



## The Model of Incremental Public Policy Development Formulation: Experimentalist Governance Approach

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### ABSTRACT

This paper presents a new model for policy learning in the policy formulation process, integrating the incremental public policy development formulation model and the experimentalist governance approach. The aim of the new model is to offer a comprehensive and effective approach to addressing complex social problems. The study focuses on the activities and measures implemented by the government to control pandemic period. Through interviews, observations, and document analysis, a comprehensive understanding of the pandemic situation was achieved. The use of triangulation adds validity to the research findings, resulting in a well-rounded and reliable analysis of the crisis in the city. The results and discussion demonstrate the effectiveness of the Incremental Public Policy approach, specifically the Adjusted Plagiarism Incremental model, in responding quickly to dynamic situations such as a global pandemic. This model highlights the importance of making incremental changes to existing policies to adapt to changing circumstances. This approach proved effective in addressing the challenges pandemic period. By continuously reassessing and adjusting policies based on new information and feedback, the government successfully mitigated impact on the residents of the city in pandemic period. This flexible and adaptive approach to public policy proved crucial in navigating the uncertainties and complexities of the pandemic, emphasizing the significance of agility and innovation in crisis management.

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### 1. Introduction

In times of prolonged crises and rapid change, effective crisis response requires organizations to quickly adapt to evolving problems in near real-time. This urgency puts pressure on policy actors to formulate the right policies quickly. Research highlights that effective crisis response requires coordination, partnership, and flexibility (Eisman et al., 2022). Effective coordination requires inclusivity by involving diverse stakeholders, having a clear organizational structure to assign roles and responsibilities, ensuring the capacity for efficient plan implementation, and strong leadership for guiding and motivating team members (Li & Song, 2022). Furthermore, showcasing cognitive flexibility, which involves adapting mental processes to changing situations, and coping strategies like stress management techniques, significantly enhances adaptive responses during crises in pandemic period.

Organizations that enact policies and procedures that support safety and human resources or use a maximization approach tend to have more positive outcomes for employees during a crisis (Williamson et al., 2023). Existing research focuses on how governments respond to crises, but few extend to the local government level. Technical limitations in policy formulation and central government directives restrict actors' discretion, as policies must align with higher directives (Bricka et al., 2023). Different in the context of countries that are more resourcefully qualified.

Incremental models in policymaking focus on slowly adjusting to changing conditions, which is crucial during a pandemic. Policy responses must be flexible, responsive to change, and based on the latest information for effective outcomes (H. Wang et al., 2022). In addition, incorporating current data into infectious disease models improves prediction and reduces uncertainty, which is essential for effective policy development (Schlechter et

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al., 2023). Existing policy research delves into the dynamics of post-disaster learning in different states, emphasizing cross-disciplinary teaching, cross-space learning, and cross-time learning. However, limited research focuses on crisis-driven policy-formulation processes, time constraints, and leadership pressures. This gap highlights the need to understand how decision-makers respond to crises under pressure, especially in countries with low vaccine rates and high vulnerability. Continuous evaluation and alignment of policy objectives, situational changes, and responses are crucial for ensuring effective policies during crises like pandemics. (J. Vogler, 2023).

By incorporating the Policy Regime Framework, the study explores the U.S. government's message on science during the pandemic period, explaining policy responses in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. This research underscores the importance of rapid response studies in informing urgent decision-making during crises (Wang et al., 2022; S. Buseti, 2023; C. Mavrot, 2023). The pandemic has posed a significant challenge for governments around the world, impacting multiple sectors and requiring changes in public health guidelines and policies (Guedhami et al., 2023; MacAulay et al., 2023; Stoney et al., 2023). The crisis highlights the need for rapid learning and policy adaptation in response to the evolving social, economic, and public health landscape. Government leadership during the pandemic is crucial, with countries adopting diverse strategies and responses.

The existing research gaps highlighted in the question pertain to the absence of in-depth analysis on critical reviews of alternative policy formulation approaches during pandemics, such as examining the effectiveness of rapid response strategies in addressing pandemic period challenges (Park & Yoon, 2023). While previous studies have touched on additional models in the context of policy, they have not delved deeply into additional strategies for managing the pandemic crisis (Burg & Ausubel, 2023). The study aims to address this gap by providing a detailed review of various models during the pandemic crisis, focusing on response strategies and policy effectiveness. By providing into additional policy formulation during emergencies such as pandemics, the study seeks to offer valuable guidance to policymakers and practitioners, assist them in effectively addressing challenges, and offer practical recommendations for future policy development.

