



Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Innovation: The Case Of Kampung Akuarium In Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

The problem of informal settlements (kampung) in Jakarta has been handled with the mainstream policy of forced eviction which was harmful to many marginalized communities. The Jakarta administration's decision to rebuild the evicted informal settlements of Kampung Akuarium in 2018 was recognized by many as a policy innovation for the urban informal settlement problem. The successful implementation of the first stage of the rebuilding in 2021 also raised questions about the key driver of policy innovation. This paper aims to present the role of policy entrepreneurs as the key driver in shaping public policy innovation in local government and the specific mechanism that occurred among actors in the policy process. Using Kingdon's Multiple Streams Analysis (MSA) and in-depth interviews, we found that the policy to rebuild Kampung Akuarium was a result of policy entrepreneurs' activities of coupling the three structural factors of policy process namely problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The policy entrepreneurs' activities were primarily utilizing personal credibility, political communication capability, and urban policy knowledge. In addition, the findings suggest that the role of policy entrepreneurs was instrumental in formulating new policy idea and pushing it through implementation. Finally, the role of the policy entrepreneurs was effective in two interrelated political contexts or policy windows: electoral politics of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election and the rise of urban social movement in Jakarta.

Keywords: *policy entrepreneurs, policy innovation, Multiple Streams Analysis (MSA).*

1. INTRODUCTION

Informal urban settlement policies in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta often lead to the forced eviction of urban poor communities. The policies in the era of decentralization are based on alleviation schemes determined by the central and local governments. Although the local government has implemented this scheme accompanied by the eviction, informal settlements are still mostly inhabited by low-income families and provide community services independently (Kyung Hwangbo, 2016). At least since the era of Sutiyoso (2002-2007) and Fauzi Bowo (2007-2012), forced evictions have become the government's main policy in managing informal settlements. One of the settlements in Jakarta that were forcibly evicted is the Kampung Akuarium in Penjarangan,, North Jakarta City, Special Capital Region of Jakarta. It was evicted on April 11, 2016, by the Jakarta Provincial Government on the orders of the governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) [1].

The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election brought new hope to the residents of Kampung Akuarium because,

during a campaign visit to Kampung Akuarium, the candidate pair Anies-Sandiaga promised to rebuild housing for residents who had been evicted. The candidate pair Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno won by winning 57.96 percent of the vote while the incumbent candidate pair Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok)-Djarot Saiful Hidayat only got 42.04 percent of the vote. At the polling station in Kampung Akuarium, Anies-Sandi also won a landslide victory. Anies' victory in the village could be due to policy offers and campaign promises that contrasted with the policies of the previous governor Ahok.

After negotiating with social movements built by residents of Kampung Akuarium and several NGOs, the Jakarta Provincial Government under Anies leadership issued Governor Regulation Number 90 of 2018 concerning Improving the Quality of Settlements in the Context of Integrated Settlement Areas to regulate informal settlements upgrading using the Community Action Plan (CAP) approach. To handle the technical arrangement, Anies issued the Governor's Decree Number 878 of 2018 which contains the arrangement of 21 priority settlements (including the Kampung

Akuarium) and the organizational structure of the Task Force for the Implementation of Village and Community Arrangement. This "priority village" program intends to organize "urban villages which are settlements in urban areas but have a strong social life character in community and daily life". The purpose of upgrading the villages in Jakarta is "to create an orderly, decent and humane residential environment". In addition to physical development, the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the Kampung Akuarium will also be managed using the CAP approach under the PRKP (People's Housing and Settlement Area) service with the assistance of the relevant other departments.

