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Challenging Policy Monopolies: Strategies of Governor Ridwan Kamil in Contesting the Response of The Central Government to COVID-19 Pandemic

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List of Acronyms

BODEBEK	Bogor, Depok, Bekasi
DMA	Disaster Management Agency
GA	Governor Adviser
GOI	Government of Indonesia
IGR	Intergovernmental Relation
MOIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOVDT	Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration
NPPRP	National Pandemic Preparedness and Response Plan
PE	Politic Expert
PPE	Public Policy Expert
RP	Research Paper
TAP	Tim Akselerasi Pembangunan (Development Acceleration Team)
WHO	World Health Organization
WJDS	West Java Digital Service

Abstract

Despite the fact of centralized approach in COVID-19 management and the role of central government representative in the region, the provincial government, in particular, West Java province government seems to initiate many policy innovations that conflicted with central government policy. This research explores the practised political strategy of Governor Kamil as an agent of change within the structural government during COVID-19 management. Drawing from the literature of policy entrepreneur strategy and intergovernmental relation, this RP merges both frameworks to picture the power relationship and power game strategy for policy change between West Java and central governments. I combined textual analysis from various media sources and qualitative interview to capture Kamil's power struggle with the central government and his strategy to overcome challenges for policy change. This paper argues that Kamil has excellent networking skills which unified various sectors to support him in contesting central government approach to COVID-19 pandemic. This study, hence, finds that Kamil has the quality of excellent policy entrepreneur by showing the attributes and skills he owned in deploying his strategies which are exercised in two distinct mini-case studies. His engagement with media for various strategies has emerged a new feature in policy entrepreneurship and intergovernmental relation literature. Furthermore, this paper concludes with the discussion of the ambivalent position in the governor's role as an agent of change and disaster management approach in Indonesia.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study offers two contributions to understand the role of agency in policy entrepreneurship, in particular the agency who work in structural government system. First, adding to the resources list of Rhodes (2018) in micro-level of power dependence framework, this study purposes media as a resource for an agency to make a change. Compared to other public official's media engagement, this case shows how Kamil exercised the benefit of media to lead public perception. Also, he acted as an influencer for his policy ideas by promoting through his social media channel. Secondly, it acknowledges the advantage of media, as the feature embedded within policy entrepreneur strategy— from idea development, coalition building and selling policy idea, venue hunting and networking, all can exploit the assistance of media to enhance the possibility of successful policy change. This is what made Kamil's case unique for taking media engagement as the force in his political strategy.

Keywords

Policy entrepreneur strategy, intergovernmental relation, policy change, power struggle, policy monopoly, Ridwan Kamil, West Java, COVID-19 management

Chapter 1
Introduction

As an archipelago country located in the pacific ring of fire with great diversity, Indonesia is prone to a natural disaster, un-natural disaster and social disaster. Following the 2004 vigorous tsunami in Aceh, the Government of Indonesia (GOI) has stipulated the law on disaster management in 2007 complementing the previous law and regulation in disaster management; also, established the National Disaster Management Agency to improve disaster management of Indonesia. GOI has maintained progressive improvement on disaster management ever since.

One of the success stories is the response of the GOI to swine flu (H1N1) pandemic. Based on previous experience of managing infectious diseases such as SARS and avian flu (H5N1), the GOI has prepared National Pandemic Preparedness and Response Plan (NPPRP) which consists of detailed guidelines and protocols for the public and private sector in a pandemic situation (Adisasmito, Suwandono and Aisyah, 2014). The local and provincial government also involved actively under the coordination of the central government in surveillance, public communication and quarantine during the response of H1N1 and H5N1 crisis (Ibid) (Lidwina, 2020).

Figure 1.1 COVID-19 Timeline

February (Pre-Crisis Phase)

Tourism promotion
West Java Goverment declare state of emergency

March (Initial Crisis Phase)

Warning from WHO
First Case of Coronavirus announcement
National Public health emergency declaration
large-scale social restriction policy declaration
Rapid test proposal from West Java

April

Lockdown proposal from West Java
BODEBEK (Megacities) lockdown
Indonesia was Recorded the highest death toll among South East Asian countries (8,37%)

May

Provincial lockdown in West Java
The Best Province in response to COVID-19 award for West Java province
Ease COVID-19 restrictions in West Java

June

• Heading to a New normal

However, differ from previous pandemic management, GOI seems struggling to deliver an effective crisis management policy in response to COVID-19 pandemic. There has been quite a contrast response to COVID-19 between the central government and the West Java government from February to June 2020 (see figure 1.1). In February 2020, the GOI claimed that Indonesia had no cases by asserting many kinds of reasons including

tropical climate and qunut[1] prayer immunity to the virus. Meanwhile, other countries shut down their borders, Indonesia was lost to the other direction for allocating IDR72 billion (US$5,2 million) to promote Indonesian tourism as it plummeted due to COVID-19 effect around the world (Gorbiano, 2020).

Not long after the warning from World Health Organization (WHO)—to have a more serious response to COVID-19, finally, on March, the President announced the first case of coronavirus in Indonesia which was located in West Java province along with the national emergency declaration. During this time, many local leaders at provincial and local government were frustrating, asking for a clearer and stricter measurement from the central government, including West Java province government. To answer such reaction, GOI stipulated government regulation of large-scale social restriction, but unlike previous pandemic management, the approach is way more centralistic.

Provincial and local governments were not allowed to use their resources to conduct surveillance, contact tracing, and coronavirus testing. Learning from the previous privacy violation mistake and as an attempt to prevent panic buying, the central government, thus, keep the information of coronavirus suspect's travel history away from provincial and local governments. Hence, the coronavirus test and contact tracing were conducted in the central government health facilities.

However, the laboratories were limited, the bureaucracy was complicated and inconvenience—it took weeks for provincial or local government to get the result of COVID-19 test—therefore, this approach detains provincial and local government to act faster. On the other hand, both rapid testing and suspect tracking are key factors to prevent coronavirus spreading as also happened in the successful approach as taken by Vietnam and Singapore in response to the outbreak (Gusman, 2020). The late response during the initial crisis phase had caused Indonesia recorded the highest fatality rate among South-east Asian countries and the second highest in the world per Apr 26, 2020 (Wahyuni, 2020).

West Java government is one of the provinces that aware of COVID-19 phenomenon; in fact, Governor Kamil has announced provincial emergency state since February, a month earlier than the central government. However, Governor Kamil had struggled to manage this crisis without proper measurement, in particular, tracing and testing. West Java was the second-highest COVID-19 case—with 59 cases—after Jakarta by that time. As the most populous province in Indonesia—with a population of 50 million, West Java has the highest risk of COVID-19 transmission, which demand real data of contact tracing to identify the spreading chain. So, as one of the resourceful provinces, West Java had purposed provincial authority to conduct surveillance, contact tracing and rapid test to the central government.

During the process, the media—from newspaper to television interview—captured Kamil's struggling to challenge the centralistic approach of COVID-19 response. He openly criticized the central government performance as uncoordinated and retarded, and he also demanded a greater role at the provincial level to combat the virus. Kamil also expressed his frustration through his social media account, in particular, Instagram in which he engages with 13 million followers. Mostly his posts are about West Java—his—achievement and policy communication, but he also posts a vague message which triggers his followers' assumption about his disharmony relationship with the central government. The position of a Governor is dilemmatic; on the one hand, he is the representative of the central

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[1] Islamic prayer to prevent disaster

government; on the other hand, he is the representative of West Java people. Therefore, he needed to maintain both sides to attain the best outcome from his policy.

Finally, in late March, the central government granted his independent Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR) testing proposal. From this massive testing, Kamil found four clusters of COVID-19 spreading, which also infected mayors and regents under West Java province. On early of April, Kamil purposed partial lockdown proposal for Bogor, Depok and Bekasi (BODEBEK) city—part of Jakarta megacities and followed by provincial lockdown on May which also granted by the central government. All those attempts have brought West Java as the best province in response to COVID-19 (Ramadhan, 2020). By the end of May, West Java eased COVID-19 restriction and prepared for new normal in early June.

Formerly, most studies have generated the significant role of an agency in policy transition, namely (Kingdon, 1984), (Mintrom, 2000) and (Taylor *et al.,* 2011). Also, the broad discussion about the entities and behaviour of policy entrepreneurs such as (Mintrom, 2019) and (Brouwer and Huitema, 2018) or the integration of policy entrepreneur strategy in policy change and policy stability as explained in (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010) and (Mintrom and Norman, 2009). The policy entrepreneur scholars mostly discuss policy entrepreneur as a dynamic agent; hence, there are still gaps in the discussion of policy entrepreneur strategy within structural government and their intergovernmental relation, in particular during the crisis. This Research Paper (RP) interested in the struggle of Kamil's relationship with the central government and his strategy to successful policy change during COVID-19 crisis. Above all strategies, I argue that Kamil has excellent networking skills that unified all resources of West Java to contribute to the battle of COVID-19.

1.1 Decentralization: Central-Local Relations and New Emergence Leader

After the reformation in 1998, Indonesia shifted its government structural and acquired a regional autonomy. The transition was a big bang (World Bank, 2003) that without proper preparation—in less than two years, the central government transferred political authorities and financial resources that were centralized for decades to regencies and municipalities. As a result, the government system of Indonesia has changed and divided its structure into five layers: central, provinces, districts, municipalities, subdistricts and village (Nasution, 2016). The central government—which is represented by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MOIA)—responsible for controlling the implementation of regional autonomy in the local and provincial government; the MOIA develop and mediate the synergy over conflicting authority during public service activities between local and provincial government (Kemendagri, 2019).

The idea of decentralization is to provide spaces for local government to be creative and initiative in the policy-making and public participation (Rasyid, 2003). However, "it did not wish to be labelled federalist" (Rasyid, 2003:63); thus, as a compromise, the power transferred bypassing the provincial government to the third administrative layer (districts and cities) to prevent from a potential threat of separatist movement (Shah and Thompson, 2004).

Decentralization policy, thus, has changed the pattern of interaction between the central and local governments. The lack of supervision and technical guide from the central government, however, sparked uncertainty and tensions in the local government—it might overlap or even violate the national law and community interest (Rasyid, 2003). For example, thousands of new businesses have been established in many regions that violate the existing

national law—they are unable to pay local taxes (ibid). Another example is asymmetric information that leads to unaligned planning and budgeting between the national and local level (Zen, 2013). Looking at these tensions and uncertainties, decentralization is not only hierarchical distribution of authority but also about the contestation of power—where the tensions between centralizing and decentralizing remain strong over a long period (Hadiz, 2010).

Local government is the head of the official elements of the Regional Government, which include province, district, and municipalities that led to the implementation of government affairs under the authority of the autonomous region. They gather revenue from local taxes and intergovernmental transfer in the form of a block grant, specific grant, incentive grand, village grant and revenue sharing fund for provinces with abundant natural resources ((Iksanuddin, 2018); (Shah and Thompson, 2004)). These funding aim to help the development in local government and balance uneven local revenue among regions in Indonesia ((Wardhana, Fauzan and Bustaman, 2018). The central government also encourages local government to have another source of revenue by commanding public-private partnership which ruled in Presidential decree 5/2015.

1.1.1 Role of The Governor and Its Ambivalence

After the amendments of the local government law in 2014, the central government enlarge the provincial governors' role as a representative of "Jakarta" in the region (Haug, Rössler and Grumblies, 2016). Through the act number 23 of 2014 on Local Government, the Governors have the authority to supervise both municipalities and regencies' day-to-day affairs. They have the power to abolish municipalities/regency's regulation. The governor also can purpose local leaders (mayor or regen) termination unless they cooperate in following strategic program from the central government. In some ceremonial event, governor act as behalf of the central government to inaugurate the new regen, for example.

At the same time, the governors are also the leader in their province who legitimately elected, and together with the provincial legislative develop local regulation to fulfil local needs and dynamics. The central role of a governor in this position is to intervene in the issue that cut across municipalities and regencies (Mahi, 2016). For example, a governor can act as a mediator between conflicting municipalities or recommending specific grant for regency or municipality that have a certain program (ibid).

Act number 23 of 2014 on Local Government has set the central government's affair only on politic international, justice, national security and defence, federal fiscal and monetary, and religion. Meanwhile, all other functions of primary and compulsory services are on the responsibility of the local government such as health, education, public work, agricultural development, land management, labour, environment and capital investment and so on. These affairs are implemented separately based on the political boundaries of each municipality, regency and provincial government. From the explanation above, hence, the position of governor seems ambiguous "even though the emphasis area of autonomy of this region lies in the province" (Tryatmoko, 2014:75).

