

Research article

Bureaucratic Reform in an Era of Uncertainty and Change: Relinquish the Bureaucratic Polity Model by Evolving Governance

Naufal Hanif Ramadhan*, Prasetyo Isbandono, Agus Prastyawan, and Eka Puji Rahayu

Public Administration of Vocational Program, State University of Surabaya

ORCID

Naufal Hanif Ramadhan: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2108-3592>

Abstract.

“Public policy is intellectual activities in the political process” – Prof. Eko Prasjo

The pandemic’s shockwave has reverberated around the world, shocking government agencies at all levels of concern, including health, economics, technology, tourism, and industry. These occurrences signal the start of the VUCA era, which can be defined as the world we live in today, in which change is rapid, unpredictable, and influenced by a variety of difficult-to-control factors, and truth and reality have become highly subjective. In this context, government bureaucrats are confronted with a slew of challenges. Because the legitimacy of government supremacy in politics cannot be avoided, bureaucratic reform is becoming increasingly difficult. After all, the bureaucratic system in Indonesia is still classified as a bureaucratic polity model, according to Karl D. Jackson, in which policymaking is based on political interests and proximity to stakeholders. This is demonstrated by the fact that most seats in government institutions are held by groups with political backgrounds, which will, of course, have an impact on policymaking. To respond to these dynamics, an ideal and measurable special treatment is required. The results of the Government’s evaluation in dealing with the bureaucracy served as the primary source of information in this research for considering the major points of bureaucratic reform. The main proposal developed is to improve state governance by abandoning the bureaucratic-polity model. These efforts can be carried out in the following ways: (1) bad governance will be improved through the development of governance 2.0 with the values of collaborative governance and good governance; (2) Indonesia’s multi-level governance packaged in the regional autonomy system prevents the Central Government from intervening deeply, necessitating a strategy that is evenly distributed in all sectors, namely by implementing minimum policies at the evidence-based policy level; and (3) in the VUCA era, which is characterized by uncertainty and change, this bottom-up transformation must be accompanied by a strategy to establish a communication corridor that connects all parts of the country.

Keywords: bureaucratic reform, VUCA era, governance 2.0, bureaucratic polity, public policy

Corresponding Author: Naufal Hanif Ramadhan; email: naufal.21048@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Published 20 May 2022

Publishing services provided by
Knowledge E

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Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the ICoGPASS Conference Committee.


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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. VUCA Era: Leadership and Implication in Influencing Bureaucratic Conditions

The great theme of human life is "uncertainty". No one thought that in early 2020 the world would be facing with Covid-19. The Covid-19 pandemic that has spread throughout the world has infected humans rapidly and massively. The health sector is the main issue that creates chaos and concern for the country and its population. There is a term that first appeared in the military field to describe and identify a challenge in life. This terminology is called the VUCA era which can be interpreted as the world we live in today, where changes are very fast, unpredictable, influenced by many factors that are difficult to control, and truth and reality become very subjective. Army War College coined the term VUCA which was later introduced in the context of entrepreneurship by New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman [1]. To create a leadership development plan, Bob Johansen developed VUCA Prime which focuses on abilities and skills in the form of a "blueprint" [2].

The implications of VUCA, especially the point complexity was felt by the public sector organization which is characterized by difficulties in taking action and pushing for the changes needed to respond to complex relationships of various problems. The challenge is increasingly difficult to know where to start driving change to address a problem. Leaders and/or policymakers can be interpreted as bureaucrats in public organizations. The bureaucrats did not have much time to reflect on the complex conditions, so they acted too quickly by implementing short-term solutions. Under this condition, according to Yanuar Nugroho, leaders and/or policymakers are trapped in "analysis paralysis" which is ultimately sluggish to act [3].

This uncertain life has an impact on the bureaucracy in Indonesia, especially in the policy formulation process. The condition of the bureaucracy in Indonesia is not well, various complaints and criticism about the performance of the bureaucracy are derivative. The bureaucracy shows a terrible, negative empirical condition or as a disease (bureau pathology), rather than a good or rational image (bureau rationality), as contained in the Weberian rational bureaucracy [4].

1.2. Bureaucratic Polity Intervention in the Policy Formulation Process

The term bureaucracy according to Suwarno was adopted directly from English, from the word bureaucracy [5]. Etymologically, the word comes from the root word "bureau" which means writing desk, which is where officials usually work, then the word "cracy" which means rules. Not surprisingly, in European language dictionaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, the term bureaucracy was defined as the power, influence, or authority possessed by government officials. Bureaucracy can also be called the "heart" of a country. If the bureaucracy is healthy, the country will also be healthy. On the other hand, the destruction of the bureaucracy will lead to the destruction of a country. The destruction of a country is one of the main triggers for public trust. That is what is called the concept of "Bureaucracy as the machinery of state". Bureaucracy is a living phenomenon that has become such an important actor in mankind's history from infancy to death, a human being who lives in the modern world will always deal with government agencies as known as bureaucracy.

Attention in the form of sharp criticism from the public was often given during the New Order era. Whether it's bureaucracy at the regional level or the central level. So that the connotation of bureaucracy in people's thinking is always negative, such as convoluted and slow service. Even the observer's view goes even further about the bureaucratic model in Indonesia. Karl D Jackson considered that the bureaucracy in Indonesia is a model of bureaucratic polity in which there is an accumulation of power in the state and removes the role of society from the government. The political space and the model are contrary to Max Weber's thought called the Weberian Bureaucracy which has the main characteristics: 1) there is a clear degree of specialization or division of tasks; 2) the existence of a hierarchical authority structure with clear boundaries of responsibility; 3) relationships between members that are impersonal (personal); 4) the method of appointment or recruitment of employees based on technical skills; and 5) there is a separation between official affairs and personal affairs which will ensure the proper efficient duty's implementations [4, 6, 7].

