main tasks was to formulate a communication strategy (Rice, 2019) and information dissemination related to President's priority programs which included infrastructure, energy, food, maritime, education, health, poverty alleviation, bureaucratic reformation, industry and tourism. Deputy IV Office of Presidential Chief of Staff worked in compiling the government's single narrative as "messengers" from the President. To avoid misleading the communications in informing infrastructure news with the Ministry of Communication and Informatics and any other related Ministries such as the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR), Ministry of Transportation, State-owned enterprises (BUMN) and so on, Deputy IV of the Presidential Chief of Staff, in addition to conducting political communication, also monitored and coordinated with Deputy I of the Presidential Chief of Staff to be in charge of infrastructure.

Based on Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2015, the Presidential Chief of Staff was an institutions given the role of managing public communication related to a single narrative (Faber, Budding, & Gradus, 2020). The goal was to support the success of the Working Cabinet, listen to factory aspirations, and accelerate the delivery of information on government policies and programs. The following describes the division of roles carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff, the presidential communication team and Complement Public Relations in the Ministry/ Institution/Region.

Apart from the presidential communication team, another non-structural institution that plays a role in managing Public Communications is the Presidential chief of staff (PCS). PCS was one of the non-structural institutions formed through Government Regulation No. 190 in 2014 concerning Presidential Staff Units. Later on, it was amended through Presidential

Regulation No. 26 in 2015 concerning Presidential chief of staff in carrying out the single narrative function of the government together with Government Publics Relations team from Ministry of Communication and Information. The Presidential chief of staff had a role in deciding information material (Villalobos et al., 2014) to be communicated to the public through news on electronic media related to the performance achievements of the priority programs by the ministries and government institutions. (Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia No. 9 in 2015 concerning Management of Public Communication., 2015) In the Presidential Chief of Staff, this infrastructure policy was assigned to Deputy I who were in charge of infrastructure and Deputy IV who supervised political communication and information dissemination. Eko Sulistyo, head of Deputy IV, 24th 2019, said

> "In the context of Public Communication, apart from engaging in the field to carry out monitoring, we also make narratives for infrastructure development. Then, we will create content about infrastructure. Indeed, the works are done with other institutions, meaning that we are also empowering with the relevant ministries handling the same work field."

To avoid misleading information, the Presidential Chief of Staff shall divide duties and functions among the Deputies as follows: "The existence of the infrastructure communication navigation at Deputy IV that I manage is undeniable", In accordance with the Presidential Chief of Staff Regulation of Republic of Indonesia No. 3 in 2008, In accordance with the roles and functions, the communication carried out within the Presidential Chief of Staff in a formal form is as follows:

(1) Meeting

This leadership meeting was held regularly every 1 week marked in white. Although, it is held regularly once a week, on 27 August 2019, Ariani Djalal, an associate expert in Presidential Chief of Staff, states:

"We do formal activities such as meetings, usually once a week. No one specifically talks about infrastructure, but we talk about politics every day. We even talk about infrastructure such as toll roads. The conversation would be like, "Pak Eko, it doesn't matter how much the budget is or what the program looks like. The important point is the material need to be viewed differently. Basically, it needs to be pointed out politically. For the sake of interest, the perspective definitely will be different."

Apart from Ariana Jalal, the habitual duties related to this meeting were also explained by the Head of Deputy IV and Associate Experts from the Presidential Chief of Staff. On 24 September 2019, Eko Sulistyo states that

> "In the Presidential Chief of Staff, there is usually a leadership meeting between Deputies, the head of the secretariat, and the head of Chief of staff once a week. During the meeting, if there are new things, it will be conveyed to the deputy head to be followed up and implemented by the relevant deputy."

Figure 1. Institutional strengthening Meeting of The Presidential Chief of Staff of Republic of Indonesia
(ksp.go.id/penguatan-kelembagaan-kantor-staf-presiden)

(2) Disposition

Each deputy examined the disposition letter given by the Deputy Head IV of Presidential Chief of Staff, Eko Sulistyo. This disposition letter was given not only in a physical form, but would be disseminated via electronic messages by using WhatsApp application. There were several types of content in this disposition, such as: in a position to attend or hold a meeting, doing debottlenecking if there was a "clogged up" program or communication, coordinating with the technical ministry, forming a special task or team, and so on. The disposition given to professionals at Deputy IV would be adjusted to their respective fields of work or work focus. For those related to the party, there would be respective experts assigned, for example, Ali Mochtar Ngabalin. Likewise, the disposition related to society and other relevant ministries

would usually be followed up by experts related to the community and related ministries immediately. In this case, it was usually represented by Ariana Jalal and Alois Wisnu Hardhana.