1.1.2 Political Journey of Ridwan Kamil

The decentralization has acquired new emergence leaders at the local level whose name comes up in the national political sphere of Indonesia. One is a young yet ambitious politician named Ridwan Kamil has become visible as a prominent leader since his leadership as Mayor of Bandung city from 2013 to 2018. Ridwan Kamil was not a politician—he was an

architect—when he ran for Mayor election; nonetheless, he won for 44,55% of the votes. Kamil's electability had risen after he published his ideas of transforming Bandung to be a better place to live on social media. He acknowledges that "social media is a powerful tool not only for innovating and delivering better citizen services but also for increasing civic engagement" (Iqbal, 2016: 6). During his leadership in Bandung, he got many national and international achievements, namely the world 50 greatest leaders in 2018 (Fortune, 2018), urban leadership award from Pennsylvania University, best bureaucratic reform in the category of smart city and so on.

After a great success in Bandung, Kamil ran for West Java province governor in 2018 and won the election. He was not affiliated with the political party until National Democrat (Nasdem) party approached him and supported his candidacy for West Java governor 2018—2023 along with three other parties, Hanura, PPP and PKB. Kamil is well-known for his engagement in social media, in particular Instagram and Twitter. In 2019, He was awarded Most Popular Leader in Social Media by Public Relation Association of Indonesia. Together with his fellow deputy, he builds West Java Digital Service to connect 27 regencies and municipalities under West Java province and escalate innovation in public services. However, Kamil is not a man without controversy. After officially elected as the governor of West Java he pointed his family member—brother and cousin—and some of his campaign team to be part of so-called development acceleration team (TAP) which trigger some critics from provincial legislative and politic expert.

Kamil has scepticism to bureaucracy; he often creates his own team and delegates them in each unit of West Java government which was also happened during his leadership in Bandung city. The development of TAP is aimed to accelerate the development of West Java based on Kamil's vision.

1.2 Background: Health Profile of West Java Province

The health care system in West Java is a mix of public and private providers. Province government responsible for managing the provincial-level hospital, providing technical guidance and monitoring district health services. Meanwhile, regencies and municipalities are responsible for managing regency/city hospital and community health centre (puskesmas) and other sub-district health facilities.

Health Services

In 2015, Ministry of Health launched a healthy Indonesia programme which is aimed to develop the health behaviour of Indonesian community and to provide access to a good quality health service (Hort and Patcharanarumol, 2017). To implement this program, West Java province has developed four health facilities (Dinkes Jabar, 2019); first, basic service facilities or community health care which cover individual health with preventive and promotive effort. Secondly, local-own hospital and private hospital provide emergency service, inpatient, and outpatient. Third, clinics and traditional medicine and the last are integrated healthcare centre (posyandu), a health post in the community whom lead by cadres—usually women—that provide immunization, public health information, and people empowerment through health program.

One of the main programmes of healthy Indonesia is Infectious disease control for tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, malaria, dengue and avian influenza (Ibid). West Java has experienced a continuous rise for tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS case since 2015(Dinkes Jabar, 2019). However, in 2018, tuberculosis cases have decreased by 13,16% slower than in 2017, while the transmission of HIV/AIDS has arisen for 1% than in 2017 (Dinkes Jabar, 2019).

Financing

Public revenue for the health system is generated from various sources: provincial and district taxes, budget transfer from central government, social security schemes and Rest of the World (RoW)—grants and loans from donor assistance for health—which is transferred through the government budget (Hort and Patcharanarumol, 2017). Meanwhile, Local government budget is used for regional insurance scheme (Jamkesda), which covers health care from a province or local-own hospital (Ibid).

In 2014, the government started to implement the law 40 of 2004 on the National Social Security System, which command to introduce a universal health insurance scheme. The idea is that every citizen can access health service and protect them from financial risk from illness, accident, or death. Thus, small business and others who previously had not had health insurance could register national health insurance (BPJS) by contributing monthly premium. This program is obligatory for all Indonesian, and in West Java, the membership of BPJS reached 68,63% by 2015 (Suhendar, 2017).

Resources

There are two kinds of resources in health infrastructure—first, the physical resources which include hospitals, health centres and other health facilities. West Java has 1.086 community health centres with ratio 2,23 per 100.000 citizens, which still below the national standard (Dinkes Jabar, 2019). Furthermore, West Java has 277 public hospitals and 62 specialized hospitals in many categories such as mental health, mom and child and pulmonary hospital with the total beds of 41.572. However, West Java has not met the minimum standard from WHO for hospital bed ratio, which is one bed per 1.171 citizens; which means there are 7.112 beds lack (ibid). Secondly, Medical workers have grown significantly for the last decades in West Java; from general practitioners to specialized doctors, nurses, midwives, dentists, pharmacists, psychologists and so on. Nevertheless, based on the ratio of the health workforce, West Java has not fulfilled the minimum required health workforce for each basic services (Ibid).

1.3 Research objectives and question

The main objective of this research is to explore the political strategy of Ridwan Kamil and the effect of his strategy in policy change. Furthermore, it examines the relationship between West Java and central governments which capture the behaviour of various actors and the pattern of links at multiple stages.

Thus, this study aims to answer the central question: What are the characteristics and effect of the political strategy of Governor Kamil in contesting the response of the central government to the COVID-19 pandemic?

Sub questions

1. What are the resources available underneath West Java government office such as financial, informational, legal, political and hierarchical resources to overcome COVID-19 crisis?
2. What are the policy entrepreneur strategies that Governor Kamil has employed to contest the response of the central government to the COVID-19 pandemic?
3. (How) does Kamil's political strategy affect his intergovernmental relationship?

The sub-questions together capture the intrigue and strategy of a policy entrepreneur within intergovernmental relation setting. The first sub-question tries to identify the resources of West Java government to overcome COVID-19 which is essential to underpin the interaction

of central-local governments. The second sub-question draws policy entrepreneur's strategy of Kamil in challenging policy monopolies from the central government. Meanwhile, the last sub-question elaborates the aftereffect of Kamil's political strategy upon his relationship with the central government also municipalities and regencies under West Java government.

1.4 Organization of the Research Paper

This research paper is divided into six chapters. Following the introduction in the first chapter, Chapter 2 set up the literature review on the role of agency in central-local relation in Indonesia. Additionally, it presents a theoretical framework that merges both agency-based and structural based framework from a policy entrepreneur strategy and intergovernmental power relation literature. Chapter 3 describes the methodology and data used in this research. Meanwhile, Chapter 4 reveals the finding that answers the first and second sub-question, which is presented in two mini case studies. First, the decentralization of testing and tracing of suspected COVID-19 patient, and secondly, the dynamic in social assistance policy implementation. Consequently, Chapter 5 explains the analysis of the finding from chapter 4 by using the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2, which answer the last sub-question and the main question of this RP. Lastly, Chapter 6 suggests the conclusion.

Chapter 2
Control and Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Intergovernmental Setting

This chapter presents a literature review of central-local governments relation and the vital role of the governor as an agent in defining the power relationship between central and local government. In addition to the literature review, this chapter also provides a theoretical framework that explains the logic of analysis on this RP. The chapter will be arranged into two sections: first, it presents the literature review then; secondly, it explains the analytical theories of intergovernmental (power) relation and policy entrepreneur strategy. Furthermore, it describes the operationalization of the policy entrepreneur strategy within intergovernmental relation setting.

2.1 The Role of Agency in Central-local Relation: A Literature Review

Relations between levels of government in the unitary state is often called central-local relations which employ decentralization as the key to national development. Thus, it is best to discuss the concept of decentralization before starting intergovernmental relation discussion (Rhodes, Rod A. W., 1983). Rondinelli defines decentralization as "the transfer or delegation of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions" (Rondinelli, 1981:137). Meanwhile, Hulme and Turner describe that "decentralization within the state involves a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public" (Turner and Hulme, 1997:152).

Rondinelli distinct decentralization into three different forms: deconcentration, delegation and devolution (Rondinelli, 1981) to classify the degree of authority and transfer of power from the central government to agencies, a subordinate unit of government or local government. Furthermore, Crawford and Hartman argue that "Decentralization entails the transfer of power, responsibilities and finance from central government to sub-national levels of government at provincial and/or local levels" (Crawford and Hartmann, 2008:7). Thus, by the end of new orde in Indonesia "the policy of decentralization has changed the pattern of relationships between the centre and the regions" (Rasyid, 2003:71).

Looking at those perspectives, the relationship between central-local governments is complicated, which in the case of Indonesia, according to Hadiz (2010) "what matters is not the decentralization itself, but the system of power relations within which it is undertaken" (Hadiz, 2010:699). Moreover, Hadiz mentions that "Decentralisation is primarily about contestation of power, rather than technical policymaking" (Hadiz, 2010:39). Also, supported by Ward P.M. et al. (2010) cited on (Selee, 2011:69)that decentralization is "a multifaceted process that has involved all levels of government in constant negotiation over both top-down devolution and bottom-up construction of municipal authority and autonomy".

In 1978, Wright formulated three models of IGR: coordinate authority, inclusive authority and overlapping authority (Wright, 1982) (see figure 2). Both coordinate and inclusive authority models are well known among students in the field; Coordinate authority

implies a clear separation between national, state and local government and stays in autonomous, while inclusive authority model explains hierarchical relations between levels of government (Agranoff and Radin, 2015). The overlapping authority model, however, is a new way to portray IGR; it shows a continuous overlapping set among state, national and local governments (ibid). It also has a small chance to have full discretion or single jurisdiction; hence, the power and influence are limited unless it is negotiated (Wright, 1982). "Overlapping authority is established through substantial negotiation and bargaining" (Koliba, 2012: 72), bargaining as the negotiation of exchanges and/or agreements (Wright, 1982).

Figure 2.1 Intergovernmental Relation Model
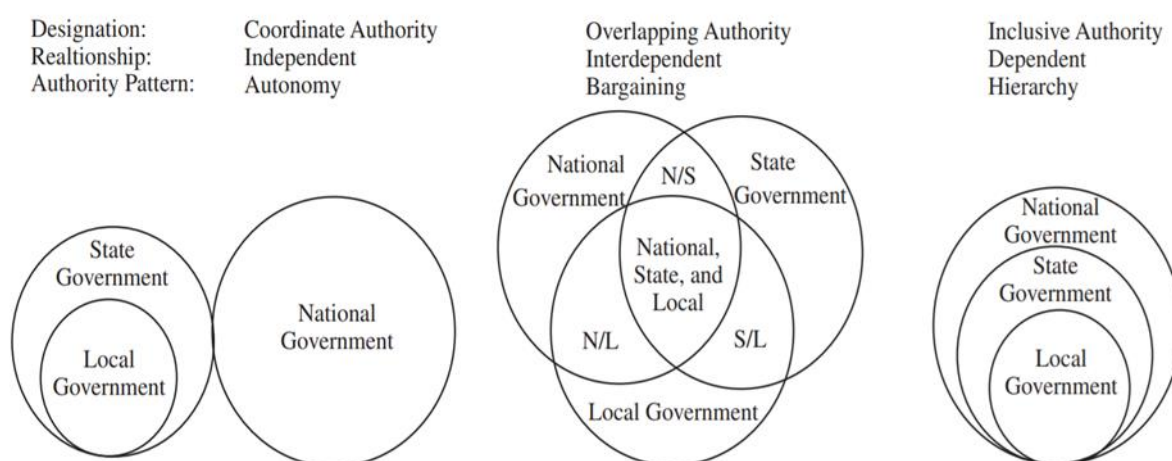
Source: Wright, 1982:29

Based on the Local Government law number 23/2014, Indonesia has a clear separation of authority with a hierarchical pattern of interaction between national, provincial and local governments which resembles the inclusive authority model (see figure 2.1). However, As mentioned by Mahi that in the context of Indonesia, the division of responsibilities between the central and local government, in particular, the division of concurrent power is overlapping, which could potentially create a conflict in determining the area of authority (Mahi, 2010). Accordingly, the central government in Indonesia still develop programs and activities that belong to local responsibilities, thus even though many responsibilities have been decentralized, the area of autonomy has remained unclear (Mahi, 2010). Hence, the overlapping intergovernmental relation model of Wright (1982) is suitable to define central-local relation in Indonesia, where there are rooms for bargaining and negotiation.

Through legal perspective, (Kartika, 2017) has emphasized that there are overlapping authorities and lack of intergovernmental coordination in the implementation of disaster management regulation in Indonesia. The local government law number 23/2014 does not give authority to the local government in disaster management (ibid); however, it does mandate the local government to manage the health sector in their area. Therefore, the separation authority between central and local governments is considered to be unclear. As reflected in the initial crisis phase of COVID-19 in Indonesia where local government executed policy initiation to response COVID-19—as their interpretation of autonomy in the health sector while disaster management is considered central government authority (Budi and Anshari, 2020). "Crises are dynamic and chaotic process" (Boin and Hart, 2003:545) where leaders should have taken the responsibility and provide a clear direction to

managing the crisis. Nevertheless, "crisis operations are multiorganizational, trans jurisdictional, polycentric response networks" (ibid:547).

