

Handling Corona Virus Pandemic In The Indonesian Political Context: A Grounded Theory Study

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Abstract: *Pandemic Covid-19 influence many aspects of life and the effort to handle is paramount. The handling requires political support since it will use massive amount of resources. The study is using grounded theory and data collection is made through in-depth interview and triangulation made by conducting meeting and webinar. The participants of the interview were nine people, the participants of the meeting were 15 people, and the webinar were participated by 74 people. Participants age range from 23-50 years old and having different backgrounds such as volunteers, professionals, company's employees. The study found that there are five key factors, namely pandemic hit the people differently (theme a), crisis in political communication (theme b), tension between health versus economic approach (theme c), lack of data and weak institution (theme d), and development of volunteerism (theme e). The features have linkages and influences creating complexity of the issue in which theme d affect theme a, theme b, and theme e; theme a have influence on theme c and theme e; theme c give effects on theme b and theme e; theme b influence theme e. The theme that have more influence to other theme is theme d and the theme influenced by all other theme is theme e. The recommendation of the study is to use biopolitics and political valued resources to deal with lack of data and weak institution, and integrating volunteerism in dealing with Covid-19.*

Keywords: *Covid-19; Political Arena; Disaster Management*

1. INTRODUCTION

Look back at the history of the non-natural disasters in the world in this century, there have been numerous serious outbreaks of deadly virus-born diseases. First in 2003 the H5N1 Avian Influenza, second in 2004 the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemic, third in 2012 and which is still circulating the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS), fourth the deadly Ebola virus outbreaks of 2014 which re-emerged in 2018, and the sixth in 2019 until now 2020 is COVID-19 as a Global Pandemic.

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic was devastating. According to the International Labor Organization, there are 1.6 billion informal workers in the world who have been hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. According to WFP, there are as many as 265 million people predicted total surges in global hunger rates. The poor are vulnerable to being infected with COVID-19. Until the end of May 2020, according the release data from worldometers, there were 5,715,117 people infected with the COVID-19 virus, 352,902 people died because of COVID-19, and 2,454,822 people were declared cured worldwide.

Recognizing the alarming levels of spread and the impact covering primary sectors such as agriculture, petroleum, and mining; secondary sectors namely manufacturing and tertiary

sectors including education and finance (Nicola, Alsafi, Sohrabi, Kerwan, Al-Jabir, Iosifidis, Agha, Agha, 2020; Laing, 2020) complicated by inadequate respond to contain it, on March 11, 2020, WHO declared that Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) can be characterized as a pandemic. Following the statement, Government of Indonesia (GOI) on April 13, 2020 declared Covid-19 as non-nature national disaster. The declaration did not weather criticism from several people that perceived the respond to the pandemic as late, partial, and inadequate.

Indonesia is located in the ring of fire and natural disasters are experienced frequently. Regulations on disaster management (Law no. 24/2007) already enacted and special unit to deal with the disaster named national body on disaster management (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana, BNPB) and its local structure named Local Disaster Management Body (Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah, BPBD) also already formed at provinces and district level. However, Covid-19 pandemic created several multi-dimension political tensions, national government and local government, among ministries and government offices, government and parliament members, government and social groups, and among social groups, resulted in uncertainties, rivalries, and overlap actions to deal with.

The pandemic is not short-lived and it is expected that impact of it will broad and long-lasting. The multi stakeholder concerted effort will be required to deal with the pandemic. The study intention is to propose an approach to handle Covid-19 pandemic and similar disaster by recognizing the dynamic of Indonesian political context.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Characteristics of Covid-19

Covid-10 spreading level is the reason that made the virus became pandemic. Ali and Alharbi (2020) identified several characteristics of Covid-19, they are a) infecting the area of upper gastrointestinal and respiratory tract of the humans, including mammals and the birds, b) the virus can mutate slowly and make it a challenge for the treatment, c) The symptoms may arise within 14 days after the infection; in some cases, the diseases prevail after 27 days, d) The common signs of infection are sneezing, sore throat, dry cough, high fever, respiratory problems, fatigue, muscle pain, e) spreading by the sneezing, cough droplets and contact, f) the virus enters the body through the mouth, nose, and eyes.

As experienced in affected areas, the people with intensive contact and open exposure in public spaces will have significant chance to be in infected and transmitted the virus in their family and communities (Liu, Gua, Xia, Shi, Zhou, Shi, Liu, 2020).

