

POLITICAL WILL MAYOR OF KEDIRI IN OVERCOMING COVID-19 PANDEMICS

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic urges the central government to develop various policies, rules, standards, guidelines, and criteria to deal with COVID-19, but the problem lies with local governments. Therefore, regional heads are required to use their political will to control COVID-19 cases and overcome the impacts caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. This study aims to analyze the political will of the Mayor of Kediri in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic through the seven components of Brinkerhoff's political will. Using a qualitative approach which was analyzed descriptively. Data collection techniques were carried out by in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The results show that the Mayor of Kediri has tried to use his power and authority to the maximum extent possible on the six components of political will, namely government initiative; priority/choice of policy; mobilization of stakeholders; public commitment and allocation of resources; continuity of effort; and learning and adaptation. But unfortunately weak in the component of the application of credible sanctions. The Mayor of Kediri feels the need to form experts in the field of law to improve the quality and quantity of legislation and conduct academic studies and discussions before deciding policies in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic to be effective and solution-oriented. In addition, consistency in enforcing the rules, not half-way in carrying out road closure policies that seem just a formality is also a concern of researchers.

Keywords: *Political Will; Mayor of Kediri; COVID-19 Pandemic*

A. INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of 2019 to mid-2021, the world was preoccupied with the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak or more popularly with the term "Coronavirus", It affects almost all countries on various continents. The incident started in Wuhan,

China. The city of Wuhan in China has become the focus of world attention due to the outbreak of a febrile respiratory disease caused by the 2019-nCoV coronavirus. In December 2019, there was an outbreak of pneumonia of unknown cause in Wuhan, Hubei Province in China, with epidemiological links to the Huanan Seafood Wholesale Market where live animals were also sold (Parr 2020; Hui et al. 2020).

This resulted in currently countries trying all efforts to break the chain of spread of the coronavirus, and reduce the number of spread and increase in casualties (Iswahyudi et al. 2020). Governments were forced to react quickly to the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, many governments have tried to balance the implementation of containment policies against other important factors such as the national economy or people's livelihoods, with the top priority being given to protecting public health (Sabat et al. 2020). As a result, heated debates have arisen in almost all countries about whether or not the measures taken were appropriate after witnessing the spread of COVID-19 (So et al. 2020). The corona epidemic has also forced all countries to correct their development plans and economic development. Targets were revised, assumptions were corrected, and full attention was shifted to dealing with the epidemic, while economic recovery policies were implemented after the emergency response period was declared over (Muhyiddin and Wardhana 2020).

In Indonesia, the central government has adopted a large-scale social restriction (PSBB) policy through schools from home, closure of tourist and entertainment venues, office calls for employees to work at home, and other restrictions aimed at breaking the chain of the spread of the (Prasetyo and Kriswibowo 2022). Not only that, but the government has also intensified the 5M campaign (wearing masks, washing hands, maintaining distance, avoiding crowds, and limiting mobility), implementing the Java-Bali Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM), Micro PPKM, Emergency PPKM, to PPKM Level, and national vaccination program. The COVID-19 vaccination program, which began on January 13, 2021, aims to accelerate the formation of herd immunity. The various policies carried out by the Indonesian government are expected to significantly reduce COVID-19 cases and reduce the negative impact of COVID-19 on society (Joyosemito and Nasir 2020).

Along the way, the policy message conveyed by the government is not clear. In fact, there is a strong mixed message, as indicated by the many statements by government officials that contradict each other. This has resulted in the absence of policy leadership, a very vital element in crisis management. The lack of clarity in policy messages is exacerbated by poor coordination between lines of government and the lack of synergy as an important element of crisis management. Weaknesses in coordination and lack of synergy have a real impact on the fragmentation of handling both between central and regional government institutions (Purwanto, Kumorotomo, and Widaningrum 2020). This is evidenced by the variety of responses and measures to prevent and handle COVID-19 by local governments due to the response from the central government's 'lack of alertness' in responding to the conditions for the spread of COVID-19 in the regions. This has prompted the local government, which considers itself to have

territorial authority over the region and knows the real conditions of its people, to take quick steps to tackle and prevent an increase in fatalities (Mandasari 2020).

From a political point of view, the process of coordination, communication, and synergy between ministries/ agencies and local governments is true that is not working as it should. For example, the central government through the PSBB Policy adopted a lockdown policy that had previously been implemented abroad. This PSBB policy was then also implemented in the regions. However, the implementation of this policy requires permission from the central government, in this case the Ministry of Health. In fact, in the era of decentralization and regional autonomy, local governments have the authority to carry out public service affairs, one of which is health services. However, in the event of a national emergency, the central government withdraws this authority so that the regions as part of the national government must comply with the 'rule of the game' from the central government. This is very unfortunate because top-down policies are not in accordance with the spirit of decentralization and regional autonomy (Aziz et al. 2019).

During the pandemic, the central government has developed various policies, rules, standards, guidelines and criteria to deal with COVID-19, but the problems they face are heavily dependent on local governments. Starting from the intensive care of COVID-19 patients in regional hospitals, affected communities, and other social-social problems arising from this pandemic, everything is happening in the regions. The local government's space for movement is also limited because regulations related to the handling of the COVID-19 pandemic are carried out centrally, and the regions only carry out the rules (Ariyanto 2020). In addition, various policies issued by the central government such as PSBB, New Normal Order, Java-Bali PPKM, Micro PPKM, Emergency PPKM, to PPKM Level of course have implications for local government obligations to be implemented comprehensively.

The Kediri City Government as an agent in the government administration system does not escape the standardization of rules provided by the central government. Although the central government has binding standards, guidelines, and rules, local governments remain the key in controlling COVID-19. Considering that local governments are at the forefront of responding to the aspirations of the people in the regions, ideally decentralization and regional autonomy policies are expected to respond to the demands of effective and efficient public services, respond quickly to various government administration issues, including the handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. Although in reality the handling of COVID-19 has not been optimal because local governments have not been maximally empowered, local governments are "positioned" to wait for central government policies to be implemented in the regions so that the public thinks that local governments seem slow (Ismail 2021).