The bureaucratic polity model is interpreted as a policy that is produced not based on bounded rationality but based on political interests and proximity to stakeholders which of course will have a negative impact. One of the crucial negative impacts is increasing and facilitating officials and their interest to commit corruption. It is proven from several major corruption cases carried out by the Minister of Social Affairs Juliari Batubara which cost the state up to Rp32 billion [8]. Furthermore, the lobster seed export policy signed

by the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Edhy Prabowo turned out to be corrupt with a total of Rp25.7 billion [9]. Then, corruption in project procurement The e-KTP by the chairman of the Golkar Party faction, Setya Novanto, which was only revealed 5 years after the project was implemented, has estimated a state loss of 2.3 trillion [10]. From those three cases, it can be concluded that public officials who come from political groups have the potential to commit corruption.

When the state loses due to corruption, the money should be channeled to people in need, then it is far from the state's goal according to Harold J. Laski [11], one of which is to seek well-being and prosperity of its people. This incident is certainly a momentum to urge government agencies to apply professionalism and uphold integrity. Reform changes must be fundamental to the body of government. This urgency is very appropriate to realize good governance by fixing aspects of human resources and institutional management, are by way of bureaucratic reform. Through bureaucratic reform, there is an arrangement for the government administration system that is not only effective and efficient but also bureaucratic reform becomes the backbone in changing the lives of.

1.3. The Urgency of Bureaucratic Reform to Develop Governance 2.0

For 32 years, the bureaucracy in our country has been "uninformed" and "directed" with dominant interests by the New Order, which has the majority of Golkar's flag [12]. Starting from the recruitment of bureaucratic apparatus, regulations and bureaucratic work ethic are determined by those in power. The system that was running during this period would have given birth to a bureaucratic culture oriented to the interests of the new order. So it is not surprising that when the reins of power changed, the bureaucracy did not progress much. Apart from the fact that the human resources of the apparatus are still old, it is also because the existing culture is still lame even trying to help restore it to the old rulers. Simply put, this happened because the officials felt that the old culture was sweeter to live amid the bureaucracy.

The condition of the bureaucracy that is filled with the ideology of the rulers has led to a bureaucratic culture that is thick with interests in politics and business, which is then not surprising to cause various "multiplier effects". Bureaucracy is created to support power cohesion or power progression which means that various rules and procedures can be made to maintain political funding sources. Finally, "bureaucratic politics" was born, which was systematized by "bureaucratic business". The bureaucratic

politics is not only for the interests of the central and regional authorities, but also ultimately becomes the individual ethics of the bureaucrats. It is not surprising that in this country the bureaucracy has negative characteristics, namely the old, complicated, and expensive bureaucracy attached to it. There are certainly various kinds of "abuse" and manipulation on it.

The success of reform has been demonstrated by many countries, both developed and developing countries in the past. Experience in China, the organizational restructuring of the central government and local government is carried out so that the function of the bureaucracy runs efficiently [13]. China, through its administrative reforms, succeeded in making changes to the organization of public services in revitalizing its functions, strengthening its macroplanning and management functions. In addition, the United States several centuries ago has realized the importance of making changes to the country's bureaucratic system. Realizing that problems for society could arise as a result of the industrial revolution at that time, the bureaucrats took a stand. The number of immigrants who come to work can harm society so that bureaucrats make public policies that are more focused and in favor of the community [14]. The Indonesian people should be able to take lessons from the United States's experience where the behavior of bureaucrats is adaptable and focused on public policy.

Until now, the effort to find a portrait or ideal figure of the government is still the most captivating problem. The existing government, administratively, judicially, and legislatively, is considered to be still underperforming to meet social needs and respond to developments in the domestic and foreign situation. Administrative bodies or bureaucracies that were originally formed to solve public problems then become the root of problems in solving public problems themselves, because they often suffer from a bureaucratic disease called "bureaucratic disease" [15]. At the same time, the legislature that was formed to voice and fight for the interests of the people and control the government's performance became the root of the problem because of the low capacity and commitment to social interests and were often co-opted by irresponsible parties. Then the judiciary that was formed to enforce justice increasingly lacks authority because it is easily "bought" by parties in power or who can pay their bids.

As a result, people feel disappointed and begin to doubt the integrity of the existing government. The form of public discontent often appears in the form of acts of vigilantism, attempts to incite and provoke certain groups to act against the government, the emergence of groups that deliberately develop various forms of crime and disrupt the situation, and even worse, the desire for certain groups of people to separate from

the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, which means leading to the division and disintegration of the nation.

Therefore, in the field of government, interesting ideas emerged aimed at improving the performance of government officials and institutions, for example adopting the work of Ted Gaebler and David Osborne on "reinventing government" [16], Michael Barzelay on the "post-bureaucratic paradigm" [17], and Steven Cohen and Ronald Brand about the application of "Total Quality Management" in government bodies [18]. These monumental ideas are now starting to color the insights and attitudes of intellectuals, including bureaucrats who want change towards a New Indonesia.