When compared the thread-defining the characteristics of microbes which is consist of aspect about infectiousness, virulence, and pandemic thread between COVID-19 with the other microbes, we could show in the table below :

Agent	Infectiousness	Virulence	Pandemic Threat
SARS	Moderate	High	Low
Avian Influenza (H5N1)	Very low	Very high	Low
Ebola	Moderate	Very high	Low
Mers	Low	Very high	Low
Swine Flu	High	Low	Low
COVID-19	High	High	High

Source : Margadana (2020)

According the data above, the high infectiousness and high virulence with high pandemic threat will lead to a very serious biological event in the earth on many countries..

The impacts of Covid-19

The impacts cover multiple aspects and dimensions. Mesa Vieira, Franco, Restrepo, Abela (2020) in their study warned that the pandemic already reaches low and middle-income communities with limited resources and inadequate health services and system. The vulnerable groups that need to be given special intervention are the elderly, imprisoned individuals, homeless, migrant, indigenous, and people with disabilities. Kabir, Afzal, Khan, Ahmed (2020) emphasized the significant impact of the pandemic to internally displaced persons (IDPs). For the vulnerable groups, social and economic conditions, structural injustice, and other related factors enhance the exposure risk and lead to more fatality cases. (Millett, Jones, Benkeser, Baral, Mercer, Beyrer, Honermann, Lankiewicz, Mena, Crowley, Sherwood, Sullivan, 2020).

The physical and social distancing applied in many areas of affected countries had influenced ordinary people and families. Many cases of health anxiety, financial worriedness, and social support for the affected, was positively associated with Covid-19 (Tull, Edmonds, Scamaldo, Richmond, Rose, Gratz, 2020).

As experienced by many countries, The Covid-19 pandemic became economic crisis that alarming many economic players namely investors, management, employees, small business owners, including policy makers and public at large that the economic damage caused by the pandemic on an unprecedented magnitude (Goodell, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic raised the domino effect in economic landscape. There are four stages of business damaged and decreasing economy activities in several industries. The first stage is the travel tourism and hotel industry, the second stage is the manufacture, factories, and transportation industry, third stage is oil & gas, mining, and services industry, and the fourth stage is micro & small business, finance, and primary activities such as farming (Primahendra, 2020). This domino effect influences the economic structure on Indonesian economy landscape. According the Ministry of Cooperation & Small Medium Enterprises of Republic Indonesia (Kemenkop UKM RI) in 2018 released the amount of business actor and labour who operate in Indonesia.

Business Actor / Entreprize	Amount (%)	Labour (%)
Micro	62.106.900 (98,7%)	107.232.992 (89,17%)
Small	757.090 (1,2%)	5.704.321 (4,47%)
Medium	58.627 (0,09%)	3.736.103 (3,11%)
Big	5.460 (0,01%)	3.586.769 (2,98%)

Source : Kemenkop UKM RI (2018)

Other aspect of influence is related to digital world. Modern society is working and communicating in digital world, digital factors are likely contributing to the complexity and contribute to unequal distribution of vulnerability. Most of the information and mitigation of the pandemic is distributed and accessed through digital technology, the inequalities of the technology will lead to unequal information access and lead to unequal capabilities to respond the pandemic. In other words, given the dependency toward technology in all spheres of life, digital inequalities put the most digitally disadvantaged more at risk, both to get the virus itself, inability to access required information and suffering from other negative impact related to the crisis overall (Beaunoyer, Dupere, Guitton, 2020).

Environment experienced different outcomes. Pollution in some of the epicenters of COVID-19 has reduced in significant numbers (Muhammad, Long, Salman, 2020). On the other side,

the easy spread of this virus made people to wear different type of protective equipment such as face mask, gloves and hand sanitizer on a daily basis that resulted in generation of a massive amount of medical wastes that in some cases is not well-managed (Saadat, Rawtani, Hussain, 2020).