Therefore, the political will of regional heads to daring to take political steps to reduce the death rate due to COVID-19 is very much needed (Guest, Rio, and Sanchez 2020), especially in terms of monitoring and controlling the spread of COVID-19 (Farzanegan et al. 2021). COVID-19 is a test of at least two things, namely the government's political will and the capacity of health institutions to

handle the pandemic (Authers 2020). But in reality, the government's political will in tackling public health problems is often weak, even though the government's political will is very much needed to improve the level of public health (Endler et al. 2021). On the other hand, the phenomenon of a lack of political will is likened to a natural disaster or infectious disease that suddenly attacks all political actors (Abazović and Mujkić 2015).

In the Kediri City, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar used his political will through various breakthroughs that had been initiated during the COVID-19 pandemic to accelerate handling, anticipating the impacts caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and accelerating economic recovery. Previously, please note that the first case in the Kediri City was recorded on March 28, 2020, and in the end the Kediri City was officially included in the COVID-19 red zone along with 13 other regencies/cities in East Java (Azmi 2020). Since then, the City Government of Kediri has restricted community activities according to the instructions of the central government. On March 16, 2020, President Joko Widodo gave directions regarding policies for handling COVID-19 at the central and regional levels.

Furthermore, on March 23, 2020, a Circular Letter from the Mayor of Kediri was made regarding the Handling of COVID-19 in the Kediri City. Swiftly, on March 26, 2020 the Mayor of Kediri invited five (5) representatives of charitable institutions namely Rumah Zakat, Baitul Maal Hidayatullah (BMH), Infaq Management Institute (LMI), Yatim Mandiri, and Nurul Hayat to agree on a donation movement 'Si Jamal' which is a joint action initiative to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. Now Si Jamal has 8 members. The concept of Si Jamal himself is the distribution of aid to communities affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, then the Kediri City Government shares data with the charity, so that the assistance can be on target and not overlap. So in this case the Mayor tries to invite various elements to collaborate for charity and distribution using one data (Pemerintah Kota Kediri 2021c). 'Si Jamal' is just one of the breakthroughs initiated by the Mayor of Kediri, there are many other innovations that have been made.

Thanks to various innovations and breakthroughs, the Kediri City finally won the 2021 Indonesian Smart City Rating Award for Medium Cities. The award was given by the City Innovation Center and Smart Community Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) at the closing ceremony of the Indonesian Digital Transformation Research (RDTI) and Indonesia Smart City Rating (RKCI) 2021, on Monday, December 27, 2021. RKCI is an activity carried out to map so that each city can become a smart city based on local potential and character. The Kediri City won three award categories at once. Namely, the category of the city towards smart, the category of the city with a smart economy, and the category of the city with intelligent society.

In the city to a smart category, the Kediri City has several innovations that are considered to be able to overcome city problems and have a smart city master plan. Then in the category of cities with intelligent people, in the Kediri City, the role of the community is large in providing support in the implementation of existing innovations. Such as the role of community groups in Prodamas, the role

of the community in English Massive, and the role of the community in synergizing in overcoming COVID-19 through Si Jamal, Batman, and the 3 Pillar Synergy. To become a smart society, four aspects are needed. Namely, the readiness and capability of the city, the availability of services, socio-cultural readiness, as well as technological or governance support. Meanwhile, for the category of the city with a smart economy, ITB measures the ability of a city to improve the economy and maximize the city's potential resources through infrastructure, technology, urban planning, and data analysis. In this assessment, ITB saw three things, namely, quality of life, IT base, and economic innovation. The Kediri City has had several breakthroughs in the economic field. For example, Rumah Curasi, in collaboration with several marketplaces during the pandemic to drive the economy, participated in East Java Bejo, and held a virtual UMKM expo. For this award, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, said that the success of winning three categories of Smart City Rating from ITB became the motivation for the Kediri City Government to take one step closer to becoming a smart city. Especially in providing the best service to the community. Moreover, during the COVID-19 pandemic, it is encouraging the acceleration of transformation towards digital technology (Astuti 2021).

In its journey, COVID-19 in Kediri City experienced extraordinary dynamics, in last August 2021, the trend of active COVID-19 cases and the death rate continued to rise, although the recovery rate was high. Thursday, August 12, 2021, the Health Office of the Kediri City noted that there were 5 cases of death, so there were 81 cases of death as of August 1-11 2021. Comorbidities have a major influence on COVID-19 death cases in the Kediri City. 4 top comorbidities are the main factors, one of which is diabetes, high blood pressure, heart disease and pregnant women. Not only comorbidities, 86 percent of COVID-19 deaths that occurred at Gambiran Hospital showed a new trend, which occurred in patients who had not been vaccinated, while 11 percent had received dose 1 vaccine, and 3 percent had received dose 2. Patients who have not been vaccinated have shifted comorbidities as a factor in COVID-19 deaths in Kediri City (Mubarok 2021).

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the economy of Kediri City fell 15% in 2020 due to restrictions on entertainment venues, cafes, hotels and tourist attractions to anticipate the spread of COVID-19 in Kediri City (Radio Andika 2020). Not only that, the Kediri City also experienced deflation for four consecutive months from June to September 2021 due to a decline in the prices of goods and services (Haswin 2021). The deflation rate in September 2021 was 0,9 percent, an increase compared to August when deflation was at 0,8 percent. Sustained and persistent deflation can result in several threats including: 1) layoffs because the industry is not running properly. Low prices and little demand is one of the reasons; 2) the community's ability to pay off credit is also low. This has the potential to create bad debts; and 3) deflation four times in a row is a negative signal. Could cause an economic recession (Nugroho 2021).

