

Policy Conflict Between Central Government and Regional Management of the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract—An interesting phenomenon emerged when the co-19 pandemic just entered Indonesia, namely the conflict between President Joko Widodo as a symbol of the country's leader and Anis Baswedan as the symbol of the leader of the Special Capital Region of the country of Indonesia. The conflict arises because both have different views in responding to co-19. This study aims to find out why there are differences in the views of the two leaders so that it raises different policies. So that researchers can uncover whether the policies of each of these presents the wrong policies on one side or all of them. This research uses the Dahrendorf conflict theory because basically between the central and regional governments can work together, can also be different policies in the co-19 view. This study uses a qualitative method by basing various information from the mass media. The results of the study explained that the differences arose because of the enthusiasm of the two leaders for the best service for the people, the size of the area, the people's status and the strategy of the solution so as to present.

Keywords: *Conflict, Policy, leaders, people, covid-19*

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian government elite conflicts often occur, between the central government and regional governments. Conflict between the two because they have different policies in deciding a social problem [1]. This happens because Indonesia is a democratic country with strengthening regional government through regional autonomy.

The co-19 pandemic presented a conflict between the central government (the President) and the Jakarta provincial government (the Governor). Some conflicts between the two, the most visible are conflicts between Joko Widodo (President) and Anis Baswedan (Governor), although this conflict does not lead to negative things such as policy making that fosters corruption. This is published in various media, so that citizens as citizens must follow the leader's instructions, they face a dilemma, whether they follow the policies and directives of the central government, or follow the local government [2].

President Joko Widodo said that the lockdown policy is the policy of the central government. The statement emerged as an answer to the mass media reporters, who saw things differently from the tendency of the Jakarta administration. At that time Anis Baswedan as Governor directed the Jakarta administration's policy to lead to

lockdowns as in several countries, for example Wuhan China, Italy, the Philippines and others.

The conflict between the President and the Governor is not directly confronting [3]. He is seen in the statements between the two as the state officials and regional governments. The President took the policy on behalf of the state, while the Governor argued for the rescue of residents of special areas of the capital whose processes were mostly affected by the co-19 pandemic.

This conflict is not moral, but the real conflict is based on the conditions and atmosphere of the people who need help from the state from the threat of disease that brings many deaths by not knowing the social status of the victim [4].

II. METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method based on various information in print and electronic media. President Joko Widodo's and Governor Anis Baswedan's policy on handling the co-19 pandemic in Indonesia and the national capital Jakarta, is the subject of this qualitative research. Data came alone without being sought because the news on television and various media continued to run massively [5].

The researcher directs qualitative research using the framing method introduced by Erving Goffman because of the focus of media coverage. It is a research method to find out about the perspective or perspective used by journalists or mass media when presenting information or news, beginning with the selection of issues and writing news.

The framing method with agenda setting is an appropriate method for conducting research into government policies that illustrate conflicts between central and regional governments. What was actually detected was the policies of the two governments, which led to an open conflict [6].

2.1. Research Questions and Objectives Based on this background, 1. What actual conflict between the President and the Governor of DKI Jakarta is seen in the media, namely an open war between the two leaders? 2. How is the objectivity of the mass media coverage of the conflict President Joko Widodo dealing with DKI Jakarta Governor Anis Baswedan in overcoming the co-19 pandemic?

2.2. Methodology. The framing method as part of qualitative, is very suitable to be a method of researching policy conflicts between the central government and the

DKI Jakarta government in pandemic covid-19 entering Indonesia. This compatibility is because the media as an information tool can make the viewers or readers follow the information, up to a point different from what actually happened. The media can distort the actual information, or require more convincing truth or misinformation.

There is a difference in information between the media with one another in the co-19 pandemic arrangement. News of the policy conflict between the President and the Governor is different in the news, so that sometimes it makes people confused about the differences in some of the news, or different between the news in one media with other media [7].

The framing method with agenda setting, raises questions, namely how to get the same news but produce different news, the spread of news also varies among the mass media.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Conflicts between government elites are common, because they are competing to present the best service as executives towards their people. Service is the basis for them to be creative by prioritizing leadership experience. They sometimes try new things when they don't have the problem solving experience [8].

Covid pandemic -19 is a new problem. It came suddenly, and immediately enlarged, becoming a national problem with a variety of pandemics, some small, some spread normally, some large and massive [9].