The political context of disaster

Recognizing the impact of the pandemic, any required governmental actions to deal with must be able to link between science and political actions. (Vieiraa et al, 2020). On the political dimension, Putra and Matsuyuki (2019) found that decentralization such as implemented in Indonesia had several impacts, they are a) Theoretically, better implementation of disaster management by local government since the regulation, institutional set-up, budget, and response supposedly locally driven, b) there is potential challenges since each local governments can develop their own policy and mechanisms, it will creates regulatory inconsistencies at national level and it can lead to institutional difficulties for broad based efforts and collective actions, c) local agencies in many cases lack of experiences and capacities to deal with global issues such as the pandemic and it can create dependencies to national institutions.

The disaster such as Covid-19 pandemic create a situation named as biopolitics (David & Le Dévédec, 2018), which is the required political effort for readiness, coordination, funding, and delivering any activities to ensure population health must confronting diverging political interests through democratic mechanism. During a disaster, different political groups can have different point of view and develop their own political agenda. These conceptions and agendas need to be managed to ensure coordinated actions for dealing with the threats.

In the hyper-connected modern age, pandemic such as Covid-19 will be followed by massive hoax or fake news developed and circulated by different parties for various reasons and create various responses from the population that complicating pandemic response. The outputs of the fake news are social fragmentation, distrust to authorities, and anger mob, the condition that conducive to initiate political action. These conditions, powered by wide access to digital network, social media and in many cases nurtured by politically motive interest can trigger panic that can lead to worse outcome than the pandemic itself (Beaunoyer, 2020).

The handling of disaster

The study by Oosterhoff, Palmer, Wilson, and Shook (2020) reported the most commonly motivations for social distancing relates to social awareness and responsibility not wanting others getting sick. When people develop wider awareness and responsibility, they will voluntarily involve in many related activities such as social distancing and lockdowns.

In the situation such as Covid-19 pandemic, it is important to address the issue by strengthening the health system with a community-based approach (León-Martínez, de la Vega, Ramírez, Rodríguez-Aguilar, Flores-Ramírez, 2020).The similar finding also showed by Koon (2020) finding that attention to manage social culture of population is very crucial as showed in the case of Singapore. To conclude, the best mitigation results for the pandemic are reported when applying a combination of voluntary and enforceable measures (de Bruin, Lequarre, McCourt, Clevestig, Pigazzani, Jeddi, Colosio, Goulart, 2020).

3. METHODS

The method used in the study is grounded theory which is a qualitative research design to develop general explanation or theory and meaning pattern develop from different experiences and perspectives of the participants. The approach that used following Charmaz by using active coding (Creswell, 2014). Datacollection is made through in-depth interview and triangulation made by conducting meeting and webinar in April 2020.The participants of

the interview were nine people, the participants of the meeting were 15 people, and the webinar were participated by 74 people. Participants age range from 23-50 years old and having different backgrounds such as volunteers, professionals, company's employees that all involved in handling Covid-19 pandemic.

4. RESULTS

This research conduct by some researchers with different background, such as educational, social development, communication, and environmental studies. Grounded theory is used to study the events that are happening. As a research strategy, through grounded theory researchers "produce" general and abstract theories of certain processes, actions, or interactions that come from the views of participants (Creswell, 2010). There are five key themes resulted in coding process, they are:

1. *Pandemic hit the people differently (theme a).* There are three groups of people that affected by the pandemic. Firstly, they who own or work in the company that still can operate or having enough liquidity to provide salary during broad scale social limitation (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*, PSBB); secondly, poor people and micro businesses; thirdly, people who lost their job because their company or job heavily hit by the PSBB. Statistically, the second and third group constitute of more than 90% of workforce. The second group has to face three immediate challenges namely exposure to the virus cause by social-economic condition, lack of access to adequate health services, and fast depletion of saving and asset. Together with the third group, they will heavily rely on government support to be able surviving during the pandemic without any economic activities. By the economic sector, tertiary sectors such as travel & tourism industry, and service industry are the one that immediately hit by the pandemic, followed by secondary sectors such as manufacture and processing industry. Primary sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, livestock is still running with many difficulties. The primary sector must absorb the impact of the secondary and tertiary sector collapsed. Nevertheless, there are some industry that experiencing a boost during the pandemic such as sanitary, telecommunication, digital marketplace, and logistic, but these industries cannot compensate the negative impact experienced by other industry.