## **2. Theory**

### *2.1 Public Policy Process*

The idea of public policy contains the assumption that there is a space or domain in life that is not private or purely owned by individuals, but shared or public property. Parsons said that public policy introduced by

Woodrow Wilson in the 1880s and then developed and widely known in the 1920s formulated an important theory for his concept of bureaucracy as a defender of the "public interest", saying that it is necessary to distinguish between politics and administration, which has the credo "when politics end, administration begin", (Nugroho, 2014; Parsons, 2017).

Laswell introduced policy science in 1970 in the first edition of the journal *Policy Sciences*. Laswell introduced the idea of the policy process and he stated that the view of policy science contains a distinctive characteristic, namely problem-oriented. Focusing on the problem means that the study must be multidisciplinary and involve the synthesis of various research ideas and techniques. Policy science must create creativity in analyzing problems. Lasswell's opinion is supported by Simon who contributes more to the policy piece as a discipline (Parsons, 2017). Given the multidisciplinary nature of public policy, Simon's important work is *Bounded Rationality* in decision-making. His work has had a great influence on the social sciences, including; economics, psychology, management, computers, sociology and politics. His attention to the human decision-making process is centered on the idea of rationality as something that is "limited" Parsons calls "constrained rationality", but capable of making improvements. Simon's idea in the study of decision-making from the perspective of rational stages, namely: intelligence, design and choice has become the main elements in the policy process.

A different opinion is expressed by David Easton (1953, 1965) in (Parsons, 2017), although Parsons considers Easton's work not to be a major work in public policy, but to make an important contribution to the formation of policy approaches like Wilson, Laswell and Simon. In his work, Easton introduces a political "system" that greatly influences the "way of policy study" in conceptualizing the relationship between policymaking, policy output, and its broader environment. The main characteristic of the model introduced by Easton, known as the Eastonian model, is that this model looks at the policy process in terms of inputs received in the form of flows from the environment, mediated through input channels (political parties, mass media, interest groups), interests in the political system (withinputs) and their conversion into outputs and outcomes of the policy process.

The system model introduced by David Easton is also known as the black box see model (Parsons, 2017). One of the weaknesses of this approach is that it focuses attention on the actions taken by the government, and in the end there is less focus on actions that are not paid attention to by the government, (Nugroho, 2014; Wibawa, 1994; Winarno, 2012). Thus, the policy

environment outside the government has received less attention in this black box model.

Lindblom & Woodhouse criticized the three schools of thought popularized by Lasswell, Simon and Easton. Therefore, Lindblom proposed another model that explains the power and interaction between phases and stages in the policy-making process. "Methodical and deliberate measures are not an accurate picture of how the policy process works in reality. Policymaking is actually an interactive and complex process, with no beginning and no end", (Lindblom & Woodhouse, 1993). Lindblom, who is famous for advocating a rational approach, is ultimately different from Simon's approach to finite rationality. Lindblom supports the "incrementalism" approach or what is called (Nugroho, 2014) as the "patchwork" approach. The article on "The Science of Muddling Through" published in 1959 became a classic text in the policy study literature. In (Parsons, 2017) this work is perhaps the single most important contribution in the formation of the theory of the policy-making process. However, over the years Lindblom's thinking has moved further and further away from his original argument, even to the point that some have gone so far as to say that there are two different types of Lindblom, on the one hand in favor of a rational approach, on the other hand against it.

Criticism of the cyclical model or in Nakamura's opinion (1987) is called the "textbook approach" (Stone, 1989; Nakamura, 1987; Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (eds., 1993) who said that the model creates an artificial view of policymaking. These critics argue (Parsons, 2017) that the real world is much more complicated and does not consist of steps, or neat stages or cycles. The idea of dividing the policy-making process (in stages) in such a way would overstate the rational nature of policy-making and give a false picture of the process that does not actually flow along a line where the determination of the agenda is placed at one end, while implementation and evaluation are placed at the other end.