The atmosphere of the spread of co-19 in a diverse world, made the Indonesian government to be careful to state how the condition of Indonesia. When the Wuhan government in China had conducted a lockdown, so the Italian state had declared a lockdown, this was different from the Indonesian government which stated that Indonesia had no corona as in various countries.

Indonesia is free from co-19 because it is geographically located in the tropics. Between January and March mid-2020, the Indonesian President and Minister of Health still declare that Indonesia is free from Covid-19. This makes Indonesian citizens not respond seriously to the co-19 pandemic. The people have the doctrine of understanding that corona cannot enter Indonesia [10].

The community has developed a mindset that Indonesia is safe from the co-19 pandemic. Various state efforts to convince by presenting various foods and drinks in Indonesia are very effective in resisting the corona water, for example, Javanese herbal medicine which has become a routine consumption of most of the Indonesian people.

The community's suggestion about "safe and secure from pandemic covid-19" was built because of the health and safety motivation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Dr. Terawan. The Minister often appeared on television conveying information that Corona was unlikely to enter Indonesia [11].

In mid-April 2020 the situation changed after Indonesian citizens were affected by co-19. The government and people of Indonesia turned tense and serious. The government seems to be stranded on corona

information to enter Indonesia after a valentin party with foreign citizens.

The place that became the first stopover for the majority of foreign citizens was the Capital of the Republic of Indonesia which was located in Jakarta. When compared with the other 33 provincial governments, then DKI Jakarta as the main entrance and exit of people from abroad, while other provinces are not so big compared to DKI Jakarta as a transit of the movement of people [12].

Accountability to the region then immediately conducts a rapid test on the citizens of DKI Jakarta, as a result many DKI Jakarta residents are infected with the covid-19 virus, so Anis Baswedan as Governor immediately steps quickly to deal with these residents. One of them makes rules faster than Indonesia [13].

Conflict between the central government and the DKI Jakarta government, when Anis Baswedan often appeared to the public (television and other media) to convey various policies for handling Covid 19. The most monumental that the Governor has a lockdown program plan for his administration, in an effort to cut or stop the pandemic covid 19.

The conflict was seen, namely President Joko Widodo hearing the lockdown policy plan, immediately responded seriously. He made a statement that the lockdown policy or otherwise only came from the central government, the regional government did not have the authority to make lockdown policies related to the co-19 pandemic. Local Governments are welcome to consult with the central government regarding the policies adopted [14].

Tit for tat in communication between elite leaders. They give statements to each other about policies designed for the good or the handling of people's health. They are not trying to meet to solve the co-19 pandemic problem.

It was seen in the media that the President was angry to hear that the Governor of DKI Jakarta had a lockdown program. The President with a high tone said that lockdown or other policies are the domain of the central government. Although it does not directly indicate the identity of the regional head being scolded. As in Javanese philosophy, the president's aura of anger was seen.

The conflict could end with the consultation of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Together with the Governor of West Java in consultation with the Vice President, what should be taken to step in and make decisions of the regional government. Although the atmosphere of tension looks public.

Leader's elite conflict does not deserve to surface, because it makes people confused about responding. Confusion arises because it captures two or more different policies, although if it is understood in depth that the two leaders only conflict in the media [15].

Some media display differently in the elite conflict. There are displays that are rough, some are ordinary, and there seem to be no conflicts. It depends on what people see the media, although basically there are policy differences between the two.

The difference in appearance of elite conflict in the media depends on journalists and editors. Both of these gather news to be interesting to watch, can lead to sensational news or weighty news. Although there is a

possibility of a real conflict between the parties presented by the media in conflict, or only in the context of dialogue.

President Jokowi's statement on a press release on 16 March 2020 stated: "We need to convey that the lockdown policy, both at the national level, both at the regional level is the policy of the central government, this policy should not be taken by local governments, and until now there is no, we thinking lockdown policy direction, right now the most important thing is to reduce the mobility of people from one place to another, keep a distance, and reduce the crowd who are at great risk of covid spread 19, policies to learn from home, work from home, and worship from home need we improve to reduce the spread of covid-19, while maintaining service to the community ... Public transportation must still be provided by the central government and regional governments, with a note to increase the level of cleanliness of the mode of transportation, be it railroad, City Bus, MRT, LRT, Trans Bus, which is important to reduce crowd levels, reduce queues and reduce the level of density of people These modes of transportation ... 2. All major policies related to Covid-19, must be discussed first with the central government, I ask the regional government to consult with relevant ministries to facilitate communication and the chair of the Covid-19 Task Force, Third, to avoid confusing information, we ask the Covid-19 Task Force to be the only community information reference, lastly I invite clean hand washing, keep working, keep on acting, community consolidation is the most important social capital".