That is why in the bargaining authority, the role of the local leader is decisive, notably, in times of unusual crisis such as COVID-19 to gain the most satisfactory outcome from their strategies and leadership. However, the institutionality of the government system and the personalities of each local leader might affect their performance (Budi and Anshari, 2020). Namely, the governor in Indonesia has the function of coordination and supervision to municipalities and regencies—a vital function in a unitary state, to keep national-local aligned. But both municipalities and regencies are autonomous administratively and politically, which in some cases disobedience to the governor often arise (Akhyar, 2014). On the contrary, as an entity in the region with autonomous authority, the governor has a political responsibility to their people (Prihatiningtyas, 2020) which during COVID-19 management in an attempt to protect their people, many local leaders contested central government approach asking for better measurement (Mietzner, 2020).

In contrast to the double positionality of governor in Indonesia, the governor of states—within the system of federalism in America has full autonomy of decision-making during the response to COVID-19 (Kettl, 2020). For example, Lebano in Forester and McKibbon (2020:214) mentions that "Trump and Cuomo invoked and sought to enact different conception of citizenship". Cuomo relied on the best advice of scientist and epidemiologist in his response to COVID-19, not as an infallible source but a fallible one with pragmatic adjustment; On the other hand, Trump appeared to distrust experts and science (ibid). Hence, from the discussion above, I must say that the government structure, along with the personal characteristic of the leader affects the undertaken strategy and resources distribution.

The relative power potential needs to be deployed to gain its finest benefit by adequate strategy. However, a strategy is not the only feature of the exchange process, but individual abilities also play an important role in the use of strategy such as predicting the time of intervention or anticipating other side movements (Rhodes, 2018). In 1984, Kingdon introduced a policy entrepreneur as an individual who tries to advocate change and use their resources to promote further policy ends ((Kingdon, 1984); (Cairney, 2019)). He also noted that policy entrepreneur could be anyone who is in or out of the government, appointed or elected official, NGO or academic as long as they have power to be heard ((Mintrom and Norman, 2009); (Kingdon, 1984); (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010)). Likewise, in this case, I consider the governor as a policy entrepreneur who has the power to be heard and will utilize their resources and knowledge to purpose policy innovation.

According to Budi and Anshari (2020), there is a variety of governor response to COVID-19 during the initial crisis phase in Indonesia. Some governors determined to wait and see for central government order. In contrast, the other governors interpreted the autonomy more flexibly by emphasizing their area of autonomy to contest central government policy (ibid). However, what are the consideration strategy of a governor in response to the crisis for their ambiguous positionality? What determines their policy choices? There still lacks discussion about the role of policy entrepreneur and their strategy to a policy change within the hierarchical structure of government in which this RP intend to fill in. Moreover, the ambiguous position of governor in Indonesia also add a new perspective in policy entrepreneur literature.

2.2 Theoretical Framework: Strategy in Power-dependence Framework

I combine two theoretical frameworks—both agency-based and structure-based theoretical framework to analyze the strategy of policy entrepreneur within intergovernmental power relation. The frameworks are integrated based on interrelation between the personal abilities of a policy entrepreneur to influence the process of transition and the power relation between the central-local government.

First, policy entrepreneur strategy, Mintrom (2019) argue that by deploying strategies a policy entrepreneur can stand out from others in the fields; however, "strategies can only be effectively deployed by people possessing specific attributes and skills" (ibid:308). A policy entrepreneur can learn skills needed; nevertheless, the learning process depends on their attribute that requires a longer time to nurture (ibid). Attributes, such as ambition, social acuity, credibility, sociability, and tenacity, are basic essential to survive in and around policymaking circles (ibid). Meanwhile, skills, for example, strategic thinking, team building, collecting evidence, making arguments, engaging multiple audiences, negotiating and networking are generally thought in public policy schools (ibid).

Based on the combination of attributes and skills, Mintrom (2019), thus, formulate key strategies of a policy entrepreneur to develop and promote policy innovations. One of his strategies is problem framing. Problem definition has been explored dynamically among policy scholars, for example, Dewey has developed a rational system of policy analysis that it is possible to get the root of the problem and serve the best solution out of it (Dewey and Brock University., 1910). However, Lindbloom argue that theory—to find the root cause— is not helpful in policy-making; instead, a successive comparison or the ability to make a logical explanation over a problem will do (Lindblom, 1969).

On the other hand, Huitema and Meijerink (2010) have developed a framework of strategies for affecting transition. Inspired by many scholars, they point out five strategies as follows

1. development of policy ideas
   policy entrepreneurs must develop, at least 'the germ' of their idea and expertise in advance to anticipate the situation that might change (ibid). Planning the ideas is crucial, so policy entrepreneur would be ready with solutions when the moment comes.
2. coalition-building and selling ideas
   collaboration is a necessity for policy entrepreneurs to realize their ideas. "coalition-building is often a delicate task because it entails sensitive issues such as differences of opinion and power asymmetries among actors" (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010:4). However, building a broad coalition has various advantages, such as legitimacy, financial resources, and better decision (Brouwer and Huitema, 2018).
3. seizing the windows of opportunity
   inspired by Kingdon (1984), they point out that a key challenge of policy entrepreneurs is seizing the windows of opportunity; recognize and exploit problem and politic stream by linking solutions to the problem. Timing is crucial; thus, Kingdon (1984) suggest coupling or being persistent to wait for the right moment, for the right opportunity, for the right executive, and this is required a lot of creativity and energy (Brouwer and Huitema, 2018).

4. venue hunting

   employing multiple venues to create opportunity can affect policy change, but differ with policy window, it is not related to timing. "The opportunity is created by characteristics of the institutional context policy entrepreneurs are operating in" (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010:4). For example, political and administrative venues on a different level of government, media, scientific, project-based organization, task forces, or advisory committees ((Huitema and Meijerink, 2010); (Brouwer and Huitema, 2018)). Furthermore, Brouwer and Huitema (2017) mention that venue shopping is the last resort in the circumstance where there is little support in the policy idea.

5. arrange and manage the network.

   The success of policy change is most likely to happen due to the relational aspect. Huitema and Meijerink (2010) define the network as a broader range of actor who engages in solving a particular issue. Unlike coalition, networking is spontaneous, self-organizing entities (ibid). Meanwhile, Rhodes (2018:265) distinguish the network from 'highly integrated' as policy communities and 'loosely integrated' as an issue network.

Prior to idea alteration, a policy actor is required to interpret the policy subsystem because it might have a significant role in the process of policy change. One is the work of Howlett and Ramesh (1998) who classify the subsystem on policy communities (see table 2.1). It explains that in a situation where the idea set is dominant and unchallenged, a monopolistic community will be formed. On the other hand, where there are couples of ideas sets without a high degree of dominancy in each idea, a chaotic situation may have arisen. The case where the idea set is not dominant; then the idea might be contested to each other. Meanwhile, when the idea set is dominant, but it has many less popular challengers, a fractious community might be formed.

Table 2.1 Taxonomy of Policy Communities

DOMINANT IDEA SET	NUMBER OF IDEA SETS	
	Few	**Many**
YES	Hegemonic	Fractious
NO	Contested	Chaotic

Source: Howlett and Ramesh, 1998:471

Wright (1982) as cited in Rhodes (2018:150) define several strategies as the rule of the game in intergovernmental relation: first, liberty or do not tell us how to spend your money, secondly, equality or distribute the dollar evenly. Third, fraternity or professional program stick together, fourth, turf protection or defending the program against all attacks and challenges. Fifth, we are all in the same mess or appeals for intergovernmental cooperation and coordination, and sixth, project perfectionism or defending grant requirements so strictly that only angel can qualify and end-run or bypass the state.

The Second framework is Intergovernmental Relation (IGR) as Anderson (1960) says, is "an important body of activities or interactions occurring between governmental units of all types and levels" (Wright, 1982:2). However, "IGR is also about conflict-collaboration

contemporaneity, a struggle for proper spheres of powers among national and subnational governments" (Lowatcharin et al., 2019:46). As also mentioned by Rhodes that IGR is a combination of 'vertical interdependence' and extensive horizontal articulation' (Koliba, 2012). Rhodes (1983), consequently, argue that overlapping authority model is 'the most representative' of intergovernmental relation concept. Hence, the study of IGR emphasizes the process of interaction as bargaining, diplomacy and game between various units of government (Rhodes, 1983).

Based on the literature of IGR, Rhodes (1983) introduced the concept of power dependence which redefine the relation of central and local government as networks and that local government is merely the agent of central government (Rhodes, 2018). It works in a sequence of micro, meso and macro-level of analysis: The micro-level analysis is the interactions between central and local actors identified through resource ownership; the meso-level analysis is the patterning of interactions and the policy process; and the macro-level analysis of the causes of change in the policy process (Ibid:225). He argues that local government has their own political system that might resist to central government's demand; furthermore, central government, at some degree, dependent to local authorities for information, expertise and policy implementation (ibid).

Rhodes (1983) identifies the nature of the interdependent relationship in each level of government, basically based on the resources that required and who can provide them. The resources are not only financial but also political and constitutional, which shaped by hierarchical nature of intergovernmental relation and the information and expertise from actors in the central or local department (Rhodes, 1983). Power dependence framework focuses on power as resources, and it can identify the nature of power dependence and relationship between central and local government vertically and horizontally (Eckersley, 2017).

However, the meanings of power are diverse. Dahl described power as the power of actor A over actor B to do what actor A desire; the powerful person over the powerless person (Bell, Edwards and Wagner, 1969). Similar to Dahl's, Weber defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Barbalet, 1985:532). On the contrary, the dimensions of power presented by Luke (2003) shows a deeper understanding of how power is exercised asymmetrically. First, overt and observable, in this dimension "power is a dispositional concept" (Lukes, 2003:109), which observe and classify the capabilities whether it can be exercised or not. Secondly, covert and controlling agenda focus more to power over which assume that A influences B's interest, thus create dependency on A. The effect of power relation eventually will shape desires and beliefs, such as how people believe in the hegemonic ideology (ibid).

Following Luke's power dimensions, Gaventa argues that "Luke's three forms of power must also be understood in relation to how spaces for engagement are created, and the levels of power (from local to global), in which they occur" (Gaventa, 2006:25). The dimensions between spaces, levels and forms of power are interrelated. In the era of globalization, Gaventa (2006:28) mentions that local, national and global are interconnected spheres where "local actors may use global forums as arenas for action". The discussion of power above, thus, confirm the power within intergovernmental relation can vary between dependence to interdependence depend on the relative power potential, strategy, and bargaining capabilities of the agent or leader.

Therefore, inspired by these frameworks, the analysis of this RP, thus, divided into three levels of analysis (see figure 2.2): resources, strategy and change. First of all, the

resources level will identify the ownership of the resources of West Java administration and Kamil's, then analyze the interaction of resource exchange and the motivation behind it. I am inspired by Rhode's power dependence framework (2018) which analyze the relation of central-local governments; interpreting the degree of interdependency between central and local government through resource identification and the analysis of interaction.

Rhodes (2018) distinguishes the resources or relative power potential into five different resources. First, legal resources are the power that is mandated by the constitution or law. Secondly, hierarchical resources imply the authority to command and require compliance based on the hierarchical position in the organization. Next, political resources occur for access to decision making in other government units given by elected representative while financial resources is money from public tax, landing, or services provided. Finally, informational resources are information and expertise of the actor; it can be from professional groups or civil servant. These resources could be substituted on each other, which will affect the choice of strategy for maintaining the relationship between central and local governments. Resources exchange process involve bargaining tactic and negotiating behaviour which link to the meso-level context and macro-level power-interest structure of society.

On the strategy level, I draw from Huitema and Meijerink (2010) primarily to understand how a policy entrepreneur expands their strategies to pursue policy change. It finds the pattern of interaction between policy actors whilst inspects the strategy employed. At last, change, this level of analysis manifests on the effect of resource ownership and the practised strategy during the interaction process, in particular, the change that has been made throughout the process of transition. It will also reflect on the bigger picture of state function or government role that has been changed.

Together, the framework leads this RP to reveal the degree of interdependency between central and West Java government. Also, identifying which resources and strategies that give a strong bargain position.

Figure 2.2 Logic of Analysis

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Chapter 3
Methodology and Data

3.1 Textual Analysis: Newspaper, Social Media, and TV Interviews

Media discourse has influenced public perception and created media effect in many different ways; some audience experience mistrust to the media as well as its content, some perceive indirect engagement in the issues whereas other keen and emotionally involve in the issues (Cohen and Tsfati, 2013). Accordingly, this research works on several media sources with purposive sampling (see table 3.1); first, newspaper articles which I gather from the various national newspaper website. I categorize my search to the broad network of the media, mainly convergent media—that has multiple interconnecting streams (TV, radio, mass media) in one company, because the broader the network, the stronger capability it has to lead people's perception. Furthermore, I also incorporate the most accessed news website based on alexa.com—a web traffic analysis—report. However, I include critical insight from the media opposition to compliment multiple perspectives. Consequently, I filter the inquiry from February to June 2020 with these keywords: COVID-19, Kamil, West Java, and central government. Overall, I have gathered twenty-five newspaper articles.