## *2.2 Public Policy Formulation Process*

The formulation of public policy as quoted from (Anderson, 1979), concerns the efforts made to answer the question of how various alternatives are agreed upon for the problems developed and who participates. The argument Anderson refers to is a specific process, as well as different from what many people often say about the formation of public policy. Because these two concepts, namely the formulation and formation of public policies, are different. Public policy formulation is a process that is specifically aimed at solving special problems, while public policy formation is a process that highlights aspects, such as how public problems are of concern to public policy makers, how public policy proposals are

formulated for special problems, and how the proposals are chosen among various competing alternatives.

Formulation as the core of public policy (Nugroho, 2014) and a complicated stage (Winarno, 2008) that aims to "intervene" in public problems must be ideally arranged. Although the opinion (Dye, 2011) public policy is interpreted as "what the government does or does not do", but what is the focus is what the government does, because public policy tends to be active.

In this study, the policy formulation stage adopts an opinion (Jordan et al., 2015) which when compared with other theories, this opinion is more rigid in explaining the "substance" of the formulation process. As stated (Parson, 2017), that policy formulation has a wide scope and often causes complicated difficulties and complexities, both in definition and diagnosis, with the implication that policy formulation is a solution that allows success in overcoming problems requires systematic consideration and policy instruments. If knowledge (actors) is to be mobilized effectively so that policy instruments are suitable, effective and efficient with policy goals and targets (Craft & Howlett, 2012).

Opinion (Radin, 2013) to become clear that the so-called policy formulation tools are known in various forms and sizes. Initially, it was designed to support a very specific task, which is to collect as much information and data as possible to help decision-makers deal with the substantive aspects of the problem at hand. According to Radin today, these tools are considered as a means to deal with many other policy-making tasks, for example understanding the nature of policy problems, estimating how they may change over time and clarifying or even eliminating some of the many possible policy response options. In fact, to fully understand these tools, we argue that policy researchers must look at them in the context of broader policy-making activities and processes.

Policy formulation is a very different activity from policy implementation. This is an important phase devoted to generating options on what to do regarding public issues (Howlett 2011). If the agenda-setting stage in the well-known policy cycle is basically concerned with identifying where to go, the policy formulation stage is all about how to get there. (Howlett, et al 2015) refers to it as an "old" policy design study.

The historical and institutional context of policymaking is seen as having significant weight in policy formulation, and it is often debated to determine both the content and activities of design and design (Clemens & Cook, 1999). In this view, as the context and conditions of policy change and evolve, so does the set of policy tools or alternatives that are deemed acceptable or feasible by the policy actors involved in policy making, which are informed by changing the idea and calculation

of the suitability of a particular design and its consequences (Howlett, 2011).

### *2.3 Incremental Theory*

The concept of incremental models, as introduced by Lindblom in 1959, focuses on a phased decision-making process in public policy formulation, emphasizing stakeholder interaction, negotiation, and institutional learning (Feng & Hancock, 2022). While these models offer a structured approach, they face criticism for potentially hindering swift and decisive action during crises such as pandemics

The concept of incrementalism in policy formulation can be traced back to 1959 publication of Lindblom's controversial and widely cited article, *The Science of "Muddling Through"*. Muddling Through was formalized by Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963) as the theory of disjointed incrementalism and further developed by Lindblom (1965) in his book, *The Intelligence of Democracy: Decision Making through Mutual Adjustment*. Hirschman and Lindblom (1962) contributed to generalization of incrementalism theory by identifying similarities between policy research, economic development policy, and government policy making in general. Even as the theoretical basis of incrementalism continues to develop, several empirical studies have found that the model usage was quite valid in certain situations and policy processes (Rajagopalan & Rasheed, 1995).

This incremental model is basically a criticism to reality of idealism in rational model. The first criticism was made by Lindblom who said that policy makers basically do not want to carry out a regular review of all the policies they make, according to incremental model view, that policy makers never carry out the process as required by the rational approach (Nugroho, 2014; Wibawa, 1994; Winarno, 2012). Actors in the policy process are dominated by internal government actors. The mayor, with his authority, gives instructions to the Regional Secretary (Sekda) and is responsible for the formulation process until the legitimacy of the policy. The Secretary, with its bureaucratic authority, then designates the Organization Section as the main responsible sector.

In the field of machine learning, incremental learning methods have been developed to adapt models to new data without complete retraining, addressing issues such as noise in data and classification accuracy (H. Wang et al., 2022). In addition, in the areas of image classification and object detection, incremental learning methods involve adapting the model to new object classes while maintaining performance in previous classes through the process of knowledge distillation. These insights highlight the ongoing debate over the effectiveness of

additional models in addressing urgent and complex public health crises.