For assigning to subordinates in their respective deputies, usually they would be immediately conveyed to be re-positioned by the head in their respective deputies either directly or via the WhatsApp application. On 27 May 2019, Alois Wisnu hardana as an Associate Expert at the Staff Office states that:

> "We, at Deputy IV, are in charge of covering the activities of the Head of the Presidential Chief of Staff. Usually, the agenda is disseminated via WhatsApp. The daily agenda is made in rotation. If there is no assignment, it is usually through monitoring since we take so much care of communication.

This WhatsApp group was not only created to streamline tasks and convey information internally to Deputy IV of the Presidential Chief of Staff, but also to liaise and communicate with other Deputies in the Presidential Chief of Staff and ointernal groups

(3) Debottlenecking

Debottlenecking or overcoming communication blockages is one of the habitual tasks carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff. In managing government communication which consists of various state officials, coordination problems are often an obstacle in itself. With the presence of the Presidential Chief of Staff, it greatly helps to coordinate at the ministerial and institutional level because the Presidential Chief of Staff has a direct relationship with the President so that it has its own freshness. For example, it is difficult to coordinate under the coordinating minister, but if it is collected by the Presidential Chief of Staff, it would be easy." (Sulistyo, 2019). One example of a debottlenecking case carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff was when the construction of the Kertajati airport in Majalengka, Didik, was stalled at that time. The Presidential Chief of Staff, led by Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, immediately helped coordinate with related parties so that the Kertajati airport could be completed in 2018 after previously only being a plan since 2003. Another debottlenecking strategy carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff to accelerate the management of Ministry information and communication was by directly coordinating with the head of several institutions through the general or director of public relation communications who coordinated internal public relations(Melin & Wihlborg, 2018) in the Ministry or Government Institutions such as when requesting or collecting data to make a five-year report on the Joko Widodo administration. (Sulistyo, 2019)

(4) Website Management

Other commonly duties carried out by the Presidential Chief of Staff was managing and disseminating information. The policies related to infrastructure, Deputy IV Presidential chief of staff served as manager of social media and websites ksp.go.id andpresri.go.id.
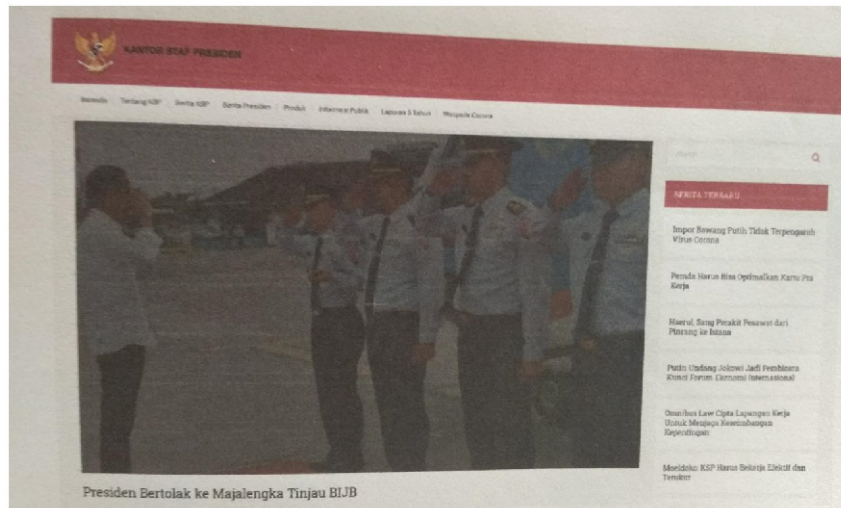

Figure 2. The Display of Website ksp.go.id
(ksp.go.id, 2019)

In addition to carrying out the task of reporting and processing ksp.go.id andpresri.go.id websites, the Presidential Chief of Staff did not specifically produce different infrastructure content in the form of videos or other content point from technical institutions or ministries. In making single narrative content and other contents, the Presidential Chief of Staff only performed its role as a supporting system(Kolkman, 2020).