President Jokowi also stated that learning from home, educating and managing this management, getting free assistance online from the teachers' room, Genius, Google, Microsoft, Quiver, Your School, Smart Class, walking with the teacher invites there, so that it can be effective. This is to avoid students gathering. Don't let students play in crowded places or gather.

Jokowi also stated that the Task Force was the only source of correct information. The big policy in handling the pandemic covid-19 is to go through the task force, or related ministers.

The statement was a big satire to the Governor of DKI Jakarta who often appeared on Television and other media to explain the handling of Covid-19. This is the peak of the initial conflict in handling the co-19 pandemic.

There is a question mark why the insinuations to the president are not conveyed directly to the Governor of DKI Jakarta, because regional cases are different compared to national cases.

The leadership conflict between the President of Indonesia and the Governor of DKI Jakarta was seen openly in the media, even though President Jokowi did not make a technical solution openly to direct the Governor to conduct various policies to prevent the co-19 pandemic prevention.

The president becomes more honored when there are differences, to invite different regional heads in handling co-19 pandemic. Or conversely, the Governor is more honored when conducting closed consultations with the central government regarding various programs and plans for handling the co-19 pandemic.

The public can interpret that the President does not dare to have a special conversation with the regional head who

has a different attitude in terms of handling policies pandemic covid19. Some reason for speculation arises, for example: First, the President lost his start in responding to the co-19 pandemic because it took too long to motivate the public that Indonesia is safe from the deadly virus, without regard to the possibility that covid-19 might enter Indonesia.

Secondly, this conflict arises because the background of the political parties supporting these two leaders is different, so it is not easy to talk to each other. There are no instructional lines in the leadership process in the country. These two leaders are purely the people's direct choice, making them more confident in behaving and making decisions.

Third, the possibility of conflict arises because the news that is interpreted by journalists is different from the actual information. In the language of research there is media framing of the narrative of the news source so as to bring up different information than from the original news source. This can happen because every media has a mission and vision for media development. Media independence is also a differentiator between one media with other media in capturing information and delivering it in the form of news.

As a result of the elite leader conflict has a negative effect on the people in terms of their obedience related to government policy. Which leaders to follow in the co-19 pandemic policy, because both make policies. Policy differences influence that various policies are not carried out by the people as the object of implementing the policies. Some people carry out all policies, but some don't, some are indifferent because they are confused about policy differences.

The conflict between the two leaders was given a more interesting spice when there were reports of the results of a survey related to the handling of co-19 by the two governments with differing broad leadership. Based on the results of the Kedaikopi survey on 14-19 April 2020, local governments were more alert in dealing with the co-19 pandemic, as in the following table:

Table 1

No	Corona Virus Pandemic Handlers	405 respondents of Jabodetabek
1.	Regional government	87,4 %
2.	Central government	79,5%

Source: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional> [16]

The survey results related to the preparedness of handling co-19 pandemic, informing the local government is better prepared. Incidentally there is no information on the results of other surveys at the same time, whether the results are similar, or the results of different surveys.

The two governments' readiness is based on actions that have been carried out and made public. The public cannot directly communicate with their leaders, but media coverage is able to convey information about the government elite. Information from the media presents public knowledge, so when asked about people's perceptions an assessment arises.

The readiness among the three provinces which were highest affected by the co-19 pandemic effect, still with the same source, is described as follows:

Table 2

No	Alertness Handling covid-19 Pandemic Per Province	Average number (Scale 1-10)
1.	DKI Jakarta	8,75
2.	Banten	7,17
3.	West Java	7.05

The DKI Jakarta regional government has a better preparedness for the co-19 pandemic compared to other regional governments.

Community response is related to the performance of the central government, as follows:

Table 3

Survey Institute	Satisfied	Not satisfied
SMRC (Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting)	52%	41%
Median (Media Survei Nasional)	52,4%	40,1%

1,200 respondents were interviewed by telephone and randomly selected, with a margin of error of 2.9 percent
Median (National Survey Media) sample of 800 telephone numbers of respondents with a margin of error of approximately 3.46 percent at a 95 percent confidence level

Source: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/17>

Explanation of the top three reasons in terms of public ratings are satisfied with this, including first, the central government has done the best (19.4) percent; Second, the central government is responsive (10.7) percent; and third, it has good performance in handling co-19 (8.7) percent. These three things are the community's appreciation of the achievements of the central government so that community satisfaction is higher. The majority of the people enjoy more, even though the adoption is relatively the same as the results of the presidential election, even though the power of political opponents (Prabowo Subianto) has merged alias joined the Joko Widodo Second Period government.