'Incremental plagiarism' refers to the practice of reusing ideas or concepts from previous policies with modifications in the policy formulation process, characterized by small changes and a lack of innovation. In public policy, characterized by small changes and a lack of innovation that can hinder societal progress and government legitimacy. Global public policy addresses transnational issues, necessitating collaboration between countries to address common problems (Fischer et al., n.d.). Public policy making involves a process from problem identification to policy evaluation that impacts various aspects of human life (Anyebe, 2018).

There are several reasons below to use this incremental approach. a) Policy makers do not have much time, intellectuality, and only doing research on social values as the basis to formulate policy objectives. b) There are concerns about the emergence of undesirable impacts resulting from policies that have never been made before, c) There are previous policy results that must be maintained for sake of an interest. and d) Avoiding various conflicts if carry out a tiring negotiation process for new policies.

Therefore, the incremental model is more appropriate to use in situations where policy actors do not have sufficient time to formulate policies ideally, due to limited human resources, budget resources and there are also concerns about the impacts caused by completely new policies. Apart from that, the previous policy still relevant that needed to be maintained, so only partial changes were needed (Crow et al., 2023; Nugroho, 2014; Parsons, 2017; Zaki, 2023).

Public policy analysis evaluates the effectiveness of government policies in addressing social problems, aiming to assess policy outcomes and costs. Research underscores the need for innovative policy design and implementation to overcome limitations and enhance policy effectiveness in improving human health (Fischer et al., n.d.). Additional plagiarism analysis explains the quality of the policy and its implications for government-public relations. According from research DuRant et al., (1989) The essay extends John Kingdon's predecision policy processes to the foreign policy domain, emphasizing the need for further development to encompass both gradualist and nonincremental policy types Rational and Incremental Policy Making - Jason Deegan (n.d.). It advocates for a more explicit integration of Cohen, March, and Olsen's 'garbage can' model of decision making. Additionally, a typology of policy alternatives incorporating recent evolutionary theory developments is proposed.

The Adjusted Plagiarism Incremental model emphasizes making small, incremental changes to existing policies to adapt to changing circumstances, such

as a global pandemic. This approach proved to be effective in addressing the challenges posed in pandemic period. By continuously reassessing and adjusting policies based on new information and feedback, the government was able to effectively mitigate its impact on the city's residents. This adaptable approach to public policy was essential in managing the challenges of the pandemic, emphasizing the significance of agility and innovation in crisis management. It ultimately saved countless lives and helped the city recover more quickly. The city was able to bounce back stronger than ever before.

This approach aims to enhance our understanding of predecision processes in both domestic and foreign policy realms, offering a comprehensive research agenda for national and cross-national contexts (Yustiningrum, 2024). Furthermore, by taking an evolutionary approach to policy-making, policymakers can also anticipate potential challenges and address them proactively (Janssen & Helbig, 2016). This can lead to more sustainable and successful policy outcomes that align with the evolving needs of society. (Ansell et al., 2017) By incorporating feedback loops and continuous evaluation, policymakers can adapt their strategies in real-time to ensure optimal outcomes.

This dynamic approach can foster greater transparency and accountability, ultimately building trust with the public and promoting long-term policy effectiveness (Levmore, 2009). The study focused on activities and measures implemented by the government mitigated impact on the residents of the city in pandemic period. Through interviews, observations, and document analysis, a comprehensive understanding of the pandemic situation was gained. The use of triangulation added validity to the research findings, resulting in a well-rounded and reliable analysis of the crisis in the city.

### **3. Research Method**

The study employed qualitative methods. Secondary data was gained from current literature such as books, newspaper accounts, previous research works, conference articles, studies, and so on, whilst primary data was gathered through sample interviews and questionnaire surveys.

This research is located in East Java. The province have the high activity of residents added during the pandemic have a city indicated in the red zone and PPKM level 4 as the maximum indicator of crisis during a pandemic, is relevant as a research location.

The descriptive qualitative type research method with data analysis techniques using interactive models Miles, Hubberman & Saldana (2014), began by collecting data through interviews with 17 informants, 9 observation location areas and 9 types of documents that became

secondary data analysis materials. Data validity by triangulation; source, technique and time.