Table 3.1 News Website Sampling

TYPOLOGY	MEDIA
Convergent Media	Cnnindonesia.com
	Cnbcindonesia.com
	the Jakarta posts
	BBC Indonesia
	Kompas.com
	Detik.com
	Sindonews.com
	Liputan6.com
Top accessed news website	Suara.com
	Idntimes.com
Media opposition	Tirto.id
	Tempo.co

Secondly, social media, Kamil, has engaged in many different platforms of social media. However, the postings are all the same in each platform of his social media, but he is more engaged in Instagram. Kamil enthusiastically shares his idea, policy-making process, achievement and personal life in his social media. Above all, he uses Instagram as the media of policy communication. So far, I have collected fifty-six postings from @ridwankamil from February to June 2020 that indicate a struggle, innovation, achievement, and interaction to central government during COVID-19 management. Third, TV interviews, there are nine TV interviews that I have compiled. I also put the same keywords as in the newspaper article to find TV interviews that discuss the struggle of local government, in particular, West Java government to the central government response to COVID-19. Some TV interviews are live streaming and press conference, not so many that had a specific interview about central-local government power relation, only the interview from Narasi TV and Indonesia Lawyer Club (ILC) in TVone that discuss such theme. Narasi TV is founded by Najwa Shihab, a TV news anchor who is well-known for her rapid-fire

questions during thematic—usually politic and social issue dialogue. It has three values: anti-corruption, tolerance and participation, and Shihab herself have no affiliation with political party nor relation with the government.

Meanwhile, ILC is also a thematic talk show that brings about politics, economic and social issue through critical discussion among its interviewee. ILC is aired in TVone who is owned by Aburizal Bakrie, a businessman and politician from Golkar party. Also, Bakrie has a long history in the government of Indonesia. All sources must be published between February to June 2020 when the government of West Java took initial response and the conflict between central and local governments headlines media attention.

This research paper combines textual analysis on various media resources and qualitative interviews. Textual analysis is "a methodology - a data-gathering process - for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live" (McKee, 2003:2). Textual analysis has different approaches; however, this work focuses on content analysis to identify and analyze the specific messages embedded in the text (Frey, Botan and Kreps, 2019). Text, according to McKee (2003:4) is "something that we make meaning from"—something we interpret from various sources: a book, television program, newspaper, magazine, social media caption, and so on.

I followed Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1278) who define content analysis as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". They also develop a directed content analysis approach—identifying codes from the key concept of theoretical framework or theory—that guide a researcher in a more structured process (ibid). This approach purposes of validating or extending the theoretical framework; thus, it helps to arrange prediction of categories and the relation between codes. Following this, I established the initial code categories by distinguishing three different yet interrelated level of analysis based on the combination of intergovernmental relation and policy entrepreneur strategy framework (see appendix 4). However, I also used open coding and in-vivo coding to adjust with reality in the text.

Acquiring digital wisdom by Prensky (2009)—using digital technology to complement decision making—I utilized Atlas.ti to support the data analysis. Atlas.ti is a software supporting the analysis of qualitative data which has several features that help understand complex data. The selection of content analysis for this study is to produce an interpretation of the struggle and strategy of Governor Kamil in contesting central government responses to COVID-19 through content and contextual meaning of the text from a national newspaper article, TV interviews and social media posts. Hence, Lasswell, Lerner and Pool's argument is still relevant here for "content analysis operate on the view that verbal behaviour is a form of human behaviour, that the flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events"(Lee, 1952:34).

3.2 Qualitative Interviews: Elite Interviewing

To complement media analysis, I conducted an online semi-structured interview that aims to attain the meaning of a phenomenon with a sequence of a thematic question, yet flexible to change the question in order to follow up the particular response from the participants (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Based on King et al. (2019) who admitted diversity in sampling method of a qualitative study, thus, I recruited participants who are directly and indirectly involved in the COVID-19 crisis management of West Java and also understand the political dynamic between Governor Kamil and the central government. First, Governor Adviser (GA), he is Kamil's closest staff who has been working with him since he was the Mayor of Bandung city. He also has assisted and involved in COVID-19 respond of West Java province since the beginning of the crisis; he is one of the teams who delegated by Kamil to South Korea to learn about PCR test. As Kamil's inner circle,

his perspective is valuable to acknowledge Kamil's position during his contestation with the central government.

Secondly, Disaster Management Agency (DMA) of West Java, the person that I interview is responsible for COVID-19 management in West Java who understands means to ends in the process of crisis management in West Java. Furthermore, DMA also in charge to report directly to National Disaster Management in central government; hence, the information from DMA is required for this study. Third, Public Policy Expert (PPE), he is a policy expert who affiliated with INjabar and has several projects with West Java government. He was part of the expert team that Kamil designated in units under West Java government. So, as part of Kamil's think tank, I think his viewpoint is needed in this research to capture the dynamic of policy-making in COVID-19 crisis management. Lastly, Politic Experts (PE) in West Java, He is a professor in politics and security in one of the best universities in Indonesia. He has been observing Kamil since he was the Major of Bandung city and actively critic Kamil's policy and his relation with provincial legislative and his coalition political parties. His position, thus, essential to add the perspective from outside of Kamil's administration.

Borrowing the elite interview of Dexter (1970), I consider my participants as an elite interview for some reasons; first, they are well-informed and highly influential in their field, so— secondly—their knowledge is valuable which affect the interpretation of data. Lastly, they have the capacity to adopt the researcher's point of view, informing rumours and events or suggesting another relevant informant; they consider themselves as relevant. Following Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), I prepared an interview guide in advance to cover thematic and dynamic— with regards to theory and interpersonal relationship—dimensions of the interview.

3.3 Scope and Limitation

Due to the ongoing process of COVID-19 response in Indonesia, the political dynamic and narrative might be changed. Thus, I limit my study only at the pre-crisis phase and the initial crisis phase, which is around February to June 2020. My research focuses on Kamil's struggle as a policy entrepreneur, but I do not have the chance to complement central government view in the interview, which I believe will affect the scope of this research.

3.4 Positionality and Ethical Consideration

My decision to study Kamil's strategy departs from my interest in his political journey. I have been his social media follower since 2014 and witnessed his transformation in the political arena. Although I do not affiliate with him or West Java Government, I realized such a position might have a certain bias to this research. Thus, to overcome such bias, I review my findings with peers and discussans who know the logic of my research.

Another challenge of this research would be my position as the central government officer. I work as a Budget Analyst in Cabinet Secretariat Office, and I got the contact of disaster management agency of West Java government from my colleague whose previous work affiliated with West Java government. Hence, I need to introduce myself not only as a researcher but also as an officer in Cabinet Secretariat. At the same time, my study focusses on Kamil's strategy in contesting central government response to COVID-19. This positionality impacts the interview process; some questions were answered unfulfilled. So, to deal with this bias, my strategy is triangulation with different sources.

This research applies a standard ethical procedure which includes the anonymity of respondents and permission to cite the initial of the respondent. I also announce myself only as a

researcher in every online interview session, except when I interview disaster management agency of West Java.

Chapter 4
Power Struggle in Challenging Policy Monopolies

The narrative of disharmony between central-local government relations had dominated mainstream media during March to June 2020. The struggle of local governments has begun after the President announced the first case of coronavirus in West Java. This chapter presents the struggle of Governor Kamil in contesting the response of the central government to COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, this chapter will answer the first and second research sub-questions: What are the resources available underneath West Java government office such as financial, informational, legal, political and hierarchical resources to overcome COVID-19 crisis? and What are the policy entrepreneur strategies that Governor Kamil has employed to contest the response of the central government to the COVID-19 pandemic?

The chapter is divided into two mini case studies. First, the decentralization of testing and tracing of COVID-19 patients and Secondly, the political dynamic of social assistance policy. Each case study identifies resources available and investigates the exercised strategy. Both case studies show the strength of Kamil's rhetorical persuasion in selling his policy idea, engaging with various sector and recognizing the central government movement. However, Kamil failed to wait for the right timing for his policy idea and tend to be sloppy when he was getting emotional as elaborated in the second case study. This chapter argues that Kamil's networking management is the strongest element between his strategies by acknowledging his informational resources—his team and collaboration with universities and private sectors. Overall, Kamil has the quality of excellent policy entrepreneur which is shown by his understanding of the way people's thinking about the problem and their needs, owning a loyal team, and compelling argument based on science or evidence.

4.1 Claiming the Authority: Testing and Tracing of Suspected COVID-19 Patient

The approach of the central government to response COVID-19 seemed like a "secret mission". Tirto.id had investigated that the task force whom President Widodo formed to response COVID-19 was also included State Intelligence Agency whose job was to trace the travel history of COVID-19 patients. Thus, the information of COVID-19 patient's travel history was classified, and in addition to this, the process of testing was centralized in central government health facilities.

Ridwan Kamil, on the other hand, purposed for central government to be transparent regarding patient travel history data and allowed the local governments who had the resources (laboratories, test kits, and other health facilities) to help the central government to conduct PCR test. The central government had conducted PCR test only for patients under surveillance. At the same time, Kamil also wanted to map the range of people under monitoring—people who went to coronavirus epicentre or have made contact with a suspected patient—to get a deeper picture of spreading chain. Kamil was frustrated, not knowing what to do without proper data; meanwhile, it took weeks to get the result of the test, in one of Narasi TV interviews he said:

> Please let the local government who has sufficient resources do the test, if the result is positive, we will not announce it to the public; instead we will coordinate with the central government in according to the protocol. Imagine, I hope this will not happen; if this virus spread across the islands in Indonesia and the test is still centralized, it will take time to bring the specimen all the way to Jakarta, not to mention the line and so on. So, I think it is best to decentralize the test. (Narasi TV, 2020 (translated))

Finally, the Ministry of Health (MOH) confirmed that West Java allowed conducting a proactive test on March 11; however, the announcement of the result of the patient under surveillance would be still in the authority of MOH. After earning the central government's "blessing" from his phone call with MOH to conduct a proactive test, Kamil moved fast even before the official letter from MOH was signed—He had tested medical workers, sellers in the traditional market, and commuter line passengers. By March 18, Kamil had tested 230 people, and later he found four clusters of COVID-19 spreading (Tempo.co, 2020). First, gathering of Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association in Karawang regency, secondly, business sharia seminar in Sentul, Bogor regency. Third, a religious event of the Protestant Church in Western Indonesia (GPIB) in Bogor city, and religious seminar of Bethel Church Indonesia (GBI) in Asri Hotel, Lembang, West Bandung regency. From this cluster, Kamil also found the mayor of Bogor, the regen of Karawang and deputy to mayor of Bandung city were positive to COVID-19.

4.1.1 Dream Team and Collaborative Governance

After announcing provincial emergency declaration in February, Kamil ordered his TAP team to come up with ideas of COVID-19 response in West Java. One came with due diligent of the massive testing idea—the idea replicated South Korea massive testing policy. West Java, in particular, Kamil has a long history with South Korea; West Java is a sister province to Gyeongsangbuk-do province of South Korea; and Kamil got his honoris causa from Dong-A University, Busan, South Korea. Such connection and network, hence, provided Kamil and his TAP team access to learn the business process of doing the massive test in South Korea. Kamil also acquired testing kit for the first batch from Hyundai sponsorship as the hard work from his team as well in looking for assistance. Health office of West Java also owned PCR laboratories for tuberculosis and diphtheria test which later used for coronavirus test.

Furthermore, Kamil built the crisis centre with West Java Digital Service (WJDS) team— the team he was proud of the most—which he then named the system as PIKOBAR. Initially, the plan aimed as a command centre that integrated 27 municipalities and regencies under West Java government for digital transformation. One of Kamil vision for West Java province during his election is to make West Java a digital province that appreciate the use of technology in government day to day activity. However, COVID-19 urged Kamil to transform command centre into the crisis centre. In a short time, WJDS also managed to build the PIKOBAR application available in android and IOS so that people of West Java could access through their smartphones. PIKOBAR has 15 features which consist of the latest number of COVID-19 cases in West Java, national scale and various countries, the referral hospital for COVID-19 and its emergency number, and private diagnosis of health condition through artificial intelligence. In consequence of this application, people can understand more about the crisis, less false information, and most importantly, they also able to register for PCR test and social assistance if needed.

Massive testing required a high amount of budget. Moreover, as a province with the highest population in Indonesia, West Java needed to test at least three hundred thousand people to get a clear sequence chain picture. Kamil admitted that West Java had lacked budget even though all budget had been refocused and reallocated for pandemic management. Finally, he asked for central government regional transfer; however, instead of additional budget "the central government only authorized test kit or health equipment assistance" (Interview GA) to support COVID-19 response in provincial and local government. Nevertheless, the central government provide loan to provincial and local government to support national economic recovery, and West Java government had purposed for IDR1,8 trillion.