Therefore, political will is the key to overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic, considering that the dynamics of COVID-19 that occur cannot be predicted with certainty. This is in line with what Velsor et al. (2016) that the ability of

government leaders is one of the key actors in the success or failure of solving community problems. This was also emphasized by Adlin, Muchtar, and Hadi (2021) that the political will of regional leaders, namely the mayor, is very necessary to break the spread of COVID-19. A clearer picture of political will is categorized into seven (7) components by Brinkerhoff (2010) including: 1) government initiative; 2) priority/choice of policy/program based on balanced consideration and analysis of options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits; 3) mobilization of stakeholders; 4) public commitment and allocation of resources; 5) application of credible sanctions; 6) continuity of effort; and 7) learning and adaptation. Based on the phenomena described, this study aims to analyze the extent to which the seven components of political will proposed by Brinkerhoff were implemented by the Mayor of Kediri in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Will

According to Fauzy (2015) political will is defined as the "leader's intention" to do what is deemed necessary for the long-term public interest. Political will is also defined when the government has a will that is supported by the people (Ankamah and Khoda 2018). Meanwhile, Brinkerhoff (2010) provides a theoretical understanding that political will is the motivation and commitment of political leaders to take action aimed at achieving a series of goals with sustainable efforts. Political will is also often mentioned as an important condition for reducing disaster risk and resilience (Lassa et al. 2019). Political will is important for making health progress and needs to be translated into policies to secure more public funds for health care for the benefit of all citizens (Aregbeshola 2017).

Political Will Component

A clearer picture of political will emerges from dividing it into meaningful and measurable components. To find a clear picture, Brinkerhoff (2010) tries to deconstruct his work by other writers on political will, Brinkerhoff (2007); Brinkerhoff (2000); Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002) supported by analysis of the design and implementation of pro-poor policies Anderson et al. (2005); Morrissey and Verschoor (2006) resulted in 7 (seven) components of political will. The following is an explanation of the 7 (seven) components of political will along with the understanding of each component that is used as an analytical knife in this study:

1. Government Initiative

This component pertains to a source of impetus for the choice of a particular policy or program. The thing that needs to be doubted is when the change initiative actually comes entirely from outsiders. Some initiative from decision-makers is needed to speak meaningfully about ownership and political will.

2. Priority/Choice of Policy/Program Based on Balanced Consideration and Analysis of Options, Anticipated Outcomes, and Cost/Benefits

When local actors choose policies and actions based on their own assessments of the benefits likely to be obtained, the alternatives and options, and the costs to be

incurred, then one can credibly speak of independently derived preferences and willingness to act and change. This component is also related to the leader's ability to set the priority scale for handling problems

3. Mobilization of Stakeholders

This component concerns the extent to which government actors consult with, engage, and mobilize stakeholders. Do decision-makers reach out to members of civil society and the private sector to advocate for the changes envisioned? Are legislators involved? Are there ongoing efforts to build constituencies in favor of the new policies and programs?

4. Public Commitment and Allocation of Resources

To the extent that local decision-makers reveal their policy preferences publicly and assign resources to achieve those announced policy and program goals, these actions contribute to a positive assessment of ownership of, and political will for, change.

5. Application of Credible Sanctions

Without effective sanctions, the policy will not work perfectly. Well-crafted and enforced sanctions, both negative and positive, signal serious intent to address corruption. Symbolic and/or selective enforcement points to half-hearted political will.

6. Continuity of Effort

Another component is resources and responsibilities over the long term to achieve goals. One-shot or episodic efforts signal weak and/or wavering ownership. Post-conflict reconstruction programs, by their very nature, are long-term undertakings.

7. Learning and Adaptation

Political will is demonstrated when country actors establish a process for tracking policy/program progress, and actively manage reform implementation by adapting to emerging circumstances. Learning can also apply to local policy-makers observing policies, practices, and programs from other regions and selectively adopting them for their own use

C. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach. The reason for choosing the qualitative method is because this method is expected to be able to describe the analysis in the form of text or narrative in-depth (Creswell 2014). The implementation of the Kediri Mayor's political will in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic is abstract and specific. This type of research from the selected qualitative method is a descriptive type of research. Descriptive research aims to describe in detail a symptom or phenomenon. Descriptive research itself is a method used to find the broadest knowledge of the object of research at a certain time (Creswell 2014). Descriptive research is used to describe the political will of the Mayor of Kediri in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic through Brinkerhoff's seven components of political will. Data collection techniques were carried out by in-depth interviews and focus group discussions involving 4 (four) sources including: 1) Mayor of Kediri; 2) Head of Bappeda of Kediri City; 3) Head of Research and Development Division; 4) Head of Documentation and Reporting Sub Division, Public Relations and Protocol Section, Kediri City

Regional Secretariat; 5) The people of Kediri City. In addition, data was also collected from several secondary sources, both in electronic form and documents obtained based on data collection activities at the research locus. Data analysis technique, using triangulation of data sources with document analysis. There are various types of triangulation, there are investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation, and data analysis triangulation (Renz, Carrington, and Badger 2018).

D. EXPLANATION

An important role in the form of political will played by public institutions is very much needed during a pandemic, because it is related to the willingness and commitment of leaders to achieve successful handling of the COVID-19 pandemic (W. I. Azizah dkk., 2020). Because crises like these tend to underscore the importance of leadership, and can result in what is known as a “rally around the flag effect”, in which political leaders experience a surge in public approval (Moxham-Hall and Strang 2020). Political will is actualized in various efforts made and policies produced by political leaders, in the context of this research is the Mayor of Kediri. The description of political will is further explained as follows:

Government Initiative

Basically, Government Initiatives are closely related to innovation, because initiative is an effort/action to initiate/ start something, while innovation is an update or new discovery that is different from existing or previously known ones in the form of ideas, ideas, methods, and tools. Policy innovation is important for local governments during the COVID-19 pandemic without compromising the policy standards that have been issued by the central government (Pratiwi 2021). The Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, has made various innovations during the COVID-19 pandemic. The innovation was carried out to control COVID-19 in the Kediri City. With the innovation initiated by the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, the City Government of Kediri received an award in the Innovative Government Award (IGA) 2020 competition as a Very Innovative City organized by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The Kediri City is in the Very Innovative category with a value of 4,041, which is measured based on the 2020 regional innovation index. The Kediri City proposes 46 public service innovations of which 7 are innovations in the new adaptation era of COVID-19 (Mashudi and Permata 2020).