2. *Political communication is another crisis (theme b).* There are three levels of communication crisis, namely within ministries and government offices, among political actors, and within society. Since the beginning of the pandemic, many ministries and government offices sent unconsolidated and contradicting messages as perceived by the public. Political actors, namely political figures and political groups made statements and policies that can be seen as there was political competition and rivalries. Many of the statements and policies is not based on credible data, having weak legal base, and create false impressions to other parties. As the result, within society many contradicting messages, fake news, and hoax created and distributed. The exchange of the message and unchecked information dominate the public space and create further uncertainties and distrust. Trust is the center of effective risk and disaster communication by the government, both in the national and local context. In the era of rapidly developing communication ecosystems, the state apparatus need to understand how to build and maintain trust. This is very important so that the government is trusted as the main source of information (Liu & Mehta, 2020).

3. *Health versus economic approach (theme c).* There are two main messages that dominate the public space, they are health approach that emphasize to prioritize the effort to minimize the infection rate before starting any other activities, and economic approach that propose starting economic activity with taking necessary precautionary steps for avoiding economic collapse. They who support the health approach send the warning that any

relaxation of the PSBB and economic activity will lead to wider infections and create second waves of infections. The supporters of economic approach have the argument that without any substantial economic activity will hamper the capacity of the government to deal with the pandemic in the long run and many companies will be collapse creating more unemployment. Those two approaches are not necessarily competing and exclusive. The two approach can be seen as complimentary as shown below.

	Ineffective Economic Intervention	Effective Economic Intervention
& Rapid Effective Health Intervention	Scenario C	Scenario D
& Slow ineffective Health Intervention	Scenario A	Scenario B

Graphic 1.

Four scenarios of health and economic intervention

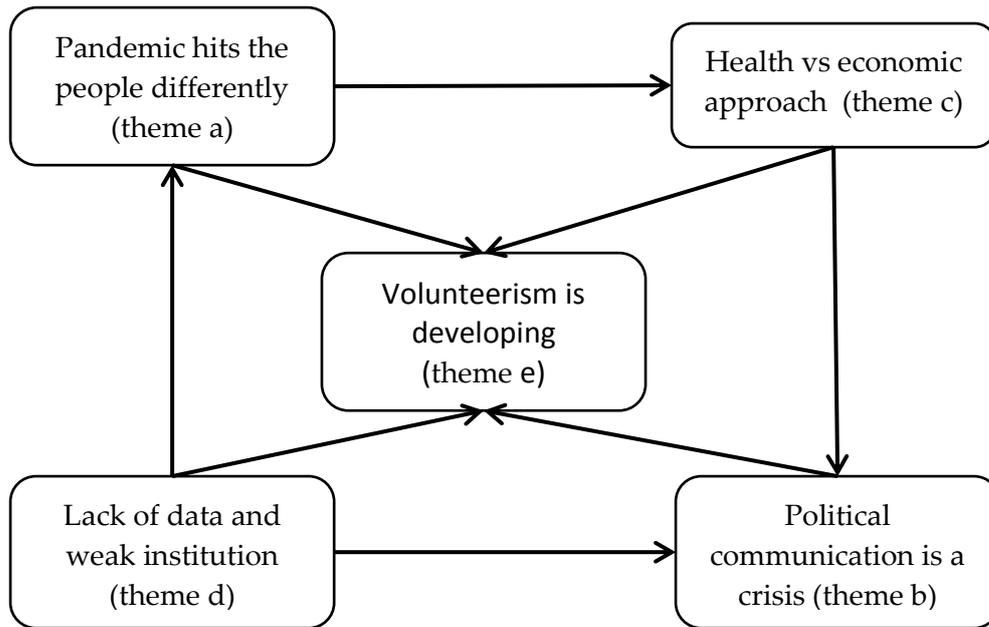
The key intention of health approach is saving the lives and it is done through tracing, testing, treating, and isolating. While the economic approach intention is to secure the livelihood of the people and ensuring the economic capacity to jump-start is not jeopardize. Based on the diagram, there are four scenarios. Scenario A is the situation in which both health and economic intervention are not effective and hamper both health and economic condition. Scenario B is the condition in which economic intervention effective but health intervention is not. In other words, economic activity is starting together with virus infection rate is high. In this circumstance the spreading the virus will affect the economic and slowing down the growth. Scenario C is characterized by rapid and effective health intervention but ineffective economic intervention. The situation in this scenario will soon lead to inability of government and household to bear the cost for isolation. Health intervention will be short-lived, dissatisfaction will be spread out and people will disobey the authorities and will go out seizing any available economic opportunity. Until April 2020, the amount of the terminated workers happened in 116.370 companies with 2.084.593 employees and total case of people infected the COVID-19 about 9.000 people.