The Jakarta Provincial Government's policy choice under Anies to rebuild the displaced Kampung Akuarium under the name of Kampung Susun Bahari Akuarium (KSBA) is an innovative policy in terms of planning and management. The factor of policy entrepreneurs in the policy of rebuilding the Kampung Akuarium has not received attention from previous studies, whereas in the politics of the urban poor, the role of mediating actors is important in negotiating citizens with various levels of authority accompanied by the complexity of the problem of informal housing. This research wants to fill this void by investigating the specific mechanisms in the relationship between actors or groups that make the Jakarta Provincial Government adopts an innovative policy and why the content/concepts and procedures adopted are in favor of the interests of marginalized informal settlements' residents. The meeting of citizens' needs and political will from the government seems to have created an innovation in policy. New ideas and concepts in urban village upgrading policies, flood mitigation, and housing also find common ground in this policy. This research aims to identify a specific mechanism that has not received serious attention in the policy process, namely how policy entrepreneurs play a role in the policy-making process.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have been conducted to examine the role of policy entrepreneurs in pushing policy innovation. King and Robert define policy entrepreneurs as "advocates of innovative policy ideas" who bring new assumptions into a policy idea. Thus, the two basic elements in the concept of Policy Entrepreneurs are individuals and ideas. The advocates could be a former governor, lawyer, lobbyist, non-profit organization, university academic, legislator, policy analyst, and writer collaborating in pushing for policy innovation. There are three functions of policy entrepreneurs in implementing policy innovations from their initial conception to the legislative arena: *first*, intellectual function, namely their function in generating ideas and formulating problems. The *second* function is a strategic function that makes a

policy proposal adaptable to political changes. This function plays an important role in policy reform efforts which are expected to take a long time. *Third*, is the function of activists. A small group of residents who had previously initiated policy reform efforts took on the role of activists who carried out socialization and promotion of their innovative ideas to other citizens or grassroots. These activities include raising funds, creating, and running non-profit organizations, and gathering support from other organizations [2].

The concept of policy entrepreneurs also exists within the framework of the Multiple Streams Analysis (MSA) which emphasizes the combination of participant elements and process elements in influencing the process of policy formation. In that analytical model or framework, the arrangement of the agenda (agenda setting) of government policies is complexly influenced by the flow of problems (problems stream) and politics (political stream), while alternative policies are built by the flow of policy (policy stream). A problem stream is a specific mechanism that explains how a topic or reality is recognized as a problem and given attention by policymakers. Governments usually do not have the capacity to solve all problems. Therefore, some issues will be prioritized, while others will be ignored at all. A problem will come to the attention of the government if there are changes to indicators in the field (systematic indicators), important events, or feedback from ongoing policy evaluations [3]

These policy entrepreneurs usually carry out information dissemination, persuasion, and negotiation (softening up) to the policy community and to the public. The goal is to soften up people who are hindering the process of adopting the policies that are being fought for. A policy idea as a solution offered by policy entrepreneurs will be more likely to be adopted by the government if it has technical feasibility, value acceptability, and anticipation of the limitations of the idea. The result of the problem stream mechanism is a list of some of the policies that are best known and frequently debated by the policy community. Policy entrepreneurs who may play an important role in the problem stream are community leaders from Kampung Akuarium Dharma Diani, UPC/JRMK (Urban Poor Consortium/Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota) and Legal Aid Institute Jakarta (LBH Jakarta).

The problem stream in the rebuilding policy case is how the problem of informal or illegal housing in the Kampung Akuarium is framed by policy entrepreneurs and recognized as a policy issue that is included in the Jakarta Provincial Government's policy agenda. This process includes the interpretation of policy actors on indicators that indicate problems in village planning in Jakarta. This interpretation is influenced by the framing

activities carried out by policy entrepreneurs on the problems that occur in the Kampung Akuarium. Another activity that is usually carried out by policy entrepreneurs in problem streams is to link the proposals or solutions they have prepared with the problem of structuring informal housing in the Kampung Akuarium [9].

The policy stream, in this case, includes alternative proposals and types of the urban village or informal settlement arrangements that have been reviewed by policy entrepreneurs in expert communities and advocacy groups such as RCUS (Rujak Center for Urban Studies) and LBH (Legal Aid Institute) Jakarta. Several individuals who may act as policy entrepreneurs from the experts include Marco Kusumawijaya (RCUS) and Andesha Hermintomo (Architect).