The Kediri City received this award because it has created various innovations in serving the community. Innovations from the health sector such as the creation of Kampung IVA (Visual Inspection of Acetic Acid) to realize a form of concern and support for improving the health of women in Kediri City, while reducing the number of cervical cancer sufferers with early detection. Janda Genit (Plegm Pick Up Suspected TB), Mobile VCT (Early Detection of the HIV Virus and Risk Factors to the community), Sibro (Outpatient Online Booking System at Gambiran Hospital, Kediri).

Even Home Care Peduli, which recently won the TOP 30 in the 2020 East Java Public Service Innovation Competition (Kovablik) from the Governor of

East Java, because Home Care Peduli's innovation is patient-oriented, not just disease. So if there are problems with Home Care patients, they will help as well as other programs, namely Gemakiba (Movement to Suppress Maternal and Infant Mortality Rates) which the PKK of Kediri City continues to intensify. Meanwhile, in terms of public services, the innovations made by the Kediri City are the Semar (Sedino Mari) marriage service, Pencak Silat (Civil Registration Deed Registration for those who are late), Traker (Kediri Transportation) applications that are made to make it easier for the people of Kediri City to get transportation services such as school bus and public transportation routes, CCTV of the Kediri City, testing of motorized vehicles and others. There is also Prodamas which is a Community Empowerment Program where each RT is given 100 million/year to build its environment which covers six areas, namely infrastructure, social culture, economy, health, education and youth.

Not only that, to improve the quality of education, the City Government of Kediri has a Gold Program or English Massive, which is a free community-based English course for all lines of society. This Gold Program is not only an English course in general, but also includes many activities such as Outing Class, Meet Learn and Play, Radio Show, English Call, Gold Coins and others to make learning more interesting and easy to understand. As well as the Sakti Application (Information Technology-based Population Administration System) as a solution for administrative services in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Sakti application is a useful application for submitting Birth Certificates, Death Certificates, Submission of Family Cards, Submission of Child Identity Cards, Submission of E-KTP, and Submission of Transfer Letter (Dwi 2020).

It does not stop there, another innovation initiated by the Mayor of Kediri is the "Batman" (Isoman Assistance) Movement, which is a movement that invites the participation of the public, groups, communities, and business entities to work together to provide assistance to the people of Kediri City who are becoming self-isolation due to exposure to COVID-19. There are also Instant Learning from Home (Bi Imah) programs, Si Jamal (Synergy for Social Safety Nets), Gedor Pasen (Convalescent Plasma Donor Movement) involving COVID-19 survivors in the Kediri City, to the "Independence Internship Scale Up Prodamas", program namely a program initiated with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology. In this case, the City Government of Kediri under the leadership of Abdullah Abu Bakar is the only Regional Government that partners with the Ministry of Education and Culture's Research and Technology Free Internship program. Later, students who take part in this program will be given a platform to contribute in dealing with the issue of the COVID-19 pandemic in various sectors according to their respective disciplines. Then, to pursue vaccination achievements, the Mayor of Kediri organized a door-to-door vaccination, especially for the elderly so that vaccination could be evenly distributed to all levels of society.

Although various innovations have been produced by the Kediri City Government, it does not mean that there are absolutely no obstacles faced. The reality in the field so far is that the innovations that have been initiated are immediately realized, without paying attention to the regulatory aspects that

underlie or underlie these innovations. So in this case, innovation is considered less strong in formal legality. The head of the Kediri City Development Planning Agency, Chevy Ning Suyudi admits that this is an internal weakness of the Kediri City Government, regulations that are made are often made after initiatives/innovations are made. The Mayor of Kediri, in principle, prioritizes real action, regulatory matters (legal umbrella) so far have been adjusting. Adjusting in the sense of not ignoring/ ruling out.

Priority/Choice of Policy/Program Based on Balanced Consideration and Analysis of Options, Anticipated Outcomes, and Cost/Benefits

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused regional leaders to think pragmatically, namely the dilemma of two things, between prioritizing health or saving the economy (Mas'udi and Winanti 2020). In principle, the Mayor of Kediri wants the two to go hand in hand. But in reality, there must be one that must be sacrificed. Therefore, the Mayor of Kediri always discusses with the Regional Leadership Communication Forum (Forkopimda) of the Kediri City so that the economy must continue to run. However, the economy in Kediri City must be able to go hand in hand with strengthening health protocols. The point is that there must be a strong commitment together to be disciplined in carrying out health protocols and keeping the economy running (Masyhari 2021c).

In priority scale management, the Mayor of Kediri implemented two strategies to accelerate the handling of COVID-19 in the Kediri City, namely handling from the upstream and downstream sectors. For the upstream sector, it is focused on controlling mobility, blocking and diverting flows, vaccination, and testing and tracing. In controlling mobility, 100% work from home is carried out for the non-essential sector, then the essential sector can only operate with a maximum capacity of 50% of employees, and critical sectors are allowed to operate with a capacity of 100% of employees until turning off PJU (Public Street Lighting). As for vaccination, the Mayor of Kediri involved the TNI, the Police, and the Prosecutor's Office to accelerate the achievement of vaccinations. At the initial stage, vaccination was intended for health workers, State Civil Apparatus (ASN), and then for adults students and children. In the implementation of testing and tracing, the Mayor of Kediri involved students as volunteers.