4. Lack of data and weak institution (theme d). Since 2014, BNPB has stated that baseline data are very important at every stage in disaster management. The data can be sourced from the results of population censuses and large-scale surveys, such as Population Censuses or Village Potentials. These data are then processed and presented with the aim of assisting in the preparation of plans and analyzes that are more appropriate in determining population numbers, including vulnerable groups and public infrastructure, that are affected

by hazards (BNPB, 2014). Following the policy of social distancing and closing most of economic activities, central and local governments provide social assistance to affected groups especially poor families, unemployed and micro and small business owners. The assistance exposed the problem of micro data availability and delivery mechanism. Mistargeting, overlapping, confusion, and blaming game among the policy makers went public. Micro data especially on poor families is latent issue without adequate effort to address it both by central and local government offices. The data became political commodities that used for political leaders to claim their achievement. Institutions to deliver the assistance are also experiencing problems since lack of coordination between local government offices and management of national programs. There is a perception among the people of rivalries among certain figures for political performance.

5. *Volunteerism is developing (theme e).* The term volunteerism comes from the Latin language "voluntas", which means "will" or "goodwill." Volunteerism can also be called voluntary action, a principle in which individuals are free to choose their goals and how to achieve them within certain social and cultural boundaries. Volunteerism is the opposite of the actions imposed or predetermined by other structures or groups. There are three types of volunteerism develop during the pandemic, they are personal volunteerism, organization/institutional volunteerism, and community volunteerism. Personal volunteerism is volunteer activities made by individual by mobilizing resources and distribute it independently and/or joining to the call for volunteer made by government offices. Until end of May 2020, there were 30,360 individual volunteers registered in the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling COVID-19 of Republic Indonesia. They consisted of 7,178 people (24%) medical volunteers and other health workers and 23,182 people (76%) non-health worker volunteers. In addition to volunteers registered with the COVID-19 Handling Acceleration Task Force, there are also 15,003 people registered as volunteers at the Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic Indonesia (Nurhardjanto, 2020). Institutional volunteerism is volunteer activities made by companies, universities, mass media, and other organizations by mobilizing internal and external resources and provide support to the affected public. Community volunteerism is the activities made by certain communities to deal with the pandemic. Some villages in central Java took initiatives to support their neighbor and conduct self-defined isolation is an example of community volunteerism.

The five key themes as described above is not isolated themes. There are linkages and influences among the themes. Those linkages and influences can be described below.



Graphic 2. Linkages and influences among key themes

As shown in graphic 2, the features have linkages and influences creating complexity of the issue in which theme d affects theme a, theme b, and theme e; theme a have influence on theme c and theme e; theme c give effects on theme b and theme e; theme b influence theme e. The theme that have more influence to other theme is theme d and the theme influenced by all other theme is theme e.

There are eight linkages and influences of the key themes. The description of it can be seen in following figure.

Table 1. Influences of Key Themes

No	Influences	Description
01	Lack of data and weak institution >>> pandemic hits the people differently	Data lacking make policy makers unable to identify the impact of the pandemic to different communities. Weak institution leads to delayed response and force vulnerable communities experienced the worst of the pandemic. In the field, Depok City Government recognizes the possibility of inaccurate data on social assistance (<i>Bantuan Sosial/Bansos</i>) recipients for groups of people affected by PSBB (large-scale social restrictions). Head of the Depok City Government Social Service explained that his party was only able to rely on <i>RT / RW</i> proposals related to the number of family heads (<i>Kepala Keluarga/KK</i>) receiving social assistance. However, the lack of time is the reason for his side not conducting field verification (Mantalean, 2020).