Coordination with Technical Ministries

In order to stride the infrastructure communication during President Joko Widodo's administration, the Presidential Chief of Staff also routinely carried out its duties to coordinate with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, the Ministries which were technically related to the toll road infrastructure program, so as to carry out an infrastructure communication strategy, especially in creating communication messages.

In addition, in building narratives and disseminating a single government narrative content commanded by President Jokowi which was contained in Presidential Instruction no. 9 in 2019 concerning the management of public communication, Deputy IV of the Presidential Chief of Staff had become a supporting system that collaborated with all Government Public Relations (GPR)(Finn, 2011). GPR collaborated with PCS included the Ministry of Institutions such as Public Relations Personnel, Public Relation Institutions, and other professional organizations of government public relations such as public relations coordination institution and Indonesian Public Relations Association (Iprahumas). (Eko, 2019)

Establishment of a Task Force or Special Team

Apart from the priority programs, another task carried out by Deputy IV of the Presidential Chief of Staff is to monitor the latest social and political developments (Johannessen, Sæbø, & Flak, 2016) that have occurred with a participatory approach, formulate various inputs to the presidential chief of staff to be decided by the president. If he deems necessary, Deputy IV together with other deputies, on the orders of the President through the Presidential Chief of Staff, can inspire the formation of an inter-state official task force to follow up on certain issues that are developing and require specific and fast responses.

In the infrastructure sector related to toll road communication policies, the Presidential Chief of Staff usually creates a task force or a special team. For example, during Lebaran homecoming in 2018 and 2019, special teams were formed where one of which was to handle mudik.go.id website. On 27 August 2019, according to Aryani Djalal, an Associate of Literature at the Presidential Chief of Staff:

> "So we invite all Ministries to integrate all homecoming news on the specially created website, mudik.go.id. For example, free homecoming from the Ministry, State-owned Corporation, then toll road flow, traffic control policies, information from the Ministry and the Transportation Service, and all matters related to homecoming news from the Ministry. Sometimes, information about homecoming spread widely but public are not aware of it. With this team, channel links are in one website to be integrated easily. I find it interesting to say."

The Communicative Model of the Presidential Chief of Staff was based on Bureaucratic Management and Rational Policy Decision Making to realize National Priority Programs (Whitehead et al., 2011) (Swanstrom et al., 2008). The communicative model of the Presidential Chief of Staff was used as the basis to implement the vision and mission of the president in making policy decisions; the national project priorities known as Nawacita. The basis of

organizational communication used by the Presidential Chief of Staff was non-bureaucratic. They made us of the flexibility of the information flow. The purpose of this flexible information flow was to carry out presidential policy decisions related to Nawacita program. According to Azhari, (Reforming the Indonesian public bureaucracy, 2011, p. 112), there is no appropriate chance for modern citizens to create non-bureaucratic administration. So the intervention of the Presidential Chief of Staff in the priority program for decision-making policies take advantage of a relationship that reflects the strong intervention of political officials (Mekrungruengkul, 2012) in the management of public bureaucracy. The flow of information that occurs in the practice of making presidential policy decisions was one-way, from the office of the Presidential Chief of Staff to bureaucratic officials. In return, bureaucratic officials coordinated services related to presidential policy decision making in Nawacita. Based on the political culture-based communication and law-abiding policies which regulated bureaucratic management, the constitution communicative model run by the Presidential Chief of Staff was as follows:
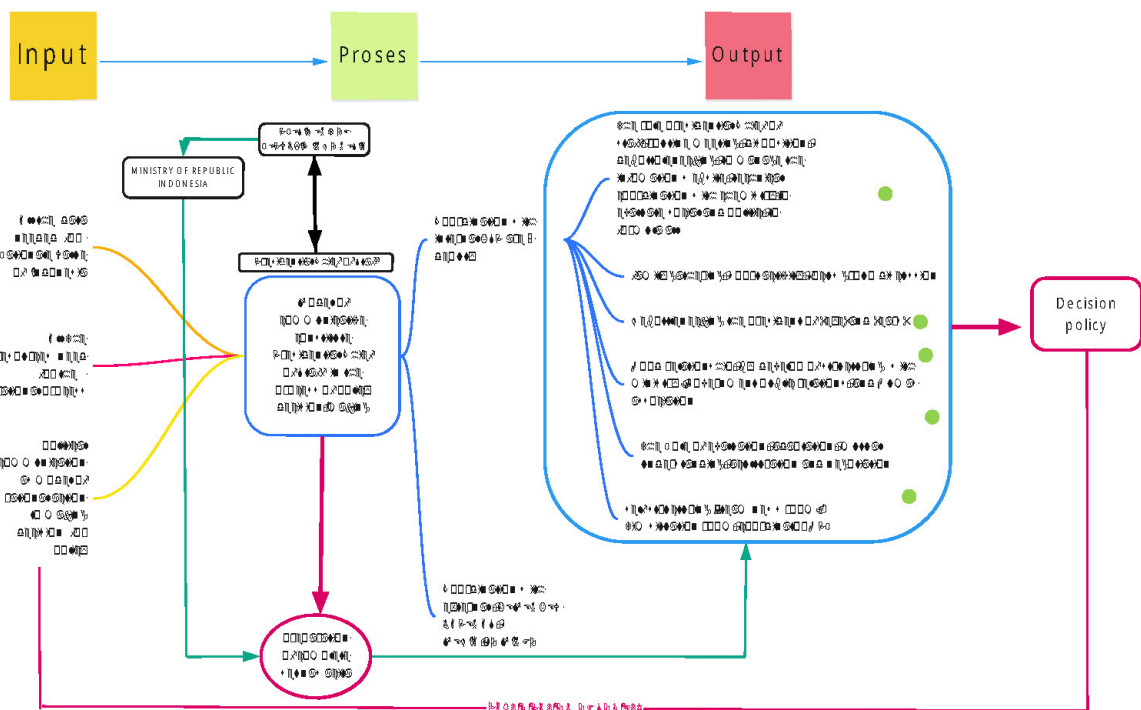
Figure 3. The Communicative Model of The Presidential Chief of Staff in Making Presidential Policies
Source: Researchers' observation, 2020