Whereas on the other hand, those who are dissatisfied categorize three things: 40.1 percent of the public who are dissatisfied with the handling of the central government on co-19. The main reasons are first, Slow Handling (18) percent; second there is no anticipation and underestimate (16.7) percent; third, poor coordination (15.3) percent. There are still other reasons, but these are the three highest. So that the reasons for dissatisfaction are relatively balanced with the satisfaction reasons in quantitative terms shown.

The two big groups became the public's answer that actually related to the government's handling of the co-19 pandemic.

The survey, conducted by the SMRC and Median, is continuous with the previous Kedaikopi survey. The difference is that the central government is relatively more unprepared compared to the regional government.

Explanation of the conflict between the central government and the regional government, more specifically between President Joko Widodo as the country's leader and

DKI Jakarta Governor Anis Baswedan, indicates that there is seriousness in both of them handling the co-19 pandemic. It's just different ways to overcome them.

The question of the first problem formulation is about the conflict between the President and the Governor of DKI Jakarta so that it looks like an open war between the two leaders. This is a conflict between the government elite in carrying out its governmental duties. Conflict does not have to be interpreted negative, because between Jokowi and Anis Baswedan has no intention to direct a negative conflict.

Conflict between leaders is not set as a conflict agenda, it appears suddenly as a response to the phenomenon of the lives of its people. Covid-19 pandemic is a social phenomenon that is horrendous, because it comes without being invited quickly, without being seen in plain sight, while to block it requires a leader strategy. In this strategy sometimes raises differences in the way attitude and problem solving.

Conflict is sometimes needed to build a better government. Conflict Building as in Dahrendorf's conflict theory that it is effective in developing governance. It is proven that after meeting to resolve together, then there is a mutual understanding of the management of the co-19 pandemic threat.

As for the question about the objectivity of mass media coverage of the conflict President Joko Widodo faced with DKI Jakarta Governor Anis Baswedan in overcoming the co-19 pandemic, this answer is very subjective towards each media.

In fact there are differences in reporting even though the retrieval of information is the same. The role of journalists is very influential on a news, for example determining the source of information while looking for the same news.

The role of the editor is even more influential in the news. This is because all information obtained by journalists is then processed by editors to be marketable. Because talking about market share, the editor has an interest in presenting news in accordance with the audience (readers), as well as presenting sensational news for the sake of curious media users.

In the case of the conflict between the two leaders, it was evident that someone presented a picture or video with various news content. First, the media are limited to providing information on leaders' policies regarding the handling of the co-19 pandemic. Some media only provide information that the president makes a humanitarian policy, as well as the governor makes a policy that is conveyed to the people.

Secondly, there are media that present a pro against the central government related to the appearance of the news, as if the DKI Jakarta government was wrong in making a co-19 pandemic countermeasure policy, based on the regulation that local governments must always report on developments in the region. Local governments must consult with the central government as in the governance structure of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Third, there are media that present the news by favoring the greatness of the Governor of DKI Jakarta, because it is faster and more responsive to the co-19 pandemic. Public safety and health are preferred to be dealt

with quickly because of the massive development of co-19 propagation. Regional autonomy is also the reason for the use of accelerating the response of local leaders.

The three news models present a policy conflict between the central government and regional governments openly because they are displayed in various media. The president and the governor do not necessarily consider it a policy conflict, because they are trying to present the best policies for their people in the atmosphere of a pandemic covid-19.

IV. CONCLUSION

Conflict between the central government and regional government occurred in the handling of the co-19 pandemic. This conflict occurs openly with coverage by the mass media. Conflict originates from different perspectives on handling a pandemic because between the central government and regional governments have different scopes. The atmosphere of the people affected and affected by co-19 was different, so their leaders in their respective areas tried to present the best solutions for their people. The role of the media is very influential on people's acceptance of conflicting policies between the central and regional governments. Both are not competing for public sympathy for political interests, because in 2020 there are no presidential elections in Indonesia and the governor election in DKI Jakarta, so the conflict is purely the greatest endeavor for health and welfare of the shelves that have given the mandate in the previous elections so he got the mandate to become president or governor.

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