02	Lack of data and weak institution >>> volunteerism is developing	Ineffective targeting and execution make many affected people do not have required assistance. The situation ignites voluntary initiatives from society to support them. Volunteering initiatives depart from conditions of social imbalance caused by a pandemic with the capability of the state to deal with a pandemic. There are limitations to the formal system of the state so that the community considers the government is slow in responding to conditions. Based on these conditions the community is taking initiatives to help the others.
03	Lack of data and weak institution >>> Political communication is a crisis	Confusion and overlapping caused by mistargeting and ineffective delivery mechanism lead to disastrous political communication since the authorities send unconsolidated messages that fuel the political framing. Inaccurate data resulted in social assistance being distributed wrongly on target, and some even received double assistance. On the other hand, there are residents who should be prioritized to get assistance, but instead do not get it. Accuracy of data on social assistance recipients is needed so that the distribution of social assistance by the government in an effort to overcome the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic is on target (Prabowo, 2020).
04	Pandemic hits the people differently >>> volunteerism is developing	The worst impact of the pandemic experienced by they who have lack of asset, lack of access to financial services, lack of opportunity. Based on the Indonesian economic structure they are the majority. The condition became fertile ground for volunteerism. The economic damaged develop the volunteerism in food issues. During pandemic the individual and family initiatives arise in the form of <i>Lumbung Pangan</i> in Jakarta, <i>Warung Tegal Berbagi</i> in Jakarta, and <i>Solidaritas Pangan Yogya</i> in Yogyakarta. This initiative responds to conditions where some residents who work in the informal sector with uncertain income and do not allow work from home. They distribute food staples and cooked food to casual daily laborers (Sumbogo, 2020).
05	Pandemic hits the people differently >>> Health vs economic approach	The difference impact of the pandemic to the people make one fit for all policy approach dealing with the virus is not only inadequate

		but also can create unintended consequences
06	Health vs economic approach >>> volunteerism is developing	Focus on health approach during the pandemic lead to two needs of the heavily affected and poor communities which is sanitary materials and meals. Since the social assistance in some areas is not in place yet and in other areas is poorly managed, there is immediate need to support the group by voluntarily activities. In the field, some voluntary activities in health issues develop by institutional volunteerism such as: (1) <i>Salman</i> Ventilator developed by academics and Bandung Institute of Technology students, (2) a disinfecting spray robot: <i>Elnika 19</i> developed by Soegijapranata Catholic University students (Francisca Amalia Kurniingsih and Oei Jevon Adi Wijaya) in Semarang, (3) Website-based COVID-19 Self-assessment developed officially by Muhammadiyah University of Malang
07	Health vs economic approach >>> Political communication is a crisis	Dynamic approach to deal with the pandemic and open all opportunities can be seen as strategic choices but in the political rivalry's context, the strategy can be framed as inconsistent, victimize one group for the interest other groups, insensitive to the interest of the people and such. The health approach and economic approach are treated as competitive instead of complimentary approach. Inability of policy makers to articulate the approach for different audiences with different motives make it worse. Similar with argument from Dwirahmadi (2020) when observed the implementing of <i>PSBB</i> policy, the success of communicating with the community as long as it is the key to the success of the government's efforts in tackling the spread of COVID-19. If the community does not understand the importance of implementing <i>PSBB</i> , how can they understand the importance of obeying government recommendations to limit their movements.
08	Political communication is a crisis >>> volunteerism is developing	When the political actors use the pandemic to get the spotlight by put their agenda before the others, the effort to manage the virus and lift the burden of the people is ineffective and hardly felt by the neediest. In the

	<p>circumstances, people take initiatives to help others. In many cases it is not based on divine motives but as matter of survival mechanism by developing resilience through volunteerism. In the grassroots level, volunteerism in communication issues held by some communities. The Sangkan Paran Community in Cilacap collaborates with the village government to produce educational videos for healthy and clean living and not going home during the Eid. They distribute content through digital platforms such as YouTube, WhatsApp and Facebook. Japelidi activists worked together to produce warning and educational content about COVID-19 in digital form that can be reproduced and published by anyone. Japelidi successfully produced COVID-19 educational content in 43 regional languages. Besides that, Japelidi release Anti Hoax Campaign to reducing the circulation hoax about COVID-19. Awareness to create content with various regional languages bearing in mind the diverse conditions of Indonesian culture. The Solvecorona Community develops internet-based games in collaboration with the Provincial Government of East Java and information technology practitioners. Every point earned by these game players can be converted with a sum of money. The money generated by gamers is intended to help communities who affected COVID-19.</p>
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Source: obtained from data research, 2020

Indonesian political context is described by the participants as still shadowed by the previous general election. Competition, fragmentation, and rivalries among political actors taking place in the parliament, bureaucracy, and in the society. These affected the ability of government and parliament at national and local level respond properly to the pandemic. The people who hit by the pandemic is politically exploited, micro data require for social assistance is not available when needed, institutions to deliver the assistance is hampered by economic interest, and coherent strategy is continuously questioned and challenged.