In this reform era, a new public management paradigm developed [19]. The "reinventing government" or "post-bureaucratic management" movement is a tangible manifestation of this paradigm. The New Public Management has undergone various orientation changes or models, such as the first model is "the efficiency drive", the second model is "downsizing and decentralization", the third model is "in search of excellence" and the last model is "public service orientation". The last model emphasizes the quality, mission, and values that public organizations must achieve pays more attention to the wishes, needs, and participation of users and citizens, and empowers officials (including representatives) elected by the community. Emphasizes "social learning" when providing public services, and emphasizes continuous performance evaluation, community participation, and accountability. Therefore, it is necessary to study further concerning bureaucratic reform efforts in Indonesia.

2. METHOD

The research method used in this paper is a qualitative descriptive method, which has the type of library research. Library research is a series of activities related to the methods of collecting library materials, reading, taking notes, and processing research materials [20]. The research design was carried out in several stages, namely: First, tracing, recording, and reading various findings related to the discussion of VUCA, bureaucracy, policy formulation, policy impact, governance 2.0 in general in every discussion of research results, articles, and news obtained in kinds of literature, and website sources of official government institutions, as well as international institutions, as well as other sources relevant to this study. Second, it combines all findings, including theories, models, and concepts of organizational change and public service transformation. Third, analyze each finding from various readings, including the strengths, weaknesses, and

relevance of the work in question. The last stage is to provide critical comments by describing models and methods that are different from the findings in previous studies.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Bureaucratic Polity: Bureaucratic Reform, Political Traps, and Corruption

Bureaucratic pressure by politics is not new in Indonesia, especially since the new order through a bureaucratic polity that was built by Soeharto has been successfully maintained [21]. The power and dynamics that are built in the corridors of government have been neatly arranged with the existing operational systematics. Karl D. Jackson and Lucisian W. Pye explain at least two crucial things why this model is still maintained [22], namely:

1. The difference between bureaucracy and other forms of government lies in the degree of isolation between national decision-making and social and political forces outside the capital's highest elite.
2. The main arena for political competition is not the broad country, and power is not obtained through the cultivation of mass movements. Instead, meaningful power is obtained through interpersonal competition in the elite circles closest to the president.

There are three instruments built with the intervention of political dynamics on the bureaucracy. First, the political competition which is an illustration of the existence of an administrative political dichotomy played by the process of political competition that is built outside the bureaucratic arena, usually influenced by political interests (party, closeness to stakeholders, and "orders" from the coalition team). Second, the instruments of actors who enter in the formal structure of the bureaucracy, it is from this actor that the first instrument can be run. Third, the bureaucracy itself is an instrument from the central government to the regions [23].

The intervention of bureaucratic politics in policy formulation in Indonesia is very strong, forming a structured system for politicians for personal or party interests. The system is stronger if certain groups dominate in parliament. For example, the formulation and submission of the e-KTP project from Setya Novanto stipulates that the Rp5.9 trillion project be approved by members of the DPR and is alleged to have conditioned the winning bidder [10]. That bureaucratic politics is indeed very close to politicians in

government institutions to carry out acts of corruption in various forms. In 2019, the government through the PAN-RB Ministry hopes to realize the quality of good, clean, and free governance from collusion, corruption, and nepotism (KKN). This is stated in the National Evaluation Results Report of the 2019 Bureaucratic Reform Grand Design. Of the 4 indicators of bureaucratic reform, one of them is the level of corruption [24]. The level of corruption is of particular concern for the implementation of integrity building to prevent corruption that still occurs in Indonesia.

TABLE 1: Indicator Bureaucracy Reform (2019 Bureaucratic Reform Grand Design).

Target Of Bureaucracy Reform	Performance-Based Targets
The realization of a clean and free government of corruption, collusion, and nepotism;	Clean and accountable bureaucracy;
Increasing the quality of public services to the community;	Effective and efficient bureaucracy;
Increased capacity and accountability of bureaucratic performance.	The bureaucracy has quality public services.

The targets and targets for bureaucratic reform are formulated through the results of each period's evaluation to create a good service climate and public policy. Corruption always occurs in a bureaucratic environment. Not only because of the tendency of personal desire, but also the mentality construction that helps build a person's desire to commit corruption from the facilities or access to power he has. According to Haryatmoko, corruption is simply understood as an attempt to use one's ability, intervene because of his position to misuse information, decisions, influence, money, or wealth for his benefit [25]. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that every corruption cannot be separated from interaction with power. People who enter the world of politics are still with the mentality of animal laborers whose orientation to the necessities of life and the obsession with the production-consumption cycle is still very dominant [26], which eventually becomes power politics and/or bureaucracy as a place of the main livelihood. In such a position, the syndrome that eventually accompanies is corruption [27].

Indonesia's corruption perception index (CPI) in 2020 was recorded at 37 on a scale of 0-100. The CPI score fell by three points compared to last 2019. This makes Indonesia ranked fifth in Southeast Asia, down one place compared to 2019. Indonesia's position is overtaken by Timor Leste whose CPI score increased by two points to 40 in 2020. Meanwhile, Singapore is still the country with the highest CPI score in Southeast Asia. In 2020, which is 85. Singapore's position is followed by Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, which each have a CPI score of 60 and 51 [28].