The political stream that is included in the analysis of this research is the process of leadership turnover of the Jakarta provincial government in the 2017 Gubernatorial Election. As mentioned earlier, the change of power from Ahok to Anies is filled with narratives of "social justice" from the Anies government to the urban poor, including the residents of Kampung Akuarium that Ahok evicted. The administration turnover will be used as a political context that may be used by policy entrepreneurs in encouraging the adoption of KSBA policies.

3. METHODS

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach to finding out the specific mechanisms of the roles and strategies of policy entrepreneurs in encouraging an innovative public policy. The anomaly of the village redevelopment or rebuilding policy is also compatible with the case study approach which recognizes the uniqueness of a case. Data collection procedures with qualitative methods include observation, interviews, document analysis, and audio-visual data analysis. In a qualitative research observation, the researcher observes and records what happens to the object of research, such as behavior and activities. At the same time, the researcher can also take on the role of participant or non-participant. Interviews are usually conducted face-to-face, by telephone, or using focus groups. The main purpose of the interview is to get the views and opinions of the participants. Researchers can also increase their understanding of the object of research by analyzing documents such as newspapers, meeting minutes, government reports, notes, or personal letters of participants. In addition, data can also be obtained from photographs, videos, or sound recordings relating to the event or problem being studied [4].

A case study is an in-depth research strategy that focuses on one "case" which can be an event, activity, process, or individual as the object of research. The cases studied and the data to be collected must be limited in a

certain time frame and activity. Case studies use inductive reasoning which allows general conclusions to be drawn based on evidence from observations of one research object. In other words, one event or activity under study will help us understand a major problem that also occurs in other case examples. However, this does not mean that only one unit is observed. In a synchronous (one time) case study, at least two units of observation (variables) are needed to prove a causal relationship that occurs in one case (within-case). In diachronic (historical) case studies, there must also be an analysis of two conditions, namely before and after an event or case occurs. The case study analysis technique relies on the number of comparable observations in one case. The smaller the number, the more it is possible for researchers to conduct qualitative analysis of the data collected [5].

Data collection techniques in this study include field observations, interviews, document studies, and interpretation of audio-visual data. Field observations will be carried out at the Kampung Akuarium location in Penjaringan, North Jakarta. Interviews with key actors such as community leaders, Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), Urban Poor Consortium (UPC), City Poor People Network (JRMK), Department of Public Housing and Residential Areas (PRKP) Jakarta Province, members of the Governor's Team for the Acceleration of Development (TGUPP), and the Chairman of the Bangkit Mandiri Aquarium Cooperative as well as the coordinator of the residents of the Kampung Akuarium, Dharma Diani. Documents and audio-visual data will use those from residents, policy communities, advocacy coalitions, and the Provincial Government.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

There is an important role of policy entrepreneurs (PE) in every stage of the Kampung Akuarium rebuilding policy, at the agenda-setting stage, policy formulation stage, and decision making, as well as at the policy implementation stage. The role of intellectuals here is as a person who have academic scientific legitimacy and conducts research activities in the field of planning and urban issues that are relevant to the policy of structuring the Kampung Akuarium. Meanwhile, the role of activists is in organizing, advocating, and inter-PE networking activities. The strategic role is the role of PE in communicating and negotiating directly with political elites or government officials. Marco, Elisa, and Andesh played intellectual roles while Gugun played dominant roles as activist. Topas and Diani also played a role in citizen activism. The strategic roles were filled by Marco and Chozin.

The Multiple Streams framework provides a strategic model that is usually carried out by PE in encouraging new policy ideas or proposals from the agenda-setting

stage to the policy implementation stage. In the PE strategy model that has succeeded in influencing the policy process, every PE carries out coupling or activities to link at least two streams in order to take advantage of the opportunity or momentum of the policy window that is open in front of them. In the case of the Kampung Akuarium arrangement, the PE representing UPC/JRMK/Residents is in the problem stream. The PE that represents RCUS comes from the policy stream. PE representing TGUPP-Anies is in the political stream [6].