The media used in the internal office of the presidential chief of staff was equipped with technology and space that were safe and protected from the risk of informational leakage (Sharif & Irani, 2017). While the relationship with the media(Grant & Government, 2018), in order to position the reputation and image of the presidential staff as well as the reputation and image of the president, was done by visiting the media and be on a good term with its management. The goal was to merge media reality and public perception. The following explanation was the relationship built within the communicative framework of the presidential chief of staff office in policy decision making of Nawacita as a national development priority based on rational decision making by using a interests-based relationship with the media industry. The reputation and image of the president are built with 6 elements (Eko, 2019) including where the office of the presidential chief of staff acts as a public relations in the organization and government institutions through publicity, branding, opinion formation, awareness, education and relations.

Exclusive Relation Model and Professional Team of The Presidential Chief of Staff

The priority relationships were media managers or media workers, social media account owners, and managers and other state officials concerned with the policy program in question. Since the head of the presidential staff was replaced by Moeldoko, the institutions had set up every media office to manage good relations(Pollard, 1951)(Kiousis & Strömbäck, 2010) with media through informal visits or meetings. According to Eddy in Eko (2019, p. 23), "we are responsible for supporting what Pak Jokowi has done since you can see a lot of benefit experienced by the community."

In addition, there was the arrival of the presidential chief of staff, a friend of Karni Ilyas editorial leader of TV one in the reunion. After a press conference in which the chief of staff visited several other media outlets such as SCTV, INDOSIAR, Liputa6.Com, Vidio.com, Trans TV, Trans7 TV, CNN Indonesia, Detik.com, CNN Indoensia.com and CNBC Indoensia.com, the chief of staff had a special interview with Moeldoko. Since then, the frame of opinions had been carried out continuously by the Deputy through online and printed media, magazines, and talk shows to support the reputation of the presidential chief of staff. According to Azhari, this relationship indicates the strength of political institutions' intervention in bureaucratic management (Reforming Indonesian public bureaucracy, 2011, p. 108). This relationship is called executive ascendency or executive minded and from the bureaucratic sublation point of view, it tends to be bureaucratic professionalism. The following picture is the relationship between the office of the presidential chief of staff and the bureaucracy in the executive minded based on professional bureaucracy:
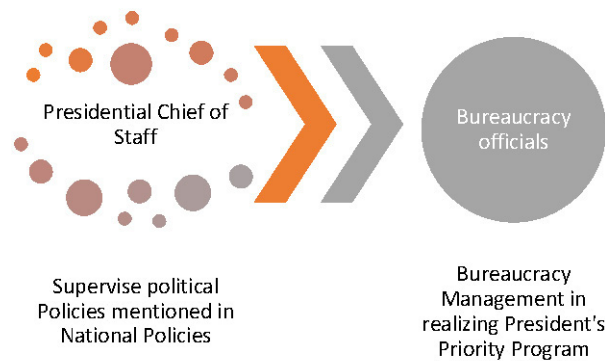
**Figure 4. Executive- Minded Relation Model of Presidential Chief of Staff
in Deciding Presidential Policies
Source: Research Observation, 2020**