The BUMN sector is also affected by the bureaucratic polity model that has taken root in Indonesia. A report from Transparency International Indonesia (TII) revealed that only

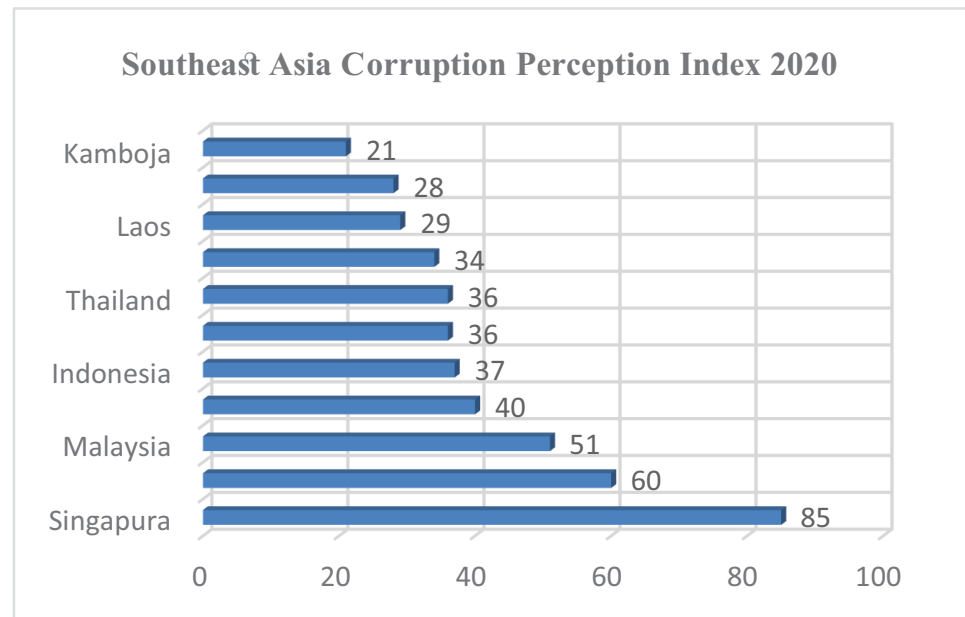


Figure 1: Southeast Asia Corruption Perception Index 2020 Source: Transparency International 2020 from Databooks Katadata.

17.36% or around 86 BUMN commissioners were appointed from professional circles, meaning that 82.37% or around 482 commissioners were appointed based on political considerations. Strategic positions include former ministers, high state officials, and members of state agencies/institutions. As many as 249 people or 51.66% of BUMN commissioners come from the bureaucracy. The remaining 71 people (14.73%) came from politicians, 29 people (6.02%) came from the military, 28 people (5.81%) from the state legal apparatus (APH), and 20 other strategic positions (4,15%) [29].

In contrast to the “Indonesia Maju” Cabinet, which was dominated by non-parties. As many as 55.3% of the 38 seats or 21 people from non-parties, while 44.7% from parties or 17 people. The party that has the most seats in the cabinet is the PDIP with a total of 5 people, which is the party of the president himself. These case studies have proven that bureaucratic polity is still alive within the government [30].

The corruption perception index is a measurement of the level of corruption in a country which is carried out regularly by the Transparency International Institute. Since its launch in 1995, the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is used by many countries as a reference for the corruption situation. The CPI is a composite index that measures corruption perceptions globally. This composite index is derived from 13 (thirteen) corruption data produced by various credible independent institutions. The CPI is used to compare the condition of corruption in one country against other countries. The CPI measures the perceived level of corruption in the public sector, namely corruption by state officials and politicians [24].

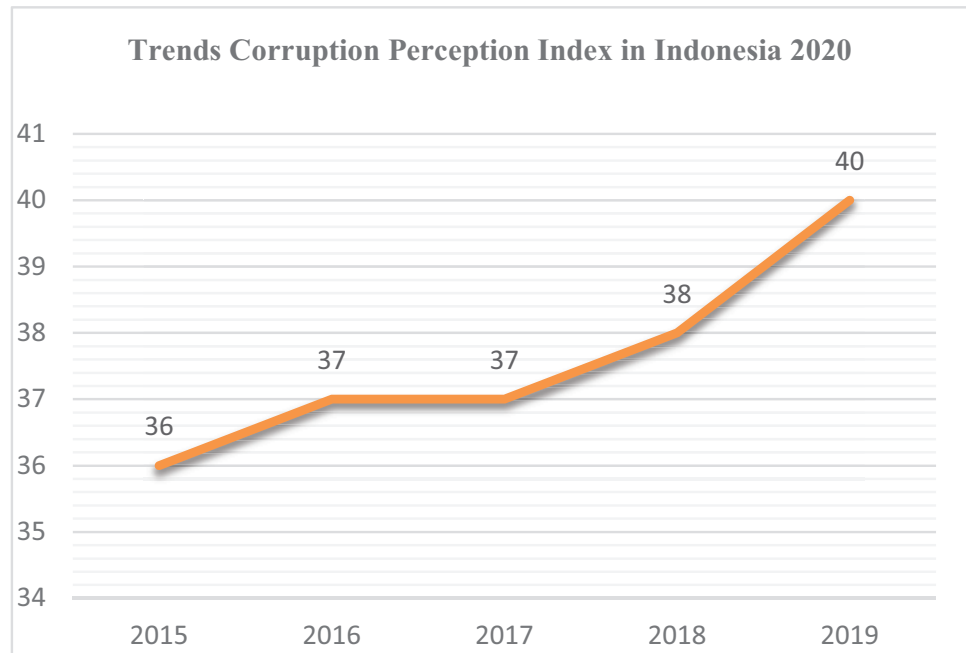


Figure 2: Trends Corruption Perception Index in Indonesia 2020.

The 2019 CPI score is 40 or 85th out of 180 countries. Although it improved compared to the previous year, compared to ASEAN countries, the corruption perception index was still below Singapore (85), Brunei Darussalam (60), and Malaysia (53). The increase in Indonesia’s CPI Score over the last two years was driven by the increasing effectiveness of preventing and eradicating corruption in Indonesia [24].