The application of the Multiple Streams framework in the policy stages (agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation) also requires a reasonable ideal strategy model used by PE to encourage new policies. The ideal strategy of coupling activity by PE is different at each stage of the policy. In the agenda-setting stage, PE usually links problem streams with political streams. In the policy formulation stage, PE links the political stream with the policy stream. Meanwhile, at the policy implementation stage, PE links the problem stream with the policy stream [7].

In the agenda-setting stage, Anies-Sandi as a candidate in the 2017 gubernatorial election (political stream) has the same vision as the UPC/JRMK/Warga as the result of the first coupling using the 2017 political contract mechanism. The second coupling occurred at the policy formulation stage, after Anies appointed as governor of Jakarta. The mechanism used by Marco, Andesh and Elisa is to link the pet proposal (CAP Mandiri) in the policy stream with the Anies 100 day program (political stream), which resulted in the governor's decision, namely Kepgub No. 878 of 2018 and Governor Regulation No. 90 of 2018. To encourage the implementation of CAP Mandiri's pet proposal, Marco (outside) and Andesh and Elisa carried out a third coupling strategy by linking the results of the independent CAP with policy issues in the problem stream, convincing the public and UPC/JRMK/Warga that the two were in line and just implemented.

5. CONCLUSION

Policy Entrepreneurs (PE) play an important role in the policy process for structuring the Kampung Akuarium into the Aquarium Bahari Susun Village (KSBA). The role depends on the resources owned by each PE. Gugun Muhammad, who represented the Urban Poor Consortium/JRMK (UPC/JRMK) for the arrangement of the Kampung Akuarium, acted as an activist who organized the residents and voiced the problem of structuring the Kampung Akuarium to various parties since the 2016 eviction. Marco Kusumawijaya, Elisa Sutanudjaja, and Andesh Hermintomo who represented the Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS) acts as an intellectual who has

legitimacy in education and academic research in assisting residents to seek technical feasibility and value acceptability from policy proposals for the arrangement of the Kampung Akuarium.

Marco also has a strategic role as a member of the Joint Team for the Acceleration of Development (TGUPP) Jakarta along with other TGUPP members who play a role in ensuring and supervising the implementation of the construction of the Kampung Akuarium flats, namely M. Chozin Amirullah and Azka Gulsyan. The roles of Topas Juanda and Dharma Diani as coordinators for the residents of Kampung Akuarium are activists who carry out internal consolidation for the residents of Kampung Akuarium. The role of PE can be found in the agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation stages. Gugun plays more of a role in the agenda setting and policy formulation stages. Marco played a lot in the policy formulation stage. Elisa and Andesh played an important role in the agenda setting and policy formulation stages. Chozin and Azka played a role in the implementation of the development of the flats by the developers. Finally, Topas and Diani play an important role at all stages of policy.

The strategy implemented by PE in encouraging new policies for structuring the Kampung Akuarium is in line with that described by researchers who developed the Multiple Streams framework model to see the role of PE in encouraging new ideas in the policy process (Cairney, 2018; Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016; King & Roberts, 1987; Kingdon, 1984). The strategy taken by PE in the case of the Penatan Kampung Akuarium is to do a coupling of the streams that exist at each stage of the policy. The coupling activity uses indicators of policy issues, focusing events (the eviction of the 2016 Kampung Akuarium), feedback on previous policies (the Ahok Era), technical feasibility (spatial regulation gaps), value acceptability (occupation as a basic right, government favors, tourism value, participation residents in planning, the image of Anies' performance), and the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election campaign as a policy window [8] [10].

Lastly, there is no PE who can control all the Kampung Aquarium policy processes. The power and bargaining power of PE are distributed and need each other and influence each other between individuals in UPC/JRMK/Citizens, RCUS, TGUPP, and the provincial government itself. In short, the successful implementation of Phase I of Kampung Susun Bahari is driven by PEs who have the same vision but with different interests.

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