So, to overcome the budget limitation, Kamil urged industries, universities and people of West Java to contribute and cooperate with the government in response to the pandemic. Based on Local Government law number 23 of 2014, the provincial government has the authority in the health sector that cut across cities and regencies affairs, hence, exploiting this legal resource, Kamil

collaborated with universities and industries all over West Java. Four hundred sixty-five universities are located in West Java which also includes four best universities in Indonesia: The University of Indonesia in Depok city, Padjajaran University in Bandung regency, Agriculture Institute of Bogor in Bogor city, and Technology Institute of Bandung in Bandung city. He also initiated IN Jabar—a think tank—Development institute of West Java, which consists of policy experts from the University of Padjajaran. Kamil saw this as a strength that he can gain from them their expertise to support his decision-making process.

West Java is a home of 60% industries in Indonesia; therefore, Kamil asked many sectors to collaborate and produce product element against COVID-19. For instance, he engaged with Biofarma—a life science company—to create COVID-19 reagent test using the RT-PCR method. He also collaborated with Padjajaran University to produce COVID-19 test equipment called Cepad (fast) Detection with antigen-based and 80% accuracy, a cheaper and more efficient option in comparison to regular PCR test.

Kamil also got many assistances during his combat with coronavirus. One was Yayasan Buddha Tzu Chi, who donated fifty thousand rapid diagnostic tests for West Java province. During his conference with Vice President Kamil reported that even the help from other parties such as Yayasan Buddha Tzu Chi was faster than the test kit distribution from MOH. Although Kamil experienced many obstacles such as lack of provincial budget in response to COVID-19, the collaboration with industries and assistance from various sources and sectors indeed added to financial resources of West Java government. Moreover, universities involvement and his ad-hoc team had supported as his informational resources.

4.1.2 Solid Coalition and Networking, Excellent Rhetorical and Advantage of Media Venue

Together with Kamil was Baswedan—the governor of Jakarta—who also experienced a forceful argument with the central government in regards to a decentralization of PCR test. Both seemed solid and supported each other; Kamil once said: "We do exactly the same as Mr Anis Baswedan, please let the local government who has sufficient resources do the test" (Narasi TV, 2020 (translated)). Likewise, in a different TV interview he said: "That is why, I and Mr Anis Baswedan, we purposed the authority for conducting an independent or proactive test in local government" (ILC, 2020 (translated)). West Java also helped other provinces in checking the sampling of swab test and provide coronavirus isolation room in the hospital; one was Central Java province.

Looking at Kamil Instagram post with Baswedan and Pranowo—the governor of Central Java province (see figure 4.1), it seems that Kamil has a strong bond with them. Joining hand in hand with bright smiles, they looked solid and exited; furthermore, the black and white effect against a black wall gave the perfect posture of these young politicians. This photo was taken before on-air in Narasi TV.

In the first year of Kamil leadership in West Java, he got much criticism about his poor communication with provincial legislative and mayors and regents under West Java province. However, since coronavirus hit, the communication has started to be well-established because officials needed to coordinate, which means they have constant online direct contact. Kamil also stressed that this pandemic is the problem of everyone; hence, it requires everyone's involvement in containing the spread of the virus. By the end of March, the central government ordered to refocused and reallocate budget for pandemic management in which Kamil got back up from Deputy Chairman of West Java Legislative, Achmad Ru'yat who supported him in budget revision and reallocate budget for massive testing. "Kamil also gained the support from all mayors and regents under West Java province to conduct proactive testing" (Interview GA).

Figure 4.1 Kamil's "Friends"

Furthermore, networking is broader than coalition, and Kamil's strong networking has helped him to overcome the lack of resources during his response to COVID-19 (see Appendix 6). Benchmarking massive testing idea of South Korea, for example, he contacted the Indonesian Ambassador for South Korea to learn how South Korea handled the crisis. Finally, he got testing kit assistance from Hyundai, which later became his resource to bargain decentralization of proactive test policy to the central government. He tried to engage all sectors from universities, private sectors to people of West Java as a volunteer; he collaborated with police to trace suspected COVID-19 patient, improving the communication with provincial legislative and municipalities and regencies under West Java province to gain more support. Also, he was actively consulting his proactive testing ideas to Terawan Agus Putranto, the Minister of Health, through phone call and online meeting. On a live teleconference, he informed the Vice President about the current condition and the significant needs of conducting a massive test. His top-down and bottom-up networking approach has significantly helped him to make a change that made West Java as the first province who conducted a proactive test and able to contain the spreading cluster of the virus.

However, the network would not be strongly arranged without his excellent rhetorical ability. Kamil claimed that his policy was taken based on rationality; evidence-based approach in which he employed scientific as one of his strategy to combat the virus, that "good data good decision; bad data bad decision" (ILC, 2020). Such condition—the way he framed the problem in his argument echoes the discourse of rational analysis in policy choice brought by Dewey (1910). He argues that policy choice is determined by a logical analysis to find the best possible solution. However, Lindbloom (1959) points out that there is a limitation to what determines policy choice; hence a bounded rationality analysis of the problem is a "good enough".

Reflecting on Kamil's struggle, it seems that the limitation of access to central government policy arena urged him—borrowing Lindbloom's (1959)— "muddling through" the analysis of the problem. Hence, to challenge central government testing and tracing monopoly, Kamil bargained another venue by convincing the central government that testing asymptomatic suspected COVID-19 patient was—scientifically—significant to identify the cluster and detain the spread of the virus. Based on Mintrom's idea of policy entrepreneur attribute (2019), Kamil has a robust social acuity; he was capable of reading that in pandemic times the use of science in decision

making was considered logical. The way he promoted his idea was persuasive by emphasizing the reliability of the data and quoting the calculation from scientist he collaborated with in formulating his decision.

Ridwan Kamil is a good marketing (interview GA)

Kamil is charismatic […] he always ready to glorify his idea (interview PE)

As a governor, he understood the rule of the game of his ambivalent position in playing the power game with the central government as he repeatedly emphasized his role as the representative of the central government that "we are at the same boat" or "we are all in this together". He formulated "a good kid" impression in each of his demand and critic that what he criticized is for the better response to COVID-19.

West Java province government will obey to central government protocol. (Suara.com, 2020 (translated))

I do not see any difficulties (in coordinating with the central government) only we are proactive. (BBC Indonesia, 2020 (translated))

COVID-19 is not central government or local government problem. It is OUR problem. (ILC, 2020 (translated))

[excuse, us, sir] If we took initiatives is only because we understand the difficulties that the central government has faced to coordinate every dimension in this emergency time. That is why we initiate many programs…, [before massive test program was decentralized], I believe that the suspected COVID-19 cases have doubled even [may be] tripled, however, this proactive test have proven my measurement is right. (Kompas TV, 2020 (translated))

Having almost thirty million followers on Instagram, Kamil had a high exposure and influence towards his policy and image. His Instagram posting often cited by the reporter as the content in a newspaper article. Moreover, "Kamil is a media darling" (interview PE) whose critic is rarely found in mainstream media. Therefore, many news media who reported Kamil's work during COVID-19 framed their headline to sound more positive in comparison to the headline about the central government's work. For example, the headline from Liputan6.com (2020 (translated)) "MOIA praise Ridwan Kamil action in response to COVID19 in West Java"; meanwhile, BBC Indonesia (2020 (translated)) headline "Coronavirus: Jokowi announces COVID-19 management actions but without national command". He also promoted his policy idea through his Instagram platform, newspaper article and TV interview; moreover, in media mainstream—mainly TV interview, he often delivered an explicit message for central government to consider his policy proposal. So, he got many advantages from his media platform and his "friendship" with mainstream media.

4.2 Social Assistance Policy: A Chaotic Policy Arena

During the attempt to manage the economic emergency, Kamil mentioned his struggle amid the social assistance policy. He was regret to admit that almost two-third of population in West Java are asking government assistance. Furthermore, he hardly criticized the schemes of social assistance policy where each ministry, province, regency, and municipality had different programs. The existing of multiple policy actors in one policy arena with varying sets of ideas caused a chaos idea contestation. Overall, there were nine various programs of social assistance policy: family hope program from the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA), village fund from Ministry of Village and Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (MOVDT), basic commodities from President Widodo, cash and commodities assistance from regency and municipality, cash and

commodities assistance from the province office, food assistance from Empowerment of Family Welfare of West Java, Pre-employment card, and social assistance for lay off workers.

As a result, Kamil was overwhelmed by people's complaining, especially in his Instagram comment column because some people were eligible for, for example, family hope program from MOSA and some are eligible for commodities assistance from provincial office. However, the arrival of the aid from West Java provincial office was earlier rather than the assistance from the central government, and there was no socialization to the people regarding this policy which then creates a chaotic mess. The condition worsens when there was a viral video about people refusing and returning aid from West Java government, "bring this [share of relief] back to Kamil" said a man in the video who was disappointed because only two houses getting the aid in his neighbourhood.

Kamil argued that the citizen needed one service for social assistance because they were confused by different times of delivery and various utilities. Moreover, Kamil was also questioning the validity of the data for social assistance due to varying data between central and local government. Kamil said: "Central Bureau of Statistic has its own data, MOSA has their own data, MOVDT has their own data" (CNN Indonesia, 2020 (translated)). MOSA, on the other hand, responded

> I would rather be quick than correct [...] Just pick one, [either] be quick or be precise. I think it's impossible to achieve both. We are not a country with sophisticated data infrastructure. (The Jakarta Post, 2020)

During his interview in ILC, Kamil explained the cause of this mess was un-updated existing data, a classic problem in Indonesian government where each ministry and local governments have a different standard of poverty. Also, there was a slug pace of regular data update from municipalities and regencies. Hence, the recipient data had never been synchronized over the years, and it affected the worst during COVID-19 crisis; the government mistargeted aid disbursement. Kamil, then, purposed one door one-stop service of social assistance policy to President. However, President delegated Coordinator Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, Muhajir Effendi to solve the problem in governors meeting, which unfortunately refused Kamil's proposal.

4.2.1 Budget Inadequacy, Poor Data Management, and Intersectoral Affairs

West Java has experienced a significant increase of social assistance recipient during COVID-19 crisis from nine million people to thirty-eight million people, and so far, West Java has distributed IDR1,2 trillion for social assistance and health equipment. A small amount in comparison to the needs of people in West Java, hence, Kamil still needed central government's support even though he got a donation from the rest twenty millions of West Java people solidarity through PIKOBAR application. Also, Kamil argued that the central government was fiscally unfair in giving the aid to the regional government, namely the village fund that was distributed based on the number of villages without considering the number of populations.

Over the years, the data collection system of vulnerable people has never been synchronized between the central and local governments due to lack of regular updates. The challenges that Kamil faced was that the central government (MOVDT and MOSA) bypassed the provincial government and went straight to municipalities and regencies to get the recipient data; thus, the provincial government had no power to control the reliability of the data. In other words, Kamil had neither hierarchical nor political resources to coordinate both regencies and municipalities under West Java province and the central government in recipient data management. To overcome such a mess, WJDS built *sapa warga* application to coordinate aid recipient data input from the lowest level of administration: neighbourhood community association.

Furthermore, the social assistance involved intersectoral affairs in which each provider had a different interest. For example, Tirto.id (2020) had investigated that there were many critics to the President's assistance for the label of the President's assistance itself written on the goodie bag as a pretentious publicity. Also, MOSA and MOVDT had different target and sector of social assistance; MOSA focused on the poorest households who have children between 0-15 years old. Meanwhile, MOVDT allocated village fund for the poorest households who lived in certain villages and did not include in MOSA's social assistance program. At the same time, the provincial and local government had different social assistance program that targeted, also, vulnerable people. This particular condition created overlapping and redundancy of aid recipients, hence, mistargeted aid distribution. Indonesia is well-known for its people solidarity and tolerance, therefore, if one family received social assistance while the other did not, then this condition would create social jealousy, some even returned the aid as the form of solidarity and protest to the government. Yet, the sectoral ego has ignored the urgency of people's need in the time of crisis, and instead of synergy, each provider came out with their own program, including West Java government.

> Yes, we are proactive [….] too proactive until our assistance come earlier rather than the central government. Sometimes there is a negative effect of being proactive, especially when implementing policy with less coordination; it is not good (Interview DMA)

Reflecting Mahi (2010) that even though each provider had explicit categories for social assistance, but the area of autonomy of social assistance policy has remained unclear; who can give to whom and in what condition. As consequences, a chaotic mass of aid distribution is inevitable.

Kamil stressed that he also had no legal resources; no regulation manages the authority of the provincial and local government of having one service social assistance. He said, "As an evaluation, in the future crisis, please give greater authority to regional [provincial and local] government, especially, in implementing one service social assistance" (ILC, 2020 (translated)). During his interview with ILC, he explained that as an archipelago country, Indonesia has a different culture in each region where the perception of fairness—in the context of social protection is different. So, the only capable and reliable level of government who supposed to handle social assistance is the one which closest to the people and understood the people needs best: municipalities and regencies.