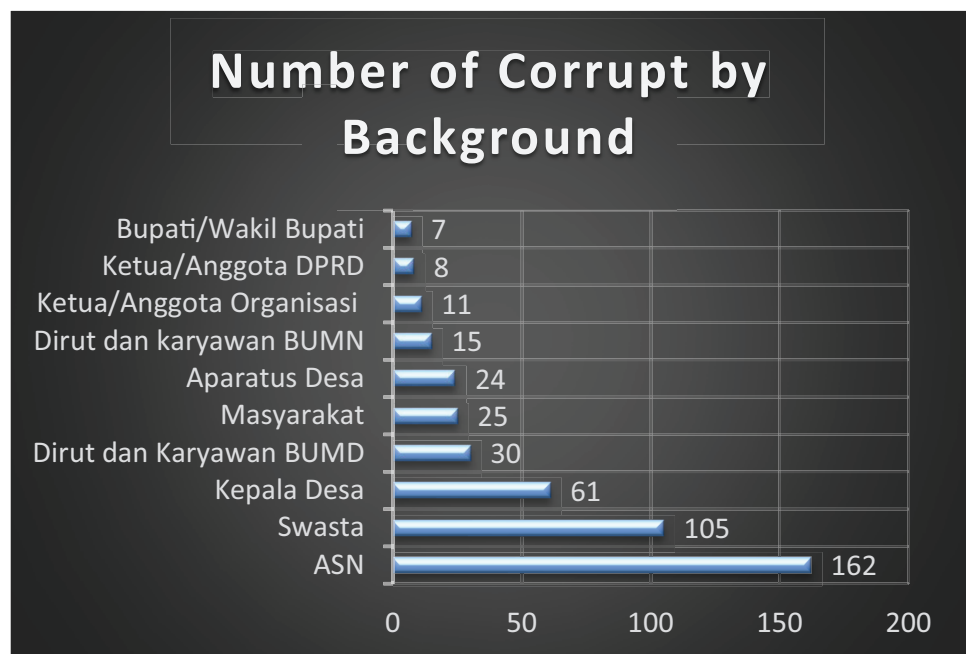


Figure 3: Number of Corrupt by Background. (Source: Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) 2021 from Databooks Katadata).

The perpetrators of corruption recorded during semester 1 of 2021, were dominated by the State Civil Apparatus (ASN). A total of 162 ASN were entangled in corruption cases, both small and large scale in semester 1. It is very sad when the bureaucratic reform campaign which contains the values of professionalism, integrity, and improving the quality of public services to the community is simply littered with the data above. So it is no longer a natural thing when bureaucratic reforms that are being intensified have not met a clear meeting point. This is a reflection for the government as a state administrator to improve and continue to improve. The 1998 reforms became the main fulcrum for a better bureaucratic reform [31].

Post-Reformation 1998 Indonesia has undergone a process of democratization and decentralization, one of which is through direct elections for regional heads (Pemilukada) since 2005. Although democratization and decentralization are seen as positive by some researchers, various forms of corruption have also not gone unnoticed by other researchers. Warren's conception of democratic corruption helps to explore the post-Reformation paradox of democratization and decentralization. According to Warren, corruption in democracy is a form of "two-faced" exclusion that benefits a few parties at the expense of others who are excluded from collective decision-making and action [32].

In the context of public organizations, executives through their bureaucracy are carried away by demands for administrative reform through the desired paradigm conditions such as the realization of good governance, measurable performance, and claims to the application of New Public Management. The dilemma that then arises is that on the one hand the bureaucracy is required to always be professional and responsive, but on the other hand regional autonomy is being pressured by politicians through the values of the latest paradigm. Therefore, the policies formulated and implemented will inevitably be biased towards political interests. Bureaucratic reform is often exploited by political interests amid democratization, causing administrative reform to be reduced to a technical level. That in fact, the bureaucracy is very difficult to be neutral from the dynamics that exist in the government [23].

From the analysis of various dynamics and points of view above, the elements of public policymakers must be professional and have integrity. Perhaps Rohdewohld's assessment is correct that the national system of administration and the civil service system is not conducive to good governance and improved performance [33]. It is the context that strengthens this paper that there is a possibility of bargaining power and does not rule out cheating by the government. This condition has collided with the

campaign for bureaucratic reform that upholds the principles of good governance in recent times.

3.2. Governance Transformation 2.0: Welcoming a Professional Bureaucracy

Starting away from the bureaucratic polity model is a series of efforts to formulate a transformation to good governance that can emphasize all forms of political interaction in the bureaucracy in Indonesia. The political interaction of the bureaucracy has so far been too intense in the dynamics of government. The interaction, which is almost always based on the principle of “politics of reciprocation”, utilizes executive power for the process of forming cabinets or strategic positions in government agencies, not based on professionalism anymore, but on political interests and closeness.