Responding the unconducive political context, people in various levels and places, using different forms and mechanism developing volunteerism. The volunteer activities are people expression to counter politization of the pandemic. According United Nation Volunteers / UNV (2012) volunteering also forms the backbone of various national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society organizations and social and political movements. This activity is present in the public sector and is increasingly becoming a feature developed by the private sector (UNV, 2012).. In a democratic country, social-political factors play a role in the development of volunteerism. High social trust among residents gave rise to various social initiatives in difficult times. In the context of a strong civil society, it is certain to have a high level of volunteerism.

5. DISCUSSION

It is confirmed by many studies that impact of pandemic is devastating (Mesa Vieira et al, 2020; Kabir, 2020; Millet et al, 2020; Goodell, 2020). It impacted people at individual level (Tull et al, 2020), community level, and global level. It also affected directly and indirectly through many sectors of life. Threat of infection is a direct, losing job caused by lockdowns to minimize the spread of the virus is indirect. The hit of Covid-19 is absorbed differently by the people. Financial fragility, access to health services, cultural issues, and geographical location will put some people in better shape and for others can be fatal. In Indonesia, reducing location-based health inequalities, will require appropriate policy levers (Bambra, Smith, Pearce, 2019), political will and commitment (Lassa, Surjan, Caballero-Anthony, & Fisher, 2019),

Handling the pandemic must be started by recognizing the context since context matters in implementation (Nilsen and Bernhardsson, 2019; Booth, Moore, Flemming, Garside, Rollins, Tunçalp, Noyes, 2018). There are several context in Indonesia to be considered with, they are local autonomy in which local government exercise wide array of authorities and power, diverse culture and geography, the existence of dual economy with dominance of micro and small business entities in numbers and workforce, inequalities of access to qualified health services and broad practices of self-medication. By recognizing the context, it is obvious that one fit for all policy is not suitable in Indonesian context. The study found that lack of data and weak institution is the theme that having more influence to other theme. It is the negative implication of the context in which local authorities share similar feature in which putting the importance of data as low priority, but at the other side many of local authorities exercise their power in different direction make it a challenge to develop strong institution to deal with the pandemic.

One of the central elements to deal with the pandemic is resilience of the people. According to Demiroz and Haas (2018), resilience is essential in the emergency fields and organized into three primary clusters: environmental and ecological issues, disaster management, and public policy and administration. Handling of the Covid-19 must be conducted by enhancing the people's resilience and not neglect it. The resilience of the people in the study found in the phenomena of volunteerism. Challenges in the form of lack of data and weak institution, inadequate responds to the impact of the pandemic, and poor communication do not paralyzed the people. The challenges became the fertile ground for the development of volunteerism. The volunteerism at grassroot level take the various form such as initiative on village based voluntary isolation, provision of meals to the isolated families, and dissemination of health messages. Institutional volunteerism is encouraged by the lack of personnel to handle medical facilities and distribute social assistance. People registered as volunteer to fill the gap temporarily until the curve flattening or the supply of medical personnel adequate.

Characteristic of Covid-19 requires disaster management that highly responsive, comprise of multifunctional and efficient emergency management system and able to work in dynamic environment. The disaster management should establish effective information communication capability (Jin, Lu, Liu, Cui, 2020). Learning from previous disaster management, each disaster requires adaptation and adjustment. Disaster management always a joint effort and collective action from related stakeholders. Unfortunately, adaptation and adjustment as required to deal with Covid-19 requires more than a technical matter: it is also a heavily political undertaking involving different political groups who can facilitate and obstruct required change, including their supporting interest groups and affiliated political leaders (Shiffman, 2019)

