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PANDEMIC OF COVID-19 IN INDONESIA: SOCIAL POLITICS PERSPECTIVE

PANDEMI COVID-19 DI INDONESIA: PERSPEKTIF SOSIAL POLITIK

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ABSTRACT

In the second half of the twentieth century, global security issues have quickly transformed into what is defined nowadays as non-traditional security issues and the latest of such non-traditional security problem has emerged recently as the recent Covid-19 pandemic impacted the whole world on an unprecedented scale. Indonesia, as the fourth most populated country with 267 million people, face an extraordinary challenge and therefore it is interesting to see and to learn how the situation developed, what the Government of Indonesia did, included what the Government should do, not only from the healthcare point of view, but also from other perspectives such as social and political. Using the problems arising during the pandemic in Indonesia as a non-traditional security issue, the present work aims to assess the difficulties faced by the country in order to establish a set of short and longterm plans that should be addressed in order to improve the preparedness and to correct the current flaws generating difficulties to develop an optimal response. Governmental decisions and communication should be clear and follow a solid strategy to ensure population awareness. Law enforcement should strictly emphasize on the dangerousness of Covid-19. Coordination between central and local governments should be efficient and involve experts and respected figures. Not only healthcare but also economic, social and political issues need to be planned and projected during and after pandemic and the lessons taken during this pandemic should be used to build solid and better foundations for future development of the Republic of Indonesia.

Keywords: covid-19, pandemic, non-traditional security issue, social economy, Indonesia

ABSTRAK

Pada paruh kedua abad ke-20, isu keamanan global dengan cepat berubah menjadi apa yang saat ini didefinisikan sebagai isu keamanan non-tradisional dan yang terbaru saat ini adalah pandemi Covid-19 yang melanda seluruh dunia dengan skala fantastis. Indonesia

sebagai negara terpadat ke empat dengan 267 juta penduduk menghadapi tantangan yang luar biasa serta menarik untuk disimak, dimulai dari apa yang telah dilakukan hingga apa yang harus dilakukan oleh pemerintah Indonesia, tidak hanya dari sudut pandang kesehatan, melainkan juga perspektif lain seperti sosial dan politik. Dengan menyimak berbagai dinamika yang muncul selama pandemi di Indonesia sebagai isu keamanan non-tradisional, penelitian ini ditujukan untuk mengetahui tantangan yang dihadapi oleh negara untuk menetapkan serangkaian rencana baik jangka pendek maupun panjang. Dalam hal ini komunikasi dan kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh pemerintah harus jelas dan menghasilkan strategi yang kuat terutama untuk meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat. Selain itu untuk menekan bahaya Covid-19, penegakan hukum di lapangan harus dilakukan dengan tegas disamping koordinasi yang efisien antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah dengan melibatkan para ahli dan tokoh. Pada akhirnya, isu kesehatan, ekonomi, sosial dan politik perlu mendapatkan perhatian khusus dan terencana baik selama maupun setelah pandemi berlangsung, sehingga pandemi ini dapat memberikan pelajaran bagi Indonesia untuk membangun masa depan yang lebih baik.

Kata kunci: *Covid-19, pandemi, isu keamanan non-tradisional, sosial ekonomi, Indonesia*

INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2019, the world was shaken by the appearance of Covid-19, a new virus suspected to originate from wild animals and first appearing in Wuhan, a city in Hubei Province, China. This new virus caused a very serious disease potentially life-threatening with symptoms almost similar to normal flu such as fever, sore throat, shortness of breath and diarrhea. While this article is being written, the pandemic is still causing serious concerns and spreading all over the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) keeps updating news about the virus, since there was no idea about what is it while the virus spread very fast until they declared it as a pandemic at 11th March 2020 as they found 118,000 cases in 114 countries, and 4,291 people have lost their lives (World Health Organization, 2020).

This major issue of health management then changed the world activity. Many big world events were cancelled or postponed. Even holy places for Moslem, Mecca and Medina at Saudi Arabia, has banned entry to sites to curtail spread of Covid-19 with effect on 20th March 2020 since the kingdom had confirmed 274 cases of Covid-19 ("Coronavirus: Saudi Arabia suspends prayers in holy mosques of Mecca and Medina", 2020.). Also similarly for Vatican, released by their news agency, Vatican News, St. Peter's Basilica and Square remain closed to tourists as well as guided tours starting from 10th March 2020 until April 2020 due to the spread of Covid-19 ("Covid-19: Vatican closes St. Peter's Basilica to tourists", 2020). Another big world event such as Olympic Games, Soccer Leagues, International Seminar or Workshop were also cancelled. It was implemented to slow down the virus spreading, because WHO declared that many cases of Covid-19 appeared when people are closed one to another. This change happened almost all over the world, included Indonesia.

Novelty

The unprecedented scale of this global crisis necessitates a self-assessment of local and global response as well as of the coordination between countries (Karabag, 2020). This whole situation represents itself a novelty as Indonesia has never faced such a challenge in the modern era. The innovation of this study relies on the fact that despite small scale pandemics occurring in the past decades, the impact of the Covid-19 which is spreading across the

world has imposed a major stress on the institutions of a developing country like the Republic of Indonesia. It is therefore important to evaluate the response of the country and the issues highlighted by the lack of preparedness and the potential organizational issues if the national institutions and to propose solutions to the problems identified.

Objectives

As one of the most populated country with 267 million people (2019) ("Data from Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia", 2020), it will be interesting to see and learn what happened and what the Government of Indonesia did, includeed what the Government should do, not only from the healthcare point of view, but also from other perspectives such as social and politics. Since the issue is truly novel, there are not many articles about Covid-19 and its consequences. This article will try to find out more about the pandemic through social politics perspective in Indonesia which has now become the worst hit country in Southeast Asia with 98778 confirmed cases, 4781 deaths and 56655 recovered as of July 27th 2020 ("Data from the Ministry of Health the Republic of Indonesia" 2020; "World of meter" 2020).