The relationship model that strongly intervenes in the office of presidential chief of staff is due to a weak evaluation of bureaucratic work (Eko, 2019, p.16): "President Jokowi has repeatedly criticized the way government institutions, ministries, communication institutions in delivering development results, the presidential chief of staff responded by making public relations conversion 4.0 and said collaboration is the key to winning the hearts of the public regarding government performance."

According to Mouffe in The Democratic Paradox (Mouffe, The Democratic Paradox, 2000, p. 101), the effort of the Presidential Chief of Staff as an executives minded institution is the one which differentiates between 'political' and 'politic'. Furthermore, he says that 'political' connects with an inherent antagonism dimension in human relations since it is a manifestation of the relational tension between us and them, which always marks social relations, including politics.

Meanwhile, 'politics' refers to a series of practices, discourses, and institutions that try to uphold a certain order and organize the human condition that lives side by side and is influenced by this "political" dimension which make it tends to be antagonistic too. Politics aims to create unity in the context of conflict and diversity. For Mouffe, "... *antagonism is irreducible to a simple process of dialectical reversal: the 'them' is not the constitutive opposite of a concrete 'US', but the symbol of what makes IIny 'us' impossible."* (Mouffe, The Democratic Paradox, 2000, p. 12-13).

So what the presidential chief of staff had done to the weak bureaucratic performance by having collaboration and coordination Nawacita priority program as a joint consensus was a practice which upheld order and organized the situation of Indonesian society in their coexistence. The efforts of the presidential chief of staff to change the relationship between us and them that reflected the term friend and foe became something more like friend - adversary. The effort to harmonize was not aimed at eliminating antagonism but rather as the effort to provide a channel capable of straightening these antagonisms with the principles of pluralistic democracy (Danujaya, 2012, p. Xx). Mouffe says:

When the office of the presidential staff maximized the government's public relation function and built up the synergy with the media in which the important agenda of the media also became the agenda of the presidential chief of staff, friend - adversary relation would lead to an agonistic plural democracy. A political culture placed the country's political system where in its process produced political policies or statutory rules, was binding and must be carried out by all parties, including all citizens. Therefore the presidential chief of staff ensured political policies in Nawacita priority program. The message that came out of the presidential chief of staff was the president's message. It prioritized the change in Indonesian with the powers that the president had. This situation also happened in the bureaucratic management law regarding the administration of government which became an executive domain. According to Azhari, (Reforming Indonesian public bureaucracy, 2011, p. 225), in article 5 paragraph 1, the president holds governmental power according to the 1945 Constitution and articles 27 and 28 concerns the freedom of citizens in democracy and livelihoods. In a constitutive manner, the presidential chief staff helps the president coordinate and implement the control function of the civil servants under him.

CONCLUSION

The institutional communicative model of the presidential staff office was based on bureaucratic management and rational policy decision-making models, where the elements were (1) coordinative action which means involving many state officials to make presidential policy decisions. It covered up several points such as the message of national priority programs and the use of communication channels through websites, mainstream media, social media which were strengthened with narratives and narrations related to the president's priority programs. (2) Negotiations and lobbying which were expressed in the relationships with mainstream media managers as well as social media account managers and influencers were an important priority agenda in the presidential policy. (3) The messages produced and distributed by the office of the presidential staff through various communication channels

were categorized in the form of formal and informal communication to give priority to the president's program and clarify, socialize, educate and raise awareness on the important program of national agendas which became the president's policies. (4) Developing structures by strengthening GPR (Government Public Relations) in each ministry and institution and coordinating activities for collective messages, namely the development of Indonesian priorities which was the president's decision in Nawacita, developing a non-official structure in the Deputy of communication and dissemination of public information by involving associations or public relations at the central and regional levels as non-official coordination, and utilizing social media and handling the single narrative to respond to media reports and other institutions.

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