4.2.2 From Condemnation to Appreciation: Fake Venue, Impersistent Coupling, and Rebuilding Trust

Most of Kamil's Instagram postings show the synergy and solidarity with the central government's policy, even when the test kit from MOH was three days later than the donation from Yayasan Budha Tzu Chi, he framed it positively. This reality shows the persona and image that Kamil built in regards to his relationship with central government through his Instagram as one harmony. Besides, "Kamil's political party's coalition is also supported Widodo; thus, Kamil needs to stay in the same line with the central government" (Interview PE).

Nevertheless, during his struggle amid social assistance policy contestation, Kamil once posted an intriguing meme (see figure 4.3). As reported by suara.com (2020), Kamil seemed confused in determining the right decision to prioritize health emergency or economic emergency during COVID-19 crisis. On the one hand, the central government ordered to reopen the economy after partial lockdown, which includes handing out social assistance. On the other hand, the number of COVID-19 positive patient was still spiking up. Suara.com (2020) emphasized that the meme was attaching central government policy and later Kamil confirmed during a TV interview with ILC. He said that the process of going back and forth—to fix social assistance recipient data—was frustrating, not to mention thousands of complaints within his Instagram comment section and PIKOBAR customer service. There are many headlines of the newspaper article that emphasize Kamil's critique to central government performance, some use the term

"*kritik keras*" or "harsh critic" to picture how hard Kamil was in questioning central government's work on data management of social assistance policy.

Kamil used his media platform—by posting the meme—as a political venue to affect change. According to Brouwer and Huitema (2017), venue shopping will be effectively used when there was little or no support for policy change which also hit Kamil in this particular context. However, Kamil was not persistent enough to wait for the right timing; he had got emotional and reactive while venue shopping must be avoided when it damages an important relation (Brouwer and Huitema, 2017).

Kamil is sentimental, easily provoked (Interview PE)

For example, he was not building a solid coalition nor networking; instead, he directly talked to President—bypassing related ministries and unaffiliated with fellow governors. Kingdon (1995) mentioned that windows of opportunity would be opened when it matches three streams: political, policy and problem. Meanwhile, in this case, Kamil had not prepared a comprehensive solution for the policy stream; yet, he purposed change without further follow-up action or resource exchange. Furthermore, the moment when he purposed policy change, the political stream was not yet opened; there was no politician with higher authority who was willing to accommodate his proposal at a national level. This condition, hence, made him creating a new venue to get the opportunity through his media platform—a fake one because eventually, there was no participation and decision-making authority for his proposal.

Figure 4.2 Satire Meme

Source: Kamil, Ridwan. 2020 Today's Routine 14 Mei [Instagram]. Available at https://www.instagram.com/p/CAKGk56AcvR/

Realizing his reactive response, he tried to gain back the trust of the central government. Trust is easy to lose but difficult to establish (Brouwer and Huitema, 2017). Fortunately, he had

an excellent rhetorical persuasion skill, for instance, he appreciated MOIA and MOVDT during TV interview even though they were not invited in the panel, he said:

I appreciate MOVDT who gave the flexibility for managing village fund so that the percentage will be not too strict. (ILC, 2020 ((translated))

We, finally, appreciate MOIA who will develop special server for new-registered vulnerable people data entry that is centralized under the Population and Civil Registration Agency (ILC, 2020 ((translated))

In order to rebuild the trust, Kamil understood that "Central government, they love to being acknowledged" (Interview GA).

Chapter 5
Policy Contestation: Resources, Strategy and The Rationale of Its Effect

This chapter offers the analysis of Kamil's political strategy based on mini case studies that are presented in the previous chapter. Both cases studies have a similar feature with a distinct outcome; both are challenging central government policy, one is a success, but the other is not. Hence it suits to compare and contrast them by using the instrument of policy entrepreneur strategy of Huitema and Meijerink (2010) within the concept of power-dependence of Rhodes (2018) to understand the political strategy that was employed within the structural government system of Indonesia. Also, it aims to answer the last sub-question: (How) does Kamil's political strategy affect his intergovernmental relationship? And the main research question of this RP: What are the characteristics and effect of the political strategy of Governor Kamil in contesting the response of the central government to the COVID-19 pandemic?

The chapter will be divided into four sections. First, it analyses the comparison of resources that were used in each case study to bargain with the central government. Secondly, it investigates the pattern of interaction of policy network; compare and contrast the strategies that were used during the interaction between two different case studies. Next, it describes the effect that has occurred from Kamil's political strategy, including to his intergovernmental relationship; how and why certain changes happened and vice versa; also, it identifies the outcome of the policy change. Finally, it will provide the reflection and lesson learned for policy entrepreneur strategy literature, in particular during COVID-19 crisis. And, it will also add the discussion of the political nature of decentralization, in particular, the role of governor in decentralization system of Indonesia and its implication to intergovernmental relation.

5.1 Resources Interdependency and Media as Resource

Central to the power-dependence concept is the degree of the interdependency of an organization upon another organization in resources ownership which later will affect the choice of strategy to regulate the relationship between central and local governments. Rhodes (2018:168) claimed that "no matter how great the power of a central department over a local authority, it is still dependent to some degree on that local authority", and reflecting on the first case study, this statement has been proved relevant. During pandemic where uncertainties have heightened, the central government demonstrated minimum knowledge to manage the crisis whereas "Ridwan Kamil is innovative for his collaboration with academics and scientist" (Interview PPE) has become an informational resource for his administration. The central government, thus, depend on the innovation that he created together with universities and private sector, and this is what Kamil offered in exchange to legal resource—the permission to legalize decentralization of testing and tracing suspected COVID-19 patient from the central government. The legal resource is considered the most significant power of central government because it was able to determine its asymmetrical power relation to local government, or as Benson said in Rhodes (2018) an authoritative allocation. Nevertheless, local government can seek for an issue area that is not covered yet by the central government, and that was what Kamil had done. He claimed the authority beyond central government arena by purposing to test and trace asymptomatic COVID-19 patient, whereas the central government targeted symptomatic patient.

I argue that Kamil has a strong bargaining position to challenge centralized testing and tracing policy. Although West Java government experienced budget inadequacy during COVID-

19 management, as stated by Rhodes (2018) that resources can be substituted one for another. For example, being financially dependent to the central government does not make Kamil lack financial resources; through his ad-hoc team—as a part of the informational resource, he gathered assistance from various sources and built a public-private partnership. His collaborative governance, in fact, is the strongest resources he ever had in contesting central government's policy. However, Kamil's coalition parties support Widodo; hence, politically, he was under controlled to be on the same side with the central government. But, his attempts to challenge central government testing and tracing policy could not less his political resource in provincial legislative office nor his hierarchical resource down to regencies and municipalities under West Java government for they fully supported Kamil to decentralize testing and tracing of COVID-19 patient.

In contrast to the first case study, Kamil did not offer any resources to exchange in the second case study because he had less resource in comparison to the first case study. The main difference between the first and second case study is that the second case study involved many sectors and actors, while the first case study associated only with MOH. Therefore, I argue that Kamil was powerless during his battle amid social assistance policy in the sense that he had no authority and influence of the social assistance scheme at a national level. Also, the provincial government was not considered knowledgeable for poverty data management because it is regencies and municipalities who have recorded the data. As a governor, Kamil's positionality is challenging. He has hierarchical resource over cities and regencies under West Java province; the function of monitoring on the national program at the local level. As his political resource, he might influence the process of decision making, but legitimately and constitutionally, regen and major have their own power over their cities or regencies in which governor cannot intervene. In other words, he is the mediator between the central government and local government, but in the second case study, he lost this role.

However, his "friendship" with media mainstream and his social media exposure, indeed gave a little kick which I will explain the advantage of media venue further in the next subchapter, but the point is media is not only his strategy but also his resource. Looking at the framing of media in both case studies, it seems that Kamil has done many things to fight for what is right; the glorification of his work titled many headlines. Furthermore, his Instagram account promotes achievement, collaboration and—sometimes, his concerns, and along with media mainstream, he can lead the framing to wherever direction he desires. Rhodes (2018) admits that there will be additional resources in the future research of central-local relations; hence, I purpose media resource as one of the sources of Kamil's power.

5.2 Ground Analysis: Values, Interest and Strategy

In COVID-19 pandemic era, governments are uncertain of how to manage the crisis; everything they are doing is trial and error. So, I think the policy monopoly of COVID-19 management— even though it has been institutionalized, is not stable. However, still, to challenge the current policy, there must be, at least the seed of an idea (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). The first case study shows a well-develop policy idea; Kamil and his team were well-prepared with due diligent, benchmarking and initial test for Kamil himself and his team before purposing to MOH. This condition means they had sufficient information and resources to sell their ideas and more than ready to conduct a proactive test.

During his struggle to claim the authority of testing and tracing suspected COVID-19 patient, Kamil understood the interest of the central government to centralize testing and tracing— they worried the local government would announce the full identity of the patient, as happened in the first case. Nonetheless, the infection was getting worse, and he needed to capture the pattern of spreading chain. It seems that Kamil had tried so hard to convince the central government; that he would not violate the privacy of the patient and obey central government instruction.

Furthermore, he continuously sold his idea through a logical explanation of science-based policy and prompted the central government, in particular, MOH that his idea will work as also success in South Korea which show his capability to persuade people to think about the problem as the way he thinks.

He realized that COVID-19 is a dangerous disease and West Java had not enough resources to overcome the effect in the health sector as well as the economic sector as he learned from Italy, South Korea, Turkey and other countries that had been affected earlier. So, to gather all resources, he needed to embrace everyone and urged all sectors to join the "war" along with West Java government by creating a campaign #wewillwin against COVID-19 on Instagram. Holding on to this narration and became aware that he needed more support for future policy-making, he fixed his communication issue with political actors in West Java. He convinced them that COVID-19 is the problem of everyone, and it was better to confront the problem together. Additionally, he is conscious of the value of solidarity in the West Java community; hence he is confident of getting the support from political actors in West Java because they share the same "enemy": coronavirus.

The relationship between Kamil, Baswedan and Pranowo has been exposed in the media since before the coronavirus hit Indonesia, Narasi TV even named this trio as "fun governors association". They share many similarities; they are young politician, innovative, governor, of a big province, and their names are on the top list of 2024 presidential candidates. Moreover, the same experience with the central government during COVID-19 struggle has brought them into a strong coalition; they share resources and ideas to support each other's dilemma. As a result, I think the collaboration with political actors in West Java and his fellow governor has built a solid coalition for each party has the same vision in which they linked and create—borrowing Benford and Snow in Huitema and Meijerink (2010), frame alignment.

Kamil was at the right timing when he purposed testing and tracing decentralization policy. "The window of opportunity is now" (Interview GA) when the problem, policy and politic streams have met. The problem stream was the disability to pattern the spreading chain of the virus, while the solution that Kamil offered was decentralizing testing and tracing. Consequently, the political stream was when MOH willing to accommodate the idea of testing and tracing decentralization. However, MOH willingness was once stagnating; thus, Kamil seek for another venue to create opportunity, and he chose media. Through media—mainly newspaper and TV interview, he convinced MOH to approve his proposal by using his phenomenal rhetorical persuasion. Being in an ambivalent position, Kamil said that central government and West Java are in this problem together, which shows that Kamil asked for central government cooperation to solve the problem collectively.

From all strategies that Kamil has practised in the first case study, I argue that his networking management, in particular, his collaboration with private sectors and universities has made him a prominent contender to the central government as well as other regions in Indonesia. Kamil has proved that with a minimum provincial budget, he could survive and thrive in managing COVID-19 crisis.

On the contrary, the second case study shows multiple policy arenas with various sets of the idea; it involved two different ministries in central government, the President, provincial government, municipalities and regencies where each part has a different scheme. Such condition resonances Howlet and Ramesh (1998), the situation where multiple idea sets disperse without a single idea dominate each other will result in a chaotic circumstance. Hence, the arena itself is already problematic plus the poverty data varied between central and local government, then chaos is inevitable. In this overlapping arena of authority, Kamil brought the idea of one door one-stop service of social assistance policy to bargain the central government to overcome messiness of social assistance in the field. I believe the idea development did not consider the community attribute or the politic of sectoral ego, which is common in Indonesia. So, I think he realized that

it was beyond his authority. Therefore, he did not establish a solid coalition nor trying to sell his idea and convince the central government to adopt his idea.

Kamil is not fond of bureaucracy, in the first case, he straightly contacted MOH, while in the second case he talked to President directly—bypassing related ministries, which I think cleaver yet sloppy. He recognizes that bureaucracy would slow down his work, and lobbying either MOVDT or MOSA is a waste of time. Instead, he went to negotiate with a higher position which is President, cleaver, but I think he did not notice that everyone aimed President acknowledgement in this crisis. However, the viral video got worsen the situation where his image and name were at stake. Hence, he came out with a critic about central government performance on poverty data management. It seems that he tried to make the central government reconsider his offer by embarrassing the central government in media, which contrast to what he did in the first case study. He uses media venue to clean his name by moving the burden to the central government, which is understandable because it was his popularity that on a stake. Looking at the opportunity that did not stand at his side, then, he created his own opportunity by posting a satire meme on his social media platform. He did not explicitly say about the tension which is safe enough for his position, but he framed it as confusion and let people guess what does he mean by that particular meme.