In the downstream sector, the Mayor of Kediri made several efforts including handling residents who are self-isolating (isoman), providing centralized isolation rooms, adding beds in hospitals, and maintaining the availability of oxygen and medicine. For isoman, the Kediri City Government continues to carry out regular monitoring and has realized 5429 food assistance to residents who are undergoing isoman, the goal is to ensure their condition is safe during the isoman period, if further handling is needed, the Kediri City COVID-19 Task Force will follow up by bringing residents it to the hospital. Not only food assistance, the Kediri City Government through the Social Service also distributed assistance in the form of basic food packages worth Rp. 500,000. In the implementation of providing assistance for isoman residents, the Mayor of Kediri invites all stakeholders to be involved. The Kediri City Government has also built 2 centralized isolation places, namely the former Job Training Center (BLK) and GNI buildings. This isolation room adds 136 beds.

The COVID-19 pandemic has significantly disrupted economic activity and has had major implications for various sectors. One of the biggest impacts felt was the worsening financial system as indicated by the decline in various domestic economic activities due to restrictions on public activity, including economic activity. This poses a risk of macro-economic and financial system instability, so that the government and related institutions strive to maintain financial sector stability. As one of the central government's efforts in maintaining financial sector stability, is to establish laws and regulations regarding budget refocusing as a strong basis for authority for local governments to immediately take the necessary policies. Basically, prior to the enactment of a law regarding budget refocusing from the central government, the Mayor of Kediri had instructed his staff, in this case the relevant Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD) to divert the budget as soon as possible to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. This proves that the Mayor of Kediri really prioritizes health issues to anticipate the impact on the economic sector.

Although it has been anticipated, it does not mean that the impact is completely non-existent, the COVID-19 pandemic has significantly affected macroeconomic indicators for the Kediri City. Among other things, economic growth in 2019 of 5,47 percent was contracted to minus 6,25 percent in 2020. This can happen because Kediri City is a city of trade, services and education, so when there is a policy of restriction, it has an impact on everything. For the 2019 inflation rate of 1,83 percent to 1,93 percent in 2020, the 2019 open unemployment rate of 4,22 percent to 6,21 percent in 2020, and the 2019 poverty rate of 7,16 to 7,69 in 2020 (Pemerintah Kota Kediri 2021a).

The Mayor of Kediri really understands the impact of the economic and labor sectors caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, various efforts have been made to restore it, some of which are making appeals and monitoring to companies to avoid layoffs, providing revolving funds for UMKM in Kediri City, the KURNIA (Business Credit Serving Kediri City Residents) program which provides business capital loans for business actors micro and cooperatives with an interest of 2% per year with a term of 3 (three) years. The Mayor of Kediri claimed that the interest given was the lowest in Indonesia and offered an offer in the form of easy submission requirements. The purpose of KURNIA is to revive the community's economy. Not only that, the Mayor of Kediri also imposed a policy of exemption from late tax penalties.

Mobilization of Stakeholders

In dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, all elements in the Kediri City are involved, starting from the community, the private sector, academics (lecturers and students), as well as the media. In this case, the Kediri City Government has tried to implement the penta helix strategy. According to Upe et al. (2021) The maximum effectiveness of handling COVID-19 will be achieved by involving various elements, not only the government but also the world of campuses, business, the community, and the mass media. When interviewed, the Mayor of Kediri revealed that in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, all stakeholders, including the OPD, the police, the TNI, the prosecutor's office, the parliament, the community, charities, the private sector, academia, and the media must agree to

form the same framework of thinking, namely mutual cooperation and cooperation work together to overcome the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Head of the Documentation and Coverage Sub-Section, Public Relations and Protocol Section, the Regional Secretariat of the Kediri City explained that in the early days of COVID-19 entering the Kediri City, the awareness of the people of the Kediri City against the threat of COVID-19 was still low, but with massive information from the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar through social media, especially Instagram, has in fact proven effective in raising awareness. People are increasingly aware of health issues, and the dangers of the virus itself. Even interestingly, the public always waits for updates on COVID-19 news directly from the Mayor of Kediri through his Instagram account, namely '@abdullah_abe'. In the end, in the villages, the community was moved to build their own hand washing facilities in front of their homes. On the other hand, the City Government of Kediri through Prodamas also allows people at the RT level to submit a budget for hand washing facilities.

Another form of cooperation between the Mayor of Kediri and elements of the community is to invite the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) to make an agreement on the procedures for conducting marriages during the COVID-19 pandemic, such as the existence of certain restrictions and prohibitions to anticipate excessive crowds. In addition, the Mayor of Kediri is also collaborating with the Bhakti Wiyata Institute of Health Sciences by providing the Independent Learning Education Scholarship for study programs in the health sector, with the aim of accelerating the recruitment of new health workers in the Kediri City. A program of ongoing dialogue and discussion is also carried out by the Mayor of Kediri with Kediri City students who study abroad, as a means to provide input and breakthroughs in various cross-disciplinary fields related to the prevention and handling of COVID-19 in various sectors.

The Mayor of Kediri is also working with the TNI to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic, accelerate economic recovery, and accelerate vaccination achievements. In micro PPKM, elements of the TNI to the village level, namely Babinsa, participate in helping prevent and control COVID-19 cases in urban villages, starting from providing socialization of health protocols to the community to tracing and testing. The good synergy between the Kediri City Government and the TNI was also felt by the village heads in the Kediri City. They feel helped by Babinsa's active role. *Babinsa* and *Bhabinkamtibmas* also act as mediators against the obstacles experienced by the community to be discussed together. The TNI's active involvement in handling the COVID-19 pandemic in Kediri City, Kediri Mayor Abdullah Abu Bakar gave his appreciation to the TNI (Alamsyah 2021).