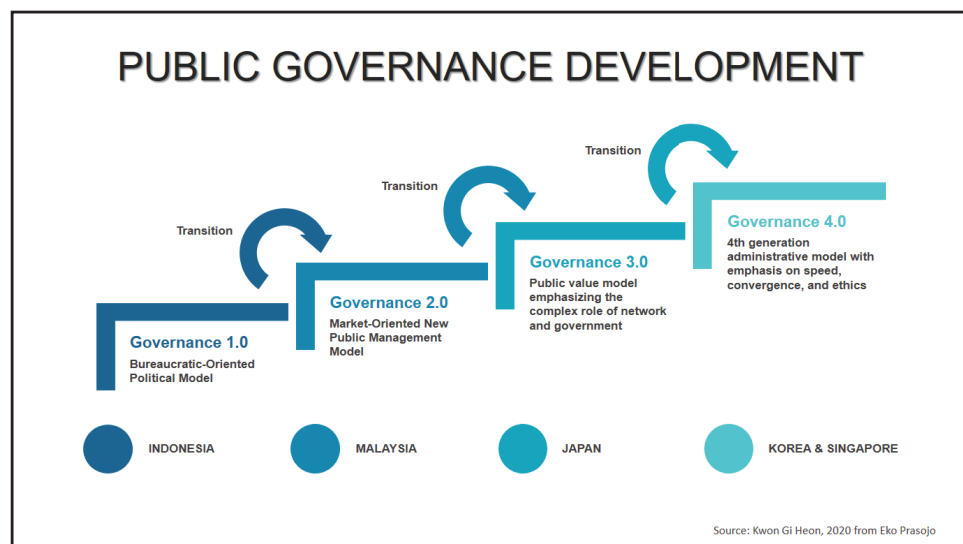


Figure 4: Public Governance Development.

Capital to advance as regional head or president is still very expensive. In 2013, Forbes stated that a person must have US600 million to become president in Indonesia which when converted that year was Rp8 trillion. The capital is needed for parties, witnesses, success teams, consultants, and other costs [34]. This factor causes the government sector chosen by the people to be filled by people who have financial access. Meanwhile, people who have access to finance do not all understand the governance system, do not understand the political dynamics that occur, until they are vulnerable to being caught in the corruption trap.

The condition of the bureaucracy in Indonesia, which is still labeled with the bureaucratic polity model, is still at the most basic stage in the global governance system.

According to Eko Prasajo, a public administration expert from UI, Indonesia has long been left behind with neighboring countries in the governance system, which has always been trapped in the bureaucratic polity model. This is still true today, although it is not entirely based on political interests and proximity, it greatly impacts the policy formulation process to policy communication.

Referring to the level of development of public governance, governance practices in Indonesia are still classified as governance 1.0. Still far from industry 4.0 values. The role of politics in relying on the bureaucracy is still large, for example, the process of appointment based on political interests that should be based on professionalism. This is why the orientation of bureaucrats is not based on performance orientation but is oriented towards partial political interests. Of course, the government must immediately fix this if the commitment to bureaucratic reform is carried out. One of the main factors in governance 2.0 is collaborative governance which is based on market-oriented. According to the stages above, there should be new public management, but in the current era, the use of new public management has begun to be abandoned because there are better updates.

TABLE 2: Comparison either Traditional PA, NPM, NPS, and NPG [35].

	Traditional PA	NPM	NPS	NPG
Orientation	Regime and procedure	Efficiency	Democracy	Democracy and efficiency
Theoretical	the political and administrative dichotomy	Economics theory, management. philosophy of private sector	Democratic citizenship, administrative theory civic society, postmodern, humanistic theory of organization	Contractualism, integrity theory, collectivism
Behavior	Policymaking and execution separating centralized.. government	Government service outsourcing & marketing	cultivation of government service spirit, cooperation with the third sector	Citizen independence, public deliberation, polycentric governance
Role	Leader	Customer	By the service of the citizen	Participate in decision
Method	Institunasionalism research method	Positivism research method	Humanism research method	Collectivism research method

Note: PA : Public administration NPM : New public management NPS : New public service NPG : New public government

Understanding the concept of collaborative governance can be seen from..several aspects. First of all, on the etymology. Collaborative governance is composed of two entities, there are "collaborative" entity and "governance" entity. Mainly "governance",

supplemented by "coordination". The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific pointed out that "governance" is the decision-making process of implementing decisions [13]. Emerson, Tina, and Stephen pointed out that "governance" is an activity "to the government" or regulation/management/management [36]. In the perspective of public administration, "collaborative" is a requirement for stakeholders to collaborate in formulating public policies. The two variables are interpreted as the concept of "collaborative governance". Purdy explains that decision-making by involving stakeholders is an effective solution for formulating recommendations for public problems [37].

One of the discussions about "good governance" can be traced back to the work of JS Edralin [38]. "Governance" is a term used to replace the word "government", which means the use of political, economic, and administrative power to manage state affairs. The term specifically describes the transition of the government's role from a service provider (provider) to a "promoter" or "facilitator", and the transition of ownership, that is, from state property to people's property. The main focus of "governance" is performance improvement or quality improvement [38]. Since 1991, many multilateral and bilateral agencies (JICA, OECD, GTZ) have been advocating the term "good governance", emphasizing several indicators, including: (1) Democracy, decentralization, and government capacity building; (2) Respect Human rights and compliance with applicable laws; (3) Mass participation; (4) The efficiency, accountability, and transparency of government and public administration; (5) Reduction of military budget; and (6) market-oriented economic system [38].

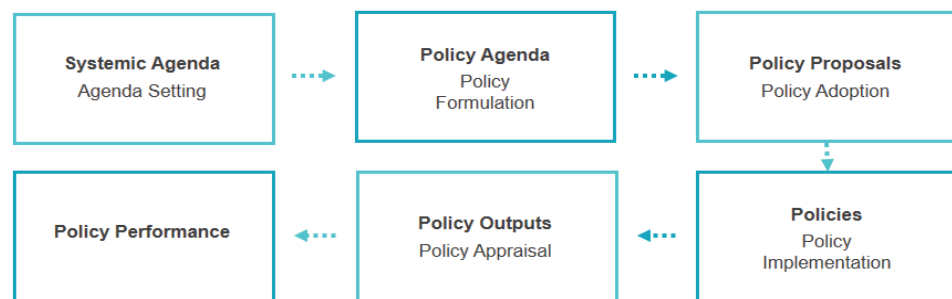


Figure 5: Public Policy Process by William N. Dunn [39].