Both case studies employ venue shopping, in particular, media venue to create an opportunity. But, Kamil utilized media venue not only when he had a little support such as in the second case study, but also when he had sufficient support to push central government as happening in the first case study. In fact, he did venue shopping simultaneously with another strategy. And, this finding contradicts Brouwer and Huitema (2018) who claim that venue shopping is employed as the last resource and only use when the support is very little. These case studies, however, have proved his outstanding rhetorical persuasion ability; not only to selling and negotiate the ideas but also to criticize adequately. In delivering his critic, he learns that a fierce fight will not work, instead a mild yet harsh critic with a hint of politeness effectively address his interest. As a policy entrepreneur, he has inherent capabilities and required skills that make him exquisite. He understands the community attribute (value and interest of actors), good in team building, engaging with various audiences, and making a logical argument in negotiation. For this reason, he can manifest himself in the political stage of Indonesia and work an effective deployment of strategies. However, from this case studies, I notice that within this ambivalent position, Kamil tend to be the representative of his people rather than the representative of the central government which is reflected in his strategies. One of the conspicuous examples is his rhetorical in emphasizing his position as a central government representative to gain central government legalization for testing and tracing policy.

5.3 The Effect and Its Rationale

Following the explanation above, it is clear that the national government environment has been fragmented into highly functional differentiation since COVID-19 diminish the normal state of affair. During the crisis, information is a valuable asset; hence, policymaker tends to rely on experts from an epidemiologist, pharmacist, medical professional, engineer until data analyst to gain rational problem-solving. So, technocrats now depend on the expertise of professional or in other words, professional influence policy-making process. I do not say that this policy-making differentiation did not exist before COVID-19 surged. Rather, I argue the degree of dependency on highly differentiated professional in policy-making has dramatically risen after Kamil successfully change centralized testing and tracing suspected COVID-19 patient and glorified his science-based policymaking. For this reason, as elaborated before, Kamil bargained informational resource in exchange to legal resource to the central government, and it was a success because the central government needed the information and expertise that Kamil had to manage the crisis. Such success also resembles on the adaptation of Kamil's policy innovation by the central

government and other regions, which resonances his name at the national level. As a result, his political strategy has affected his electability for the presidential candidate in 2024. Kamil's electability increased by 3,9 per cent, the highest among other candidates (the Jakarta post, 2020).

Meanwhile, social assistance policy meant to give a stimulus for economic expansion after its massive collapse as the effect of imposing lockdown. Kamil's idea was to simplify the distribution of aid so that people could receive assistance at the same time. By criticizing the central government in the media, he can suppress the effect of the viral video to secure his legitimacy. From this particular case, however, I learn that the politic of sectoral ego has severely rooted in central and local governments of Indonesia. Each policy actor has different agenda and interest, and I would say they do not value the bargaining room in the overlapping policy arena; instead, they promote their own program.

Consequently, Kamil's political strategy has gotten him into a spark of tension with the central government, which later he tried to regain back the trust. As clarified in the previous subchapter, Kamil understood that by any chances he still needed central government financial support for rebounding economic growth in West Java. Also, the moment when he lost his role as the mediator to municipalities/regencies under West Java province does not loosen his relationship. In fact, he reclaims his position by supporting social assistance recipient data input through the digital system *sapa warga* made by WJDS and lobbying MOIA for centralized data entry.

5.4 Lessons Learned

Intergovernmental relation is not merely political structures within interest and relation between governments but also about the interpersonal relations between the actors who sit behind the desk. Hence, reflecting from these case studies, in times of crisis, a governor as a policy entrepreneur must have the fine qualities of rhetorical persuasions, networking management, understanding policy arena and timing but above all the ability to utilize media not only as a venue but also as a resource. During COVID-19 crisis, when people spend more time on the screen, the flow of information circulate rapidly. By using media as a resource, a policy entrepreneur can affect the narration of development by sharing the policy idea to the public. At the same time, selling the idea—since the idea has gone public. There is also a possibility to gain support (or rejection) from many parties, but conversely, it can reach a broader range of supporter, if needed, indeed. Furthermore, the idea of venue shopping to create a new opportunity for policy influence can be done effectively through media. Nowadays, in fact, the government has used social media in intergovernmental affairs, so seeking the audience for policy change in media is plausible.

Channelling the overlapping arena of authority in intergovernmental relation of Indonesia, it seems that the politic of sectoral ego is commonly happening where related actors expect to take the credit of policy success. It is challenging to encourage synergy between ministries, moreover local government. The strengthened role of a governor in Local Government law demand synergy at the local level; however, the part of central government representative at the same time the leader of the region for governor is highly ambiguous, which reflecting in this case studies. Hence, it is important to notice that even though the law has explicitly clarified the right and responsibilities of each tier of government, in particular the provincial government and its duality, but the implementation is still vague. There are biases and different interpretation of the area of the authority so that it establishes the area of bargaining and negotiation; however, this gap somehow creates a considerable adversary from regions who have sufficient resource and smart state of strategy to the central government. Not that position can harm the central government strong stand in this unitary state, but more as an associate to contemplate a better option of problem-solving.

Chapter 6
Conclusions

This RP attempts to investigate the political strategy of Ridwan Kamil during his contestation against central government response to COVID-19 pandemic. Also, to understand how the intergovernmental relation system in Indonesia has affected his strategy as a policy entrepreneur. It has been acknowledged in this RP, supporting Rhodes (2018) statement, that central government somewhat depend on the provincial government on resources, expertise and policy implementation. Based on the comparison of two case studies, I argue that Kamil has a strong bargaining position to challenge the central government response to COVID-19 pandemic. Overall, the most valuable asset that Kamil had during his contestation to central government policy was his informational resources. He had support from an ad-hoc team, TAP team, in his circle; he relied on the experts from various best universities in Indonesia as the input for his science-based policy; he collaborated with universities and private sectors to create innovation in response to COVID-19 pandemic. However, this RP purpose a new resource from his power, a media resource in which Kamil use to create a new opportunity and promoting his policy idea.

To benefit from his resources, Kamil employed several strategies I gather from Huitema and Meijerink (2010): idea development, coalition building, seizing the opportunity, venue hunting and networking. Generally, Kamil's networking management is the most robust strategy in comparison to other strategies. By his collaboration with private sectors and universities, Kamil had proved that the lack of financial resource did not affect his bargaining position; instead, solid networking substituted the gap to successful policy change. The success of his strategy was justified from his inherent capabilities and well-trained skill. Kamil has the quality of a good marketing, his rhetorical persuasion skill, in particular, has helped him in the negotiation process and selling the idea to get engagement and assistance from the various sector. His strategies mainly featured media to reach a broader network in selling his ideas and getting a sponsor for his policy or creating a new opportunity through media venue from media mainstream or his social media. Hence, this RP purpose the advantage of media emphasizes in policy entrepreneur strategy.

As a result of Kamil's political strategy, there has been a dramatic increase in professional and expert involvement in the policy-making process during the COVID-19 crisis. Hence, it escalates the technocrat dependency on expertise outside the government office. Furthermore, for Kamil himself, his electability has risen, the highest among other 2024 presidential candidates. As an incentive for his policy that has been adopted by central and other regional governments. Meanwhile, from his condemnation to the central government, Kamil suffers the trust he needed to rebuild because he realized that he lacked financial resources to rebound the economic in West Java after lockdown. Subsequently, Kamil maintained his relationship with municipalities/regencies under West Java government by supporting social assistance recipient data input in the neighbourhood community level.

Finally, This RP found that in regards to his ambiguous positionality, Kamil tends to side with his role as the local leader rather than the central government representative, which is shown through his strategies. Kamil's background as the mayor of Bandung city—part of West Java province has influenced his leadership in West Java province; as a mayor, he had only one role, to be politically responsible for his people. Meanwhile, as a governor, he also responsible for keeping local government under his administration align with the central government, but the absence till unclear command from the central government during the initial crisis phase of COVID-19 has urged him to step up because he bounded to the strong attachment and closeness to the people of West Java. Both cases have proved that his rhetorical of his obedience to central government is solely to exchange legal resource for implementing his interest in West Java. Furthermore, this

duality creates a conflict of interest; on the one hand, the governor is elected, which means they are legitimate and politically responsible for the benevolence of the people. Hence, the fact that a governor is a vice to the central government is becoming irrelevant if the national policy contradicts sub-national's needs as reflected in this case.

The debate between centralized or decentralized disaster management approach has arisen among public policy scholars. Yet, from this study, I learn that a comprehensive national command is vital in the management of pandemic at the local level; however, the role of regional government in disaster management is also substantial in building community resilience. Hence, the combination involvement of the national government in giving commands that cut across regions, and provincial and local government in pandemic management is highly advisable. It is also important to notice that the central government need to give a sufficient degree of devolution to the regional government in managing the pandemic while commanding from the national level. Furthermore, the lack of clarity in the law of local government has caused multiple interpretations in the separation of power, mainly, in the management of pandemic thus creates rooms for bargaining. However, the phenomenon of sectoral ego within sectors and levels of government in Indonesia has caused a lack of coordination. Hence, it is difficult to pull off synergy for intergovernmental collaboration in Indonesia which needs more attention in future research. I realize that a media analysis in my methodology might not capture the whole story, so for future research, I suggest an ethnographic approach to witness the reality and get a deeper meaning and understanding of policy entrepreneur strategy in the policy change process.

In this conclusion, I wish to contribute to the literature of policy entrepreneur strategy by adding the advantage of media featured in the strategy of a policy entrepreneur, particularly, the strategy in a time of crisis. Additionally, I also need to share my input about Rhodes (2018) power-dependence framework by confirming that there are no clear boundaries of the relationship in the sequence of micro, meso and macro-level of analysis. However, the analysis of resource exchange and resource identification is plausible as the first step in defining central-local relation. Furthermore, this RP willing to contribute an additional resource to the current resource list: a media as resource.

Appendices

Appendix 1 List of Newspaper Article

No	Released Date	Headline	Media	Reporter/ Editor	Source	Access Date
1	12/03/2020	Ridwan Kamil: Izinkan Kami yang di Daerah Lakukan Tes Corona	suara.com	Reza Gunadha and Husna Rahmayunita	https://www.suara.com/news/2020/03/12/132936/ridwan-kamil-izinkan-kami-yang-di-daerah-lakukan-tes-corona	15/06/2020
2	16/03/2020	Virus corona: Jokowi umumkan langkah pengendalian Covid-19, tapi tanpa 'komando nasional'	BBC Indonesia	N/A	https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-51897307	15/06/2020
3	17/03/2020	Jokowi Operasi Rahasia Corona: Anies, Emil & Ganjar Sebaliknya	Tirto.id	Adi Briantika	https://tirto.id/jokowi-operasi-rahasia-corona-anies-emil-ganjar-sebaliknya-eFus	20/06/2020
4	18/03/2020	Ridwan Kamil: Puncak Wabah Virus Corona di Jawa Barat Akhir Maret	suara.com	Reza Gunadha and Ruhaeni Intan	https://www.suara.com/news/2020/03/18/135218/ridwan-kamil-puncak-wabah-virus-corona-di-jawa-barat-akhir-maret	15/06/2020
5	19/03/2020	Mendagri Puji Langkah Ridwan Kamil Tangani Corona Covid-19 di Jabar	liputan 6.com	Huyogo Simbolon	https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4205597/mendagri-puji-langkah-ridwan-kamil-tangani-corona-covid-19-di-jabar	20/06/2020
6	24/03/2020	Laporan ke Presiden, Ridwan Kamil Jelaskan Rinci Penanganan Covid-19 di Jabar	liputan 6.com	Stella maris	https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4210451/laporan-ke-presiden-ridwan-kamil-jelaskan-rinci-penanganan-covid-19-di-jabar	15/06/2020