The Government of Kediri City is also actively inviting charities and volunteer organizations to join the Isoman Assistance (Batman) movement. One of those who joined the movement, namely Tagana Kediri City. Previously, charities and volunteer organizations in the Kediri City were members of the Synergy for the Social Safety Net (Si Jamal). Si Jamal is a cross-institutional idea involving eight charities and volunteers. Through Si Jamal, they are collaborating with the local government to help the people of Kediri City who are affected by

COVID-19. In order for collaboration to be strong, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, invited the community, alumni groups, communities, and other business entities to a virtual meeting. The Mayor of Kediri invites mutual cooperation in the 'Batman' movement to ease the burden on residents who are undergoing self-isolation at home. Therefore, Si Jamal transformed into Batman. Basically, Batman doesn't change the function of Jamal, it's just that Batman prioritizes people who undergo self-isolation due to exposure to COVID-19.

In Batman, Tagana of Kediri City is involved in field actions, such as following up on information and distributing aid. Besides Tagana, a number of other institutions that are members of Batman, namely, Baznas, Rumah Zakat BMH, Independent Orphans, Friends of Mustahiq, Nurul Hayat Zakat Kita, Al Haromain, and LMI. For people or companies who want to help isoman citizens through Batman, it is also facilitated through the Kediri City COVID-19 Task Force Call Center (Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Provinsi Jawa Timur 2021).

Public Commitment and Allocation of Resources

Since the onset of COVID-19 in the Kediri City, the Mayor of Kediri has tried to tighten his belt by inviting all Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD) to join hands to form the same perspective and goals and reduce sectoral egos. Everyone must unite to mobilize existing instruments to jointly minimize the impact caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. One of the commitments of the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, is to mobilize all employees in regional device organizations (OPD) to assist the social service in distributing social assistance to residents who are self-isolating due to exposure to COVID-19 using operational cars. They are divided into several parts. For the initial distribution, the agencies involved other than the social service are the transportation office, the inspectorate, and the Kediri City DP3P2KB. The three OPDs are divided into distribution areas per sub-district with a total of 49 packages that must be sent to the kelurahan. Since June 28, 2021, the Kediri City Government has distributed 500 social assistance packages for residents who are self-isolating due to exposure to COVID-19. In a day, requests for social assistance for self-isolation can reach 90 packages. On average, applications come from 15 sub-districts, or even more. This is different from conditions before June 2021 (Masyhari 2021b).

Not only that, State Civil Apparatuses (ASN) in the Kediri City area are required to buy local MSME products and then donate them to residents affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, especially residents who are undergoing independent isolation. The order was issued through the Kediri Mayor's Instruction Number 188.55/3/419,033/2021 concerning Support for the Implementation of the Sharing Movement to Help Communities Affected by the COVID-19 Pandemic. The Mayor of Kediri is trying to find a breakthrough so that assistance is not only from one party, but from two parties. The assistance provided can vary, both raw materials and those that have become dishes. Later, assistance can be given to residents who are undergoing self-isolation due to exposure to COVID-19 or other residents affected by COVID-19. Technically, ASN can submit to the person concerned. The Mayor of Kediri hopes that this policy will further foster a sense of humanity, to help each other during this pandemic (Chusna and Santoso 2021).

Application of Credible Sanctions

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Mayor of Kediri has issued several rules that are used as a legal basis in controlling and preventing the spread of COVID-19 in the Kediri City, for more details, see the following table:

Tabel Regulations of the Mayor of Kediri for the Year 2020-2021 in the Context of Control and Prevention of the Spread of COVID-19

No	Number	About	Status	Date of Invitation	Appointment Date
1	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 16 Tahun 2020	Pengendalian Kegiatan Hiburan dan Perdagangan Dalam Rangka Percepatan Penanganan Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	May 18, 2020	May 18, 2020
2	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 21 Tahun 2020	Pengendalian Penyelenggaraan Kegiatan Keagamaan di Rumah Ibadah pada Masa Pandemi Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	June 25, 2020	June 25, 2020
3	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 32 Tahun 2020	Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan sebagai Upaya Pencegahan dan Pengendalian Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	24 August 2020	24 August 2020
4	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 1 Tahun 2021	Perubahan Atas Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 32 Tahun 2020 tentang Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan sebagai Upaya Pencegahan dan Pengendalian Corona Virus	Applies	January 8, 2021	January 8, 2021
5	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 6 Tahun 2021	Perubahan Kedua Atas Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 32 Tahun 2020 tentang Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan sebagai Upaya Pencegahan dan Pengendalian Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	February 22, 2021	February 22, 2021
6	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 9 Tahun 2021	Perubahan Ketiga Atas Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 32 Tahun 2020 Tentang Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan sebagai Upaya Pencegahan dan Pengendalian Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	March 8, 2021	March 8, 2021
7	Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 18 Tahun 2021	Perubahan Keempat Atas Peraturan Wali Kota Kediri Nomor 32 Tahun 2020 tentang Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan sebagai Upaya Pencegahan dan Pengendalian Corona Virus Disease 2019	Applies	12 April 2021	12 April 2021

Source: JDIH Kota Kediri, 2021 - <https://jdih.kedirikota.go.id/>

To implement the Kediri Mayor Regulation Number 32 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Discipline and Law Enforcement of Health Protocols as an Effort for Prevention and Control of Covid 19, last June the joint apparatus

consisting of Satpol PP, TNI and Polri continued to intensively carry out Non-Justice Operations at several points. Several locations have been targeted, namely places that have the potential to cause crowds. Among them, Jalan Bandar Ngalim, Campurejo Market, Bandar Market and Ngadirejo Market. During the operation, officers still found several stubborn residents who did not wear masks when doing activities outside their homes. Furthermore, to provide a deterrent effect as well as a form of enforcement of the Mayor's Regulation, residents who are caught not wearing masks will be immediately dealt with and must undergo a trial on the spot and be given sanctions. The form of sanctions given to violators varies from social work sweeping the streets, verbal and written warnings and fines for replacing masks. All violators are examined by officers, while still prioritizing health protocols to prevent COVID-19 (Mashudi and Parmin 2021).