Meanwhile, Good Governance according to The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP – one of the five regional commissions under the jurisdiction of the United Nations Economic and Social Council). There are 8 good governance features, it is participatory and consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, has fair tolerance, and follows the rule of law [40]. To ensure that corruption is minimized, taking into account the opinions

of minorities and the voices of the most disadvantaged listen to the opinions of the society in decision-making. This is also a response to the present and the future of the needs of society. To fulfill the aspect of good governance, of course, the government relies on policymakers as state apparatus which are considered capable of making and providing the latest breakthroughs for governance. One way is to make public policies that are based on strong analysis from any aspect.

3.3. Theoretical Framework of Analyzation Public Policy

The process of public policy formulation must go through a strong scientific and proven theoretical basis, so a theoretical framework is needed that consists of the concepts and, together with their definitions and references to the relevant scientific literature, existing theories that are used for special studies in the formulation process, one of which is that framework is a theoretical framework. The problem of public policy formulation is between the two most dominating currents, namely the conceptual and theoretical world and the empirical world.

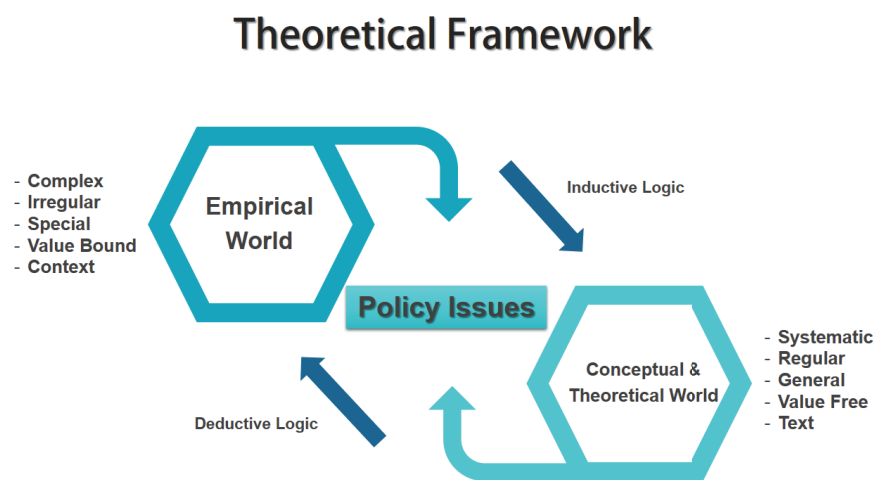


Figure 6: Theoretical Framework by Fadillah Putra.

Fadillah Putra reveals that a job analyst must have two analytical tools that are reviewed from the theoretical framework [41]. First, the conceptual world is a generalization of empirical facts in the field. Second, the empirical world is a source of knowledge obtained from observation or experiment. The ideal public policy analyst must have the ability to integrate the theoretical world and the empirical world that has gone through a certain process. This combination will produce a strong public policy formulation study because it has variables obtained from two perspectives [41]. The theoretical framework

stage is the initial stage for policy analysts to formulate an ideal policy product. Public policy has 3 levels in a combination of two perspectives from the theoretical framework.

TABLE 3: Level of Policy Analysts by Fadillah Putra.

Level	Variable	Categories
Evidence-Based Policy	- Evidence-based data - Conclusion from data - Policymaking	Empirical world
Research-Based Policy	- Evidence-based data analysis - Verification and validation process - Critical process - Policymaking	Theoretical world
Science-Based Policy	- A collection of various kinds of research - Comparison and generalization - Generalization becomes the basis or guideline for the formulation of public policy	Empirical world and theoretical world

The three levels are an attempt by policy analysts to classify assumptions and a solid theoretical basis. The higher the level, the stronger the assumptions in policy formulation. When the assumptions used in making policies are stronger, the durability policy will be longer. However, in reality in government, the implementation of public policy formulation based on the 3 levels above is still far from optimal because the implementation at the basic level, namely evidence-based policy, is still rarely encountered. Often policies made based on instinct and temporary interests are called policy-based evidence.

The process of policy formulation and policy analysis in Indonesia has been "homework" for almost 8 decades that has not been completely resolved. The author concludes that there is a need for a line of relevance between the bureaucratic polity model and the unfinished process of policy formulation and policy analysis in Indonesia. It all boils down to the political system in Indonesia which holds formal and informal control. In responding to the series of events above, it is necessary to have a bottom-up approach through government administration implementing units in villages, sub-districts, to the center. The condition of multi-level governance given the right of regional autonomy has resulted in the central government not being able to fully control the implementation of good governance. One way to respond to the stuttering of policymakers is to implement an evidence-based policy.

The implementation of policy formulation and policy analysis based on evidence-based policy will gradually have a positive impact on the bureaucratic climate in Indonesia. The policy is the main instrument in fighting for the welfare of the nation and the society of a country. Therefore, the progress or decline of a country is a reflection of the quality of policies in that country. Evidence-based policies are necessary because they can be viewed in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, public service orientation,

accountability, democracy, and public trust. A systematic evidence-based analysis is an essential ingredient in all good planning [41]. Various data needs to be carried out to provide the analysis and evidence required by the government to correctly understand whether the policy has achieved its goals as planned and whether the service has been effectively provided. Therefore, evidence should be used to support decision-making.