The research focused on understanding the impact of the pandemic period, particularly in terms of their activities and the measures taken by the government to control its. Through the interviews, observations, and analysis of documents, a comprehensive picture of the situation in province during the pandemic was obtained. The use of triangulation to ensure data validity added strength to the research findings, providing a well-rounded and reliable analysis of the crisis situation.

The study focused on activities and measures implemented by the government to control in pandemic period or critical times. Through interviews, observations, and document analysis, a comprehensive understanding of the pandemic situation was gained. The use of triangulation added validity to the research findings, resulting in a well-rounded and reliable analysis of the crisis in the city. The results and discussion model incorporated the Incremental Public Policy approach, allowing for quick response to situations. This model emphasizes the importance of making small, incremental changes to existing policies in order to adapt to changing circumstances, such as a global pandemic.

### **4. Results**

#### *4.1 Policy Formulation Incremental Model in Government.*

Actors in the policy process are dominated by internal government actors. The mayor, with his authority, gives instructions to the Regional Secretary (Sekda) and is responsible for the formulation process until the legitimacy of the policy. The Secretary, with its bureaucratic authority, then designates the Organization Section as the main responsible sector.

The Organization Section uses the policies of the central government and East Java Province as the basis for drafting draft mayoral regulations. From the results of data mining in the field provide an illustration, research finds that this incremental practice often and "usually" occurs in the environment of internal government actors, policymakers. The phenomenon of incremental plagiarism within government actors and policymakers is a prevalent issue, as evidenced by various studies. While some view this 'policy plagiarism' as an efficient learning process that could ensure (Ansari et al., 2013). this study found incremental plagiarism involving many planning, program, and strategic activities carried out by government personnel.

There is incremental plagiarism involving planning, program, and strategic activities carried out by government personnel. This happens in a series of policies that show certain changes or additions, as seen in

Government Regulations regarding PSBB, Micro PPKM, Emergency PPKM, and so on.

Despite differences in diction or substance, the overall goal of the policy remains the same, which is to overcome a pandemic that has been going on for a long period of time. This "adjusted" process refers to the adoption and adjustment of old patterns to new patterns, as well as the contextualization of policies to crisis situations at various levels during a long period of time (Heracleous et al., 2023). Going back to adjusted incremental plagiarism is that in modifying existing policies, incremental models interpret that public policies tend to be variations or continuation of pre-existing policies.

In Mayor Regulation on Pandemic, for example, incremental can be seen as a more pragmatic and practical approach in the context of policy formulation. In fact, there was an act of plagiarism in the process of drafting the draft mayoral regulation, this indicated with the similarity of documents in regulations made by one city is similar to that of another city. Found the similarity of diction and substance, it is difficult to say that it is the act of "wrong" choosing part and adopted by being separated and put in different places on numbers and articles.

On the findings of the phenomenon from observations and discussions with informants over a long period of time (during the study), what is meant by adjusted incremental plagiarism is to choose the diction and substance that is considered most appropriate, adopted or copied and pasted but it is put in different chapters and numbers.

The findings of the study occurred by way of substitution, addition, subtraction of words. For example, in making regulations the mayor only changes from one city to another and there are still many other mayoral regulations which seems like just copy paste. There is an opinion that is "taken for granted", in legal terms called *mutatis mutandis* contained in Article 1 point 11 of the Regulation of the Head of the National Archives Number 11 of 2016 concerning the Establishment of Legal Products in the Environment of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia. The article reads "Mutatis Mutandis" is a principle that states that basically policy makers have the authority to make changes to procedures on matters that are necessary or important in accordance with urgent conditions. In other words, *mutatis mutandis* is a principle for carrying things out according to rules. However, if there is urgency, then the party has the authority to make changes to procedures.

This approach proved to be effective in addressing the challenges posed in pandemic period. By continuously reassessing and adjusting policies based on new information and feedback, the government was able to mitigate its impact on the city's residents in pandemic period. This flexible and adaptive approach to public policy proved to be crucial in navigating the uncertainties

and complexities of the pandemic, highlighting the importance of agility and innovation in crisis management.

Unlike what happens in the field that the process of drafting mayor regulation manuscripts occurs incremental practices (added embroidery) driven by crisis situations, technically plagiarism practices occur. However, if you are more observant in exploring the statements of informants who are technical personnel that actually in the process of drafting mayor regulation manuscript precisely because there is pressure from the "superior" must be completed immediately, then what is done is to look for policy products that have then been adopted, changed and adjusted. During the pandemic, new policy products are also adopted, because almost every 2 weeks there are changes in regulations.