In September 2021, the Kediri City experienced a trend of increasingly controlled COVID-19 cases due to a decrease in COVID-19 cases and was declared at PPKM level 2. Operations to justify the enforcement of health protocols continue to be carried out to ensure that the citizens of Kediri are obedient and orderly in implementing health protocols when carrying out daily activities. Control and supervision are carried out in the implementation of face-to-face learning, malls that have been opened, and other operational activities in order to apply strict health protocols (Radio Andika 2021).

According to the community, enforcement of the rules during the high COVID-19 rate in Kediri City, the implementation of PSBB to PPKM, in restricted sectors are implemented strictly by the City Government of Kediri and the joint apparatus. However, when the cases have started to fall, enforcement has started to slack. Several times there had been miscommunication when there were new regulations with implementation in the field. Information regarding changes to the rules is often late for dissemination by the City Government of Kediri to the public, while most business actors already know about it in advance.

Regarding public awareness of the use of masks when doing activities is increasing over time. This is because most of the people of Kediri City already know the rules for the mandatory use of masks, although sometimes there are people who are still stubborn, not wearing masks. There are two reasons why people wear masks. First, because they really care about health issues, namely trying to avoid the coronavirus. The second reason is that existing regulations require the use of masks. Meanwhile, people who are reluctant to use masks have reasons that they are lazy, not used to it, have difficulty breathing, have difficulty doing activities, cannot afford masks, and some even think that COVID-19 is not dangerous and there are also people who do not believe in COVID-19.

The implementation that is still reaping the pros and cons in the community is the matter of closing several roads in Kediri City at certain hours which seems half-hearted. Considering the closure only lasts a few hours, then reopens, on the other hand, the closure only applies to 1 lane. Law enforcement officers in the field are also less assertive, several times it is seen that there are still those who have escaped from road closures. Then related to the policy of turning off PJU (Public Street Lighting) it is consistently implemented, but does not have an impact on community mobility in the Kediri City. The community considers that

the PJU shutdown is ineffective and allows crime and criminality to occur.

Continuity of Effort

At the opening of the Musrenbang for Revising the RPJMD 2021-2024 on Thursday, November 4, 2021, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, stated his commitment to restoring the economy in Kediri City due to the impact of COVID-19. There are ten (10) Leading COVID-19 Impact Recovery Programs. The 10 programs are Prodama Plus; Service City Card (Card Serving); Open and Clean Government; Universal Health Insurance (UHC); Home Care for Emergency Conditions, Elderly and Toddlers; Free and Quality Education; RW-Owned Business Development (RW Cooperative); Creation of 15,000 New Entrepreneurs; 1 urban village 1 green open space and Cool Village (Creative and Independent). From these 10 points the Mayor of Kediri wants to create new jobs and entrepreneurs. In 2022, it will be pushed back so that the wheels of the economy of the Kediri City can run and recover (Masyhari 2021a).

Not only that, the aspect that has also received serious attention from the Mayor of Kediri in economic recovery during the COVID-19 pandemic is strengthening the readiness of MSME players to go digital. The Kediri City Government also collaborates with CrediBook, a startup that focuses on digitizing UMKM operations, in organizing online UMKM training entitled "Go-Digital UMKM: More Credible and Cuan". This training aims to improve the financial literacy of UMKM in managing businesses by utilizing digital technology. This training was attended by 200 Kediri SMEs from various business backgrounds, such as: food and beverages, fashion and crafts, services, to agriculture. CrediBook and the City Government of Kediri present experts who educate training participants on business financial management, such as cash flow management, accounts payable and financial reporting. UMKMs are encouraged to have neat financial records to make it easier to monitor business conditions until they can apply for loans (Media Indonesia 2021).

In addition, given that there is no certainty when the COVID-19 pandemic will end, on the other hand, the PPKM policy that is still ongoing has resulted in UMKM in Kediri City experiencing losses, due to delays in the sale of processed food products. However, with the Kediri City Government collaboration program with modern shopping and retail centers, it is hoped that it can help business actors whose products are incorporated in PUSAKA (Original MSME Products from the Kediri City) so that their products are regularly absorbed and can be displayed in a window that is prepared on the front shelf (Pemerintah Kota Kediri 2021b).

Learning and Adaptation

As an adaptation effort in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Mayor of Kediri developed a local UMKM Mall platform, as an economic recovery program for small and medium-sized industry players affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The platform accompanies UMKM actors to be ready to become online traders. The purpose of developing the UMKM Mall is to expand the market, not only from offline to online, but also online to make the market wider. UMKM Malls also don't just stop preparing UMKM players to be ready to sell online, but also work on marketing content, so that there are visits to UMKM players' shops.

At the end of September 2020, the UMKM Mall supported by the Tokopedia marketplace also held the Kediri UMKM Mall Sale 2020. The event featured Kediri City UMKM products on the front page of Tokopedia for five full days. There are approximately 100 UMKM shops that have joined, in the sense that they have successfully migrated from offline to online (Mashudi 2020).

In addition to encouraging people to switch from conventional marketing to digital, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar and his wife Ferry Silviana Abu Bakar also promote UMKM products from the Kediri City through their personal social network, Instagram, as a form of support so that UMKMs continue to be enthusiastic in the midst of a pandemic COVID-19. They fully promote such as the taste of the food, how to order, and also their social media on Instagram live accounts '@abdullah_abe' and '@feronicas' which last for two hours. There are about 60 products reviewed. UMKM products are also diverse, such as food, crafts such as shoes, hats and scarves, plants, fashion but not clothes or masks and also not cosmetics. The reviews start from the taste, price, quality, to how to order. Both of them also collaborated with social media managers to help promote Kediri City UMKM products through their respective social media (Antara Jatim 2021).

The Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, often uses the terms "unique" in naming the programs/policies that are made. For example, the "Batman" or Isoman Assistance program, the Si Jamal (Synergy for Social Safety Net) program, and many others. Branding in the form of naming a unique program/policy is one of Abdullah Abu Bakar's efforts to build a strong image to make it easier to remember, more memorable, and can be considered as something completely new in the Kediri City (although it is the result of adopting policies from the region other). Through this, Abdullah Abu Bakar wants to create a strong image and reputation "look at the audience, and look at the threats (Ferejohn 2012). In this context, the image becomes very important because it will determine the public's assessment of the performance of Abdullah Abu Bakar as the Mayor of Kediri. Basically, what has been done by the leader, in this case the Mayor of Kediri through competence, performance, trust, morals, political will, as well as achievements and achievements as evidence of success will give birth to a good government image (Pratama 2017)

E. CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the Mayor of Kediri has tried to use his power and authority to the maximum extent possible. There are at least six components of political will that are well implemented, namely the *government initiative; priority/choice of policy/program based on balanced consideration and analysis of options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits; mobilization of stakeholders; public commitment and allocation of resources; continuity of effort; and learning and adaptation*. But unfortunately there is a shortage in one component, namely the *application of credible sanctions*.

In the government initiative component, the Mayor of Kediri has made various innovations during the pandemic to control COVID-19 in the Kediri City.

The innovation bore fruit, resulting in a Very Innovative City award in the 2020 Innovative Government Award (IGA) competition organized by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the Kediri City Government also won the 2021 Indonesian Smart City Rating award for Medium Cities. The award was given by the City Innovation Center and the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) Smart Community. The various awards that have been achieved show that the leader's initiative is truly present.

For the *priority/choice of policy/program based on balanced consideration and analysis of options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits*, the Mayor of Kediri basically wants the two to go hand in hand. But in reality, something has to be sacrificed. Therefore, the Mayor of Kediri has intensive dialogue with the Regional Leadership Communication Forum (Forkopimda) of the Kediri City so that the economy can run, but still in tandem with the implementation of health protocols. In priority scale management, the Mayor of Kediri implemented two strategies to accelerate the handling of COVID-19 in the Kediri City, namely handling from the upstream and downstream sectors. For the upstream sector, it is focused on controlling mobility, blocking and diverting flows, vaccination, and testing and tracing. Meanwhile in the downstream sector, the Mayor of Kediri has taken several steps, including handling residents who are self-isolating, providing a centralized isolation room, increasing the number of hospital beds, and maintaining the availability of oxygen and medicines.

In the mobilization of stakeholders component, the Mayor of Kediri implemented a penta helix strategy by involving the community, the private sector, academics (lecturers and students), and the media to jointly overcome the COVID-19 pandemic. Not only that, other stakeholders such as the OPD, the police, the TNI, the prosecutor's office, the parliament, and charities are also invited to join hands to work together to deal with the pandemic so that the COVID-19 case quickly disappears from the City of Tofu. Meanwhile, in the component of public commitment and allocation of resources, the Mayor of Kediri seeks to tighten his belt, urging all Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD) to work together by putting aside sectoral egos by forming the same perspective and goals. Everyone must unite to mobilize existing instruments to collaborate in minimizing the impact caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. One of the commitments of the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah Abu Bakar, is to mobilize all employees in regional device organizations (OPD) to assist the social service in distributing social assistance to residents who are self-isolating due to exposure to COVID-19.

In the application of credible sanctions component, the Mayor of Kediri has established several rules that are the legal basis for controlling and preventing the spread of COVID 19 in the Kediri City. To implement this, the City Government of Kediri and the joint apparatus have intensively carried out judicial and non-judicial operations, blocking in several places, to turning off Public Street Lighting (PJU) and other policies aimed at suppressing the number of COVID-19 and reducing community mobility. But in reality, the implementation in the field is not perfect, there are various obstacles, and there are still pros and cons. Meanwhile, on the continuity of effort component, the Mayor of Kediri, Abdullah

Abu Bakar, emphasized his commitment to restoring the economy in Kediri City due to the impact of COVID-19 through ten Leading Programs for Recovery from the Impact of COVID-19. Not only that, the aspect that also received serious attention from the Mayor of Kediri in economic recovery during the COVID-19 pandemic was to strengthen the readiness of UMKM players to go digital and create a cooperation program for the Kediri City Government with modern shopping and retail centers. The program is expected to be able to help business actors whose products are incorporated in PUSAKA (Original UMKM Products from the Kediri City) allowing them to be absorbed and can be displayed in the storefront prepared on the front shelf.

As an adjustment to the COVID-19 pandemic, in the learning and adaptation component, the Mayor of Kediri developed a local platform, namely the UMKM Mall as an economic recovery program for UMKM affected by the Covid-19 pandemic to be ready for online businesses. Mayor of Kediri Abdullah Abu Bakar and his wife Ferry Silviana Abu Bakar not only invite people to switch from traditional marketing to digital marketing, but also promote UMKM products from Kediri City through their personal social network, Instagram, as a form of support so that UMKM continue to be enthusiastic in the midst of a pandemic COVID-19.

In the end, the researcher would like to recommend several things to the Mayor of Kediri including, first, the need to form experts in the field of law to improve the quality and quantity of legislation so that innovations that have been initiated can be immediately made Mayor Regulations, Mayor Decrees or other legal products similar. The formation of experts can involve experts or academics from universities or research institutions who are experts in their fields. Second, before deciding policies in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Government of Kediri City should conduct academic studies and discussions with experts so that policies are effective, solution-oriented, and on target and do not reap pros and cons in the community, one of which is the policy of turning off public street lighting (PJU). Third, the Kediri City Government is expected to be more consistent in enforcing the rules, especially not half-way in carrying out road closure policies that seem just a formality.

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