No	Released Date	Headline	Media	Reporter/ Editor	Source	Access Date
7	03/04/2020	Kang Emil Yakin Kasus Covid-19 di RI Berlipat-lipat!	CNBC Indonesia	Lidya Julita Sembiring	https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200403172102-4-149692/kang-emil-yakin-kasus-covid-19-di-ri-berlipat-lipat	15/06/2020
8	04/04/2020	4 Masukan Ridwan Kamil kepada Pusat soal Penanganan Virus Corona	Tempo.co	Dewi Nurlita and Amirullah	https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1327578/4-masukan-ridwan-kamil-kepada-pusat-soal-penanganan-virus-corona	15/06/2020
9	04/04/2020	Ridwan Kamil Minta Pemerintah Pusat Koordinasikan Daerah soal COVID-19	IDN Times	Fitang Budhi Adhitia	https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/fitang-adhitia/ridwan-kamil-minta-pemerintah-pusat-koordinasikan-daerah-soal-covid/1	15/06/2020
10	18/04/2020	Yunarto Wijaya: Ridwan Kamil Paling Konkret Tangani Corona	Sindonews	Agung Bakti Sarasa	https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/3824/701/yunarto-wijaya-ridwan-kamil-paling-konkret-tangani-corona-1587211477	15/06/2020
11	20/04/2020	COVID19: West Java distributes cash, food, to greater Bandung residents prior to PSBB	The Jakarta Post	Arya Dipa	https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/04/20/covid-19-west-java-distributes-cash-food-to-greater-bandung-residents-prior-to-psbb.html?utm_term=Autofeed&utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook#Echobox=1587384856	15/06/2020
12	20/04/2020	Gubernur Ridwan Kamil Catat Poin Penting Musrenbangnas, Apa Saja?	Sindonews.com	N/A	https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/13243/701/gubernur-ridwan-kamil-catat-poin-penting-musrenbangnas-apa-saja-1588255453	15/06/2020
13	23/04/2020	Model Pemerintahan Kolaboratif Lebih Efektif untuk Hadapi Pandemi	Kompas.com	Ingki Rinaldi	https://kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2020/04/23/covid-19-kepercayaan-pada-pemerintah-makin-digerus-hoaks/?_t=b2VnJXTSiZNDsYWJ3twl9F	20/06/2020

No	Released Date	Headline	Media	Reporter/ Editor	Source	Access Date
					PbtMEFFXe36lZMiXfruyYuMkiOCiRiSH MCayxMi6kk	
14	23/04/2020	Jokowi Akui Masih Ada Ego Sektoral Menangani Covid-19, Juga Saat PSBB	Kompas.com	Ihsanudin	https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/ 04/23/11520051/jokowi-akui-masih-ada-ego-sektoral-menangani-covid-19-juga-saat-psbb	21/06/2020
15	24/04/2020	VIDEO: Viral, Emak-Emak Usir Petugas Pembawa Paket Bansos Pemprov Jabar	Liputan6.com	Mohamad Hafidz Aldi	https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/ 4236352/video-viral-emak-emak-usir-petugas-pembawa-paket-bansos-pemprov-jabar	21/06/2020
16	28/04/2020	Cegah Konflik, Ridwan Kamil Usulkan agar Bansos Disalurkan Satu Pintu	Detik.com	Yudha Maulana	https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-4993943/cegah-konflik-ridwan-kamil-usulkan-agar-bansos-disalurkan-satu-pintu	21/06/2020
17	01/05/2020	Saat Bansos COVID-19 Terlambat Gara-Gara Kantong "Bantuan Presiden"	Tirto.id	Adrian Pratama Taher	https://tirto.id/saat-bansos-covid-19-terlambat-gara-gara-kantong-bantuan-presiden-fgkt	21/06/2020
18	04/05/2020	Three passengers of Bogor-Jakarta commuter line test positive for COVID-19	The Jakarta post	Rizki Fachriansyah	https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/20 20/05/04/three-passengers-of-bogor-jakarta-commuter-line-test-positive-for-covid-19.html	21/06/2020
19	07/05/2020	Not our responsibility: Minister fends off criticism of COVID-19 social aid distribution	Jakarta post	Ghina Ghaliya	https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/20 20/05/07/not-our-responsibility-minister-fends-off-criticism-of-covid-19-social-aid-distribution.html	20/06/2020
20	08/05/2020	Ridwan Kamil Kritik Keras Pemerintah Pusat Soal Data Bansos	CNN Indonesia	N/A	https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/ 20200508015745-20-501129/ridwan-kamil-kritik-keras-pemerintah-pusat-soal-data-bansos	20/06/2020

No	Released Date	Headline	Media	Reporter/ Editor	Source	Access Date
21	12/05/2020	Ridwan Kamil Sesalkan Penyaluran Bansos dari Pemerintah Pusat Tidak Satu Pintu dengan Daerah	Liputan6.com	Puti Meta Surya Putra	https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4251589/ridwan-kamil-sesalkan-penyaluran-bansos-dari-pemerintah-pusat-tidak-satu-pintu-dengan-daerah	16/06/2020
22	14/05/2020	Ridwan Kamil Sebar Meme Corona, Publik: Pemerintah Pusat Bikin Bingung ya?	suara.com	Reza Gunadha and Ruhaeni Intan	https://www.suara.com/news/2020/05/14/172737/ridwan-kamil-sebar-meme-corona-publik-pemerintah-pusat-bikin-bingung-ya	16/06/2020
23	09/06/2020	Electability of governors Ganjar, Ridwan rises amid COVID-19's 'electoral incentives': Survey	The Jakarta post	Ghina Galiya	https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/06/09/electability-of-governors-ganjar-ridwan-rises-amid-covid-19s-electoral-incentives-survey.html	16/06/2020
24	11/06/2020	COVID-19 data central govt announces different from what we report, Ridwan Kamil says	The Jakarta post	Ardila Syakriah	https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/05/11/covid-19-data-central-govt-announces-different-from-what-we-report-ridwan-kamil-says.html	15/06/2020
25	20/06/2020	Menkes dan Menko PMK Nilai Penanganan Covid-19 di Jabar Semakin Baik	Sindonews.com	Agung Bakti Sarasa	https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/76246/15/menkes-dan-menko-pmk-nilai-penanganan-covid-19-di-jabar-semakin-baik-1592662014	16/06/2020

No	Published Date	Media	Session	Source	Access Date
1	13/03/2020	Narasi TV	Gara-gara Corona │ Mata Najwa	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQB7_e7tWdE	02/08/2020
2	18/03/2020	TV One, Indonesian Lawyer Club (ILC)	Ke Pusat, Ridwan Kamil: Urusan Lockdown Mohon Dipertimbangkan	ILC tvOne	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yn2ADtAYU5Q	25/07/2020
3	18/03/2020	CNN Live	Ridwan Kamil: Anggaran Penanganan Covid-19 Sudah Disetujui	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FETR4M5VF80	25/07/2020
4	3/04/2020	Kompas TV	Ridwan Kamil ke Ma'ruf Amin: Pemda Kewalahan Tangani Pemudik	tvOne	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4IN4H0rMDGM	12/08/2020
5	3/04/2020	CNN	"Menata Asa, Melawan Corona" bersama Ridwan Kamil	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6M2coHToRU	02/08/2020
6	9/04/2020	Narasi TV	Berbelit urus corona	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6wwS0Y-VAJ8	25/07/2020
7	30/04/2020	Narasi TV	Utak atik mudik: Dana Desa untuk BLT korban corona	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LfQxTNbhch4	25/07/2020
8	6/05/2020	TV One, Indonesian Lawyer Club (ILC)	Ridwan Kamil: Jangan Sampai Karena Ekonomi, Tapi Darurat Kesehatan Ditinggalkan	ILC tvOne	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ywo2_Q7IvB4	25/07/2020
9	12/05/2020	TV One, Indonesian Lawyer Club (ILC)	Kisruh Bansos: Sengkarut Antara Pusat & Daerah [Part 3]	ILC tvOne	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eju5bQ2_yX4	12/08/2020

Appendix 3 List of Instagram Posting

| Reference Code	Instagram Post
Social Media data (in Bahasa)	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1v8fxuO54mdDcEW0FgdilO_8uXiU0JBFB/view?usp=sharing

Appendix 4 List of Coding and Network in Atlas.ti

Reference Code	Code and Network Management
Code list	https://drive.google.com/file/d/19i5NauV8xrEvjFZ9ldsplI6Jqg9EugT6/view?usp=sharing
Interaction network	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zZ-HY5_V4JBR0tnCKI2rmPBV2uyEttF_/view?usp=sharing
Resources network	https://drive.google.com/file/d/11jBzCqlLtiL6zVdfAkceB1sRnPivQo9m/view?usp=sharing
Power dependence network	https://drive.google.com/file/d/13r2xIXF_kK-i4eZpNU41VLsJI7fqaD5F/view?usp=sharing
Macro analysis network	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1I9af1OCZwAq_y-Yt2rFI92X7pRnyUCWR/view?usp=sharing

Appendix 5 List of Interviews

Reference Code	Affiliation	Date of Interview
Interview GA	Advisor to Governor Kamil	20/09/2020
Interview DMA	Disaster Management Agency of West Java	4/09/2020
Interview PE	Politic Expert in West Java	7/09/2020
Interview PPE	Public Policy Expert of INjabar	28/08/2020

Appendix 6 Networking Map of Ridwan Kamil
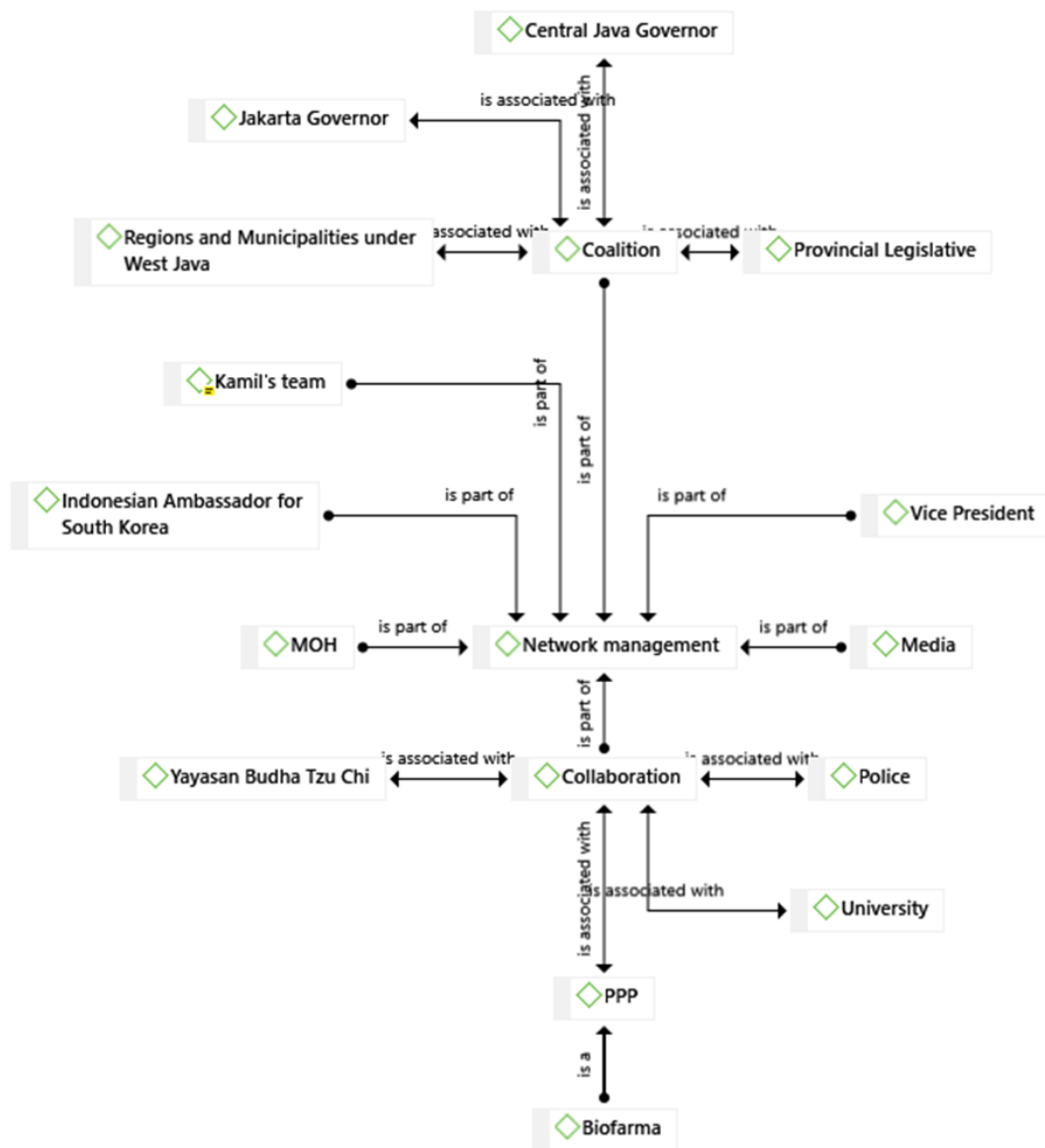
This picture shows Kamil's networking arrangement during his attempt to bargain proactive testing and tracing policy. First is a coalition; many political actors supported Kamil's proactive testing and tracing policy. Namely, the governor of Central Java and the governor of Jakarta. He also maintains his support in the provincial legislative office and rebuilds his communication with municipalities and regencies under West Java province. Secondly, collaboration, he has collaborated with various sectors, such as a university to support his science-based policy, a public-private partnership with Biofarma and university to produce testing kit and other health equipment. He engaged with police to trace COVID-19 suspected patient, and he got the assistance of rapid test kit from Yayasan Budha Tzu Chi. Finally, during the process, he and his team consulted with the Indonesian ambassador for South Korea for idea development, communication with MOH and Vice President to bargain his policy idea and affiliated with media mainstream to support his idea.

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