In this process there is incremental plagiarism, which is the reuse of some ideas or concepts from previous policies, but with certain changes or additions according to the current situation. This plagiarism is done so that the policy formulation process is faster and more efficient, because there is no need to start from scratch in formulating new policies. The adoption and adjustment of old policies to these new circumstances is carried out taking into account the overall objective of the policy that remains the same, which is to address the problems at hand, as in the case of pandemic period. However, there are adjustments in the diction or substance of the policy to suit the current situation and conditions. This "adjusted" process also involves planning, programming, and strategic carried out by government elements in a series of policies that form a series of policy changes in dealing with the pandemic. This adopted and customized policy process aims to achieve the desired results in an effective and efficient manner, optimize existing policies and avoid wasting resources in formulating new policies as a whole.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

In view (Nugroho, 2014) incremental is interpreted with the term "patchwork plagiarism". Patchwork is analogous to a garment with holes that need to be patched in order to return to its original form, although it is not completely perfect by taking a similar fabric (it can be new fabric, or the same fabric used), with the aim of being more effective and efficient than sewing new clothes designed and sewn from scratch. Meanwhile, in practice, the policy of adding embroidery is not entirely simple, such as patching clothes with holes. There is an old policy that must be "chosen" whether in articles or points (if it is a legal product) to remain in use (because it is still relevant), or chosen dictionally in the form of different sentences with the same intention. All of these must be "separated" in the form of a truly new policy or legal

product. It is therefore more appropriate to use the term "adjusted incremental plagiarism".

Opinion shows the characteristics of policy formulation going through gradual change, but does not explain under what circumstances (Lindblom, 1959). Because of the focus of Lindblom's study of inflation, administrators were given the responsibility to resolve with the main consideration being the market. Lindblom says administrators start with an inventory of all values in order of importance. For example; Full employment, reasonable business profits, deposit protection, prevention of stock market crashes. Then all possible policy outcomes are judged to be less efficient in achieving maximum values. While (Rajagopalan & Rasheed, 2005a) try to reinterpret and criticize it. They say the purpose of his paper was to review models of disjointed incrementalism and logical incrementalism, identifying key differences between the two.

They explain that intermittent incrementalism aims to achieve social agreement through conflict minimization, while the basic goal of logical incrementalism is to improve the quality of strategic decisions and maximize the likelihood of success in their implementation. However, both models attempt to overcome problems caused by lack of information, limited human ability to solve problems, and value conflicts between actors inherent in the policy formulation process. Although critically reviewing two main models of incrementalism (Rajagopalan & Rasheed, 2005a) provides an alternative with four explanations regarding non-incremental policy making, namely; Explain from the leadership side, speculative augmentation, organizational capability thresholds and with a disaster theory approach. The disaster theory in question is about the energy crisis in western Germany. Unlike the pandemic that occurred in Indonesia, the bureaucratic system that opens up top-down space is a driver for making policies with an incremental model, in addition to the pandemic crisis, time constraints, and limited administrator capabilities. Pressures within the internal bureaucracy are a differentiator from previous research.

So that adjusted incremental plagiarism can be simultaneously high and low depending on instructions from the "superior" so that the choice of actors to formulate with a disjointed incremental model using logic can be done not in order to analyze comprehensively to formulate new policies (Hermans & Cunningham, 2013), but instead logic directed to use the "pistas path" By copying or rather copy-pasting from existing policy texts, adopted with the need to consider "profit and loss" not in terms of budget, time and effectiveness of policy products, but "profit and loss" when instructions come from "superiors" to immediately formulate policies, the most "profitable" way is to find policies or regulations

that can be emulated, adopted and imitated with adjustments as necessary. When compared with the opinion (Rajagopalan & Rasheed, 2005b) the position of adjusted incremental plagiarism is between disjointed incremental and logical incremental, can be illustrated below:

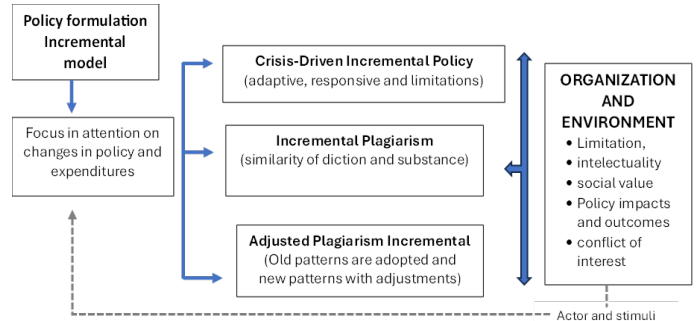


Figure 1. Logical Incremental formulation (Reseachers, 2024)