The crisis in political communication and heat debate on health versus economic approach of the pandemic is contributed by differences of political interest and lack of political

commitment. The political commitments in the pandemic can vary and may include: fiscal allocation for vaccine, sanitation materials, and social assistance, investment for isolation rooms and equipment, public campaign and raising awareness, promotion and incentives for stakeholders to participate in managing risks (Lassa, Surjan, Caballero-Anthony, Fisher, 2019). Changes in the policy affect a range of stakeholders and institutions in ways that can create political obstacles and tensions (Sparkes, Bump, Özçelik, Kutzin, Reich, 2019). Dealing with the current political context, biopolitics as suggested by David & Le Dévédec(2018) can be used. Through biopolitics, differences in political interests among power groups and parties are managed, health of the citizen and survival of the country became common denominator, and institutional set-up of effective disaster management including oversight systems, resource allocation, and central–local collaboration can be strengthened. (Hermansson, 2018). Biopolitics can be a real challenge in a political year in which general election or public position election will be held. Some of the parties need to show their achievement and others want to undermine it. Public pressure, expert’s opinions, and media exposure are required to ensure biopolitics became the meeting points of different political interests.

Handling Covid-19 in the Indonesian political context need to optimize a term called political valued resources or PVRs (Bailey and Norder, 2018). There are two perspectives on PVR, distributional and interdependency. Distributional perspective sees political resource is any resources used to achieve political outcomes through political decision making in vast areas of life including dealing with pandemic. Political resources are distributed unequally and it is caused by structural differences in the society. The use of PVR need formulation of political outcomes, recognition of political decision making, and required political resources. The interdependency perspective of PVR believes political resources is in the connection among actors, interest, and assets. They who can develop connection, connecting the dots, and set up an interconnected political ecosystem will have PVR. Political actors will have no gravity when they are disengaged or do not connected to other political elements. The perspective gives insight for handling the pandemic in the political context by not only focusing on government apparatus and existing political actors but also engaging non-political actors and social capital. The interdependency PVR also highlight the importance of political communication and political ecosystem including related measures to ensure rapid recovery and growth. (Kuckertz, Brandle, Gaudig, Hinderer, Reyes, Prochotta , Steinbrink , Berger, 2020). In Indonesian context, the PVR need to locally define since the effectiveness of each political resources is varied. In some areas indigenous people is key political resources while in other areas religious leaders have more influence politically. The linkages and influences among political resources is also locally crafted and need carefully mapped.

6. CONCLUSION

The study found the handling of Covid-19 in Indonesian context has several key issues: a) respond to mitigate the spread and impact of the virus to the people and economy is affected by political context, b) micro data as required for targeting social assistance did not consolidate properly caused by poor coordination among political agents, c) comprehensive strategy to overcome the impact of Covid-19 continuously questioned and challenged impacting the execution, d) political communication not only among political actors but also from policy makers to the public is crucial, e) volunteerism is social capital in the pandemic that can be capitalized.

There are two themes that need to be put into attention, they are lack of data and weak institution, and development of volunteerism. Lack of data and weak institution have broad influence to other elements such as respond to different effect of the pandemic to the people, effectiveness of political communication, and development of volunteerism. Dealing the issue

of data lacking and weak institution will provide leverage to other factors required to deal with the pandemic.

Volunteerism is the theme that resulted by other themes and the resilience form of the people responding the pandemic while many other factors are failing. Volunteerism fill the gap caused political system and administration failures responding the pandemic adequately. Volunteerism in more constructive perspective enhance the outreach of medical services beyond the government-led provision. National and regional governments need to facilitate the volunteerism of their citizens in a broader context. Not limited to natural and non-natural disasters, but also an effort to save humanity. This facilitation is not in the form of restraining regulations, but rather aimed at efforts to develop the capacity of citizens who are mentoring and appreciation. Through a pandemic, human values, solidarity, integrity, and volunteerism of citizens are tested. Social volunteerism moves from the micro level to the macro level. Social and cultural capital is one of the determinants of the resilience of a nation when facing of a pandemic. For Indonesia, the pandemic is a precious moment to strengthening the national spirit: Pancasila.

Political context including the linkages among different factors are defining the effectiveness of the effort to deal with the virus. Improving the handling of the virus requires three key steps, they are identification of political valuable resources and mapping the linkages among the resources, using biopolitics to develop common ground and consolidate politic actors on the collective action dealing with the pandemic, and formulating framework for sustainable respond.

The study provides several implications, namely identification of factors or themes related to the pandemic, provide indication of linkages and influences among the factors, and crafting the path to develop collaboration in dealing with the pandemic. There are some limitations of the study and further study on the influence of different factors required for pandemic response, the role of political actors and civil society is advised.

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