In the application of evidence-based policy, ideally, it is necessary to use qualitative and quantitative approaches because according to Fadillah Putra the data and design of public policies from the quantitative approach must be measurable and quantifiable [41]. The results of policy analysis are divided into 3 types, namely descriptive, predictive, and prescriptive which are described as follows:

Policy analysis should be done before and after the policy is implemented, it is suggested by Patton and Savicky. Carley explains that post-descriptive policy analysis is called "ex-post", Lineberry calls it "post-hoc", and Dunn calls it "retrospective". Then, before policy analysis by Carley called it "ex-ante", Lineberry called it "pre-hoc", Teitz called it "anticipatory", and Dunn called it "prospect". Predictive analysis can be said to be a future projection of the adopted policy [42]. Meanwhile, the prescriptive analysis must refer to policy recommendations. Policy recommendations should be general and not focus on suggestions, while recommendations that focus on policymakers to choose policies are said to be persuasive suggestions. Methods, stages, and techniques in policy analysis can be optimized properly if there is communication between government and government, government with the market, and market with the market. In this case, efforts to build an inclusive communication corridor are one of the factors for the realization of targeted public policies.

Policy Communication Challenges in the VUCA Era

Communication is part of the interaction of policy actors. But the main goal is to study literacy activities because policy literacy is one of the requirements for how the public can understand the policies that are formulated and implemented. The increasing policy literacy from the public will encourage increased acceptance. Because we are currently facing a digital world so that a digital literacy policy should apply at this time, how do we view policy communication, it must ensure accessibility. This is a fact of how policy communication should be maximized.

Communication is an activity that causes others to interpret ideas/ideas, especially through a common system (generic) with symbols, signals, and behaviors to explain the speaker's or author's intentions [43]. Communication will affect the implementation of public policies, and poor communication will harm the implementation of policies. The communication dimensions that can influence the implementation of public policies

include communication, consistency, and clarity [44]. Achieving the successful implementation of public policies requires implementers to know what must be done; policy objectives and indicators must be communicated to the target groups to narrow the gap between policy planning and implementation. If the information about policy goals and objectives is not clear to the target group, resistance from the target group may occur [45]. Communication skills are directed so that activity implementers can negotiate with each other and find mutually beneficial points of understanding/consensus. The consensus that is built can improve personal performance at work by finding win-win conditions for every problem [46].

Kominfo has noted that there are hundreds of thousands of sites that spread hoax news and negative content, this is also one of the factors that influence how difficult the challenges of building policy literacy in Indonesia are quite heavy. Among the factors that determine the success of the policy is the communication of the policy itself. The government or parliament is more focused on the substance of the policy itself, both in terms of formulation and policymaking, but forgets that the communication aspect from the formulation process to implantation plays an important factor. Based on sources from the Ministry of Communication and Information, there is an acknowledgment of the problems that have plagued policy communication so far [47], including:

1. Public fragmentation, which is called the people, is not a single person and this public fragmentation should be realized by policymakers. Communication is not only done after the policy is made but even before it is made or the policy proposal is better already shared with the public.
2. Relying on one-way, one-way communication here means that the policymaker is everything and the people are nothing. The communication carried out here does not invite and involve the people. The public as policy users feels trapped by laws that do not involve the public.
3. Lack of use of digital communication, most of the government actors still stutter with the progress of the internet or social media. At a certain point, digital communication makes communication more effective.
4. Less able to increase public participation, because the government always considers itself in doing more, it creates conditions where the public becomes reluctant to participate in determining policy.
5. Lack of inter-ministerial coordination, communication, and coordination with the central government is of lower value than communication and coordination with provincial/city local governments.

The five situations can get worse because of the increasingly sharp political polarization since 2014–present, polarization in the context of communication raises serious problems because not only polarization affects the political side but also outside the political side.

4. Conclusions

Changes in a short time that are packaged in VUCA can be said to have succeeded in encouraging leaders to create chaos in the public sector, one of which is the bureaucracy. The condition of the bureaucracy has undergone many changes but left a bad culture called by Karl D. Jackson as a bureaucratic polity. The "gift" is maintained by the government through political parties that are less capable of the dynamics that are present through various directions so that it has implications for policy formulation based on political interests and proximity. Political pressure on the bureaucracy is very strong as if the power possessed can tame policymakers to conspire for political interests. Not a few results from political interests gave birth to corruption which has been the enemy of the bureaucracy so far. Giving ASN a title as the most corrupt background during 2021. Bureaucratic reform efforts initiated after the monetary crisis are still not optimal because of certain individuals. The role of policy analysts as quality control over the formulation process is often not based on evidence-based policy. The intervention of the political elite still dominates at the central level.

Responding to these dynamics, an ideal and measurable special treatment is needed, the results of the government's evaluation in dealing with the bureaucracy are the main reference in completing the main points of bureaucratic reform. Efforts to improve state governance by leaving the bureaucratic polity model are the main proposals, poor governance will be improved through the development of governance 2.0 with the values of collaborative governance and good governance. Indonesia's condition with multi-level governance packaged in a regional autonomy system makes the central government unable to interfere deeply, so that a strategy is needed that is evenly distributed in all sectors, namely by implementing minimal policies at the evidence-based policy level. This bottom-up change will be assisted by a communication strategy in the VUCA era which is full of uncertainty and change.

Acknowledgment

Many parties have provided motivation, advice, and support to researchers in the preparation of this paper. First, we would like to express our deepest gratitude to Mr. Gading Gamaputra, S.A.P., M.P.A. who has given me the opportunity and was funded by the campus to take part in this prestigious event. We also thank the sources of information from journals, articles, and reading materials that we used as references in the preparation of this paper.

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