In this study, the incremental model perspective on policy changes is influenced by the formulation process context, actor limitations, and internal bureaucracy pressure, all stemming from the pandemic crisis situation. The more urgent the crisis, the more rapid policy changes are needed. The speed of change in the policy process occurs at the stage of policy formulation that does not allow actors to formulate policies ideally.

The pressure in bureaucracy on administrators is another side not found in previous research. It also encourages Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism, namely building new patterns based on old patterns, choosing the most appropriate, relevant from past policies, separating tailored to the interests of actors, before formulating new policies. Hence, the primary distinction in the evolution of the incremental plagiarism model lies in the roles of internal government actors, specifically superiors and subordinates, each contributing to the development of the Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism policy.

Table 4.1. The Process of Formulating the Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism Policy Method.

Stages	Description
Identify the problem	Identify problems related to plagiarism in existing public policies or in the process of formulating new policies.
Goal setting	Set the objectives in the context of public policy, such as increasing transparency, accountability, and integrity in the policy formulation process.
Risk Assessment	Analyzing the risks associated with plagiarism in public policy, including its impact on public trust and government legitimacy.
Communication Strategies	Communicating to all relevant parties involved in the public policy formulation process, including policymakers, researchers, and other stakeholders.
Execution and Oversight	Implementing that policy consistently in the process of formulating public policies and conducting oversight to ensure compliance with the established rules.

Source: (Reseachers, 2024)

In the context of policy or decision-making this can technically be called "discretion", in the event that the legal product derives the phrase or sentence from the higher regulation and then imits it on the lower legal product. If you look more closely at adjusted incremental plagiarism, there is an element of "deliberately" plagiarism not because of mutatis mutandis but "laziness" to study, study policy issues. For the reason that superiors (in the bureaucratic hierarchy structure) must be obeyed, in order to complete the task of drafting the draft mayoral regulation at the insistence of superiors, time constraints and crisis situations, the internal government actors in charge of drafting the policy text "hijack" the same regulations from different regions, then "selected-separated" according to the needs of actors, such is the incremental plagiarism package that is called Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism.

This adjusted incremental plagiarism model is more appropriate when the policy formulation process is limited by constraints such as time constraints, limited available information, and limited resources needed to conduct a comprehensive policy evaluation (incremental characteristics in general), but also driven by crisis situations, superior demands and actors' "unwillingness" to do work from initially, then this adjusted incremental plagiarism finds its own space. In addition, starting the formulation process with the right stages, in crisis situations that are faced with significant uncertainty is not as easy as logical incremental and not as simple as disjointed incremental. There must be accuracy in choosing words or sentences, there must be proficiency in choosing the right diction, then the decision to separate which ones to adopt, which parts need to be changed or omitted in the draft policy to be formulated.

This concept is based on the idea that in situations of crisis or significant change, it is necessary to make adjustments to existing policies to cope with new challenges or problems that arise. In the research findings, internal government actors, starting with superiors (Mayors), instruct regional secretaries to respond urgently to the pandemic crisis, driven by the immediate need for action due to the widespread crisis. The Secretary with his bureaucratic authority ordered the Organization Section to prepare a draft policy text as material for formulating policies.

Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism technically occurs at this stage. Because those responsible for preparing draft texts or policy formulation materials select (selection) policy products that are similar and most likely to be adopted, then separated and adjusted to the needs of actors and the goals intended by their "superiors". So that in the "selections" in figure 29 the four typologies of the artist layering, drift, conversion, displacement are not based on the high and low opportunities that can be done,

but all four can be done partially, with other parts in other spaces.

Pandemic response policy formulation begins with a process; driven by multidimensional crises, characterization of problems, evaluation of pandemic developments setting goals, selecting policy formulation options, technically done by means of Incremental plagiarism. The model that has been used so far is incremental, namely slight changes, adopting existing policies by making changes, subtracting, adding in certain points exactly the same. Time constraints, crisis situations, encourage technical preparation of draft policy texts to be carried out by Adjusted Incremental Plagiarism.

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