Previous Research

As mentioned previously the wide of the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic is an extraordinary crisis unseen during the modern era of late 20th and early 21st centuries (Yan, 2020). The only possible light analogies that could be made are the 2004 SARS outbreak (Chan-Yeung & Xu, 2003; Hanna & Huang, 2004; Heymann, 2004; Shaw, 2006; Zhong, 2004) and the 2009 outbreak of influenza A H1N1 (Cheng, To, Tse, Hung, & Yuen, 2012; Gatherer, 2009). Even then very little or none at all information is available regarding the response to these outbreaks made by Indonesia. The only relevant sources of information pertaining to these outbreaks are related to other Asian countries such as Singapore, Korea or China (Bai et al., 2011; Cutter et al., 2010; Goh et al., 2006; Lee, Shin, Jun, & Lee, 2010). However these reports may not be completely relevant for Indonesia due to differences in term of development and organization. The closest relevant data that could be found relates to countries such as Thailand or Malaysia (Sparke & Anguelov, 2012; Ungchusak et al., 2012; Wong & Sam, 2010) and even then the size of Indonesia and its population, the differences of development between provinces and the scattering of the country over 17000 islands makes it a very unique case which is hardly comparable to neighboring with similar development level. Moreover these outbreaks occurred on a much smaller scale than the Covid-19 pandemic and undoubtedly had far less reaching consequences in term of social order, political management and economic impact.

However those outbreaks certainly helped to delineate a few updates on infection control practices and gave a signal warning of the reality that an outbreak was valid cause of concern (Shaw, 2006). Indonesia had another opportunity to develop more awareness, expertise and global involvement during the concerns raised in 2006 of a possible pandemic of avian influenza H5N1. However due the self-serving behavior of the political landscape to advance its agenda resulted essentially in a failure (Hameiri, 2014; Hameiri & Jones, 2015). This apparent unpreparedness left the question as to how the Indonesian government would react and organize in the event of a massive health crisis like the Covid-19 pandemic, an open topic than only the analysis of the current events will help us to envision.

Theory

As we know it today, especially in the aftermath of World War II, security issues in the world have changed into non-traditional security (Caballero-Anthony, 2018; Dosch, 2006; NTS-Asia, n.d.). People now are challenged by non-military risks that threaten communitarian but also personal security (Caballero-Anthony, 2017). To give more details, the Consortium of Non Traditional Security mentioned non-traditional security issues as challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, resources scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking and transnational crime. These dangers are often transnational in scope, defying unilateral remedies and requiring comprehensive – political, economic, social – responses, as well as humanitarian use of military force (NTS-Asia, n.d.).

To be more precise, the different characteristics of non-traditional security can be defined with a few set of rules that can be summarized as follow:

- A non-traditional security risk does not stem from the competition between states or shifts in the balance of power, but are often defined in political and socio-economic terms.
- Non-traditional security issues cause societal and political instability and hence become threats to security.
- Consequences of such threats to both states and societies are often difficult to reverse or repair.
- National solutions are often inadequate and would thus essentially require regional and multilateral cooperation.
- The threat of security is not only for the state, but also the people both at individual and societal levels.

Based on this theory, the pandemic of Covid-19 can be characterized as a non-traditional security threat (Heymann et al., 2015; McInnes, 2019; Ng & Ruger, 2011). As a consequence of some challenges to which the country is confronted during the pandemic in Indonesia could be characterized as non-traditional security issues.

RESEARCH METHOD

While it is still too early to figure this kind of disease as a bioterrorism act that had interest beyond healthcare management, nevertheless we need to learn and evaluate the possibility about it as the issue developed. More importantly the flaws and problems that have arisen during the pandemic should be used as a learning step to develop strategies at every level in order to correct the flaws that had been identified in order to be able to respond efficiently if such a threat should happen again in the future. The worldwide impact of the Covid-19 pandemic will have irreversible changes in health controls and management. There are questions such as how to enable efficient contact tracing while maintaining individual privacy protection requires careful but essential application and might induce progress in term of ethical rules and policies. Development of better online communication systems to limit human interactions needs to be used to build a framework to pave the evolution of how communications need to improve in Indonesia between the different sectors whether it is from individuals to specific government agencies, between companies or between private and public sectors. Such questioned and the problems identified during the Covid-19 crisis should be used to plan and pave the way for improvements and future development in all aspect of life in Indonesia. That way the current situation with its dramatic effects can be used to provide better preparation and life to the future generations and show that Indo-

nesia has been able to use it as a step to adapt its development by taking into account a new type of threats for its population but also its economy. We will highlight the key decisions made and measures taken by the Indonesian Government as illustrated by different media sources and articles citations. Our methodology will analyze the different responses made by Indonesia at the political, economic and social levels and identify the main points that failed to provide an efficient effect to fight the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic. Based on these, we will then try to provide a future framework of matters to develop in order to correct the failures identified.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis

Political Response

The Pandemic of Covid-19 in Indonesia was first confirmed on 3rd March at Depok, West Java, with a mother and her daughter getting sick after coming back from an event that was attended by people from several countries. These first confirmed cases of Covid-19 were declared directly by the President, Mr. Joko Widodo. As the issue developed and other cases were found, the Government of Indonesia took this as an emergency situation (Djalante et al., 2020).

Not only a healthcare issue, as mentioned before in the theory of Non Traditional Security, the threat to security is not only for the state, but also for the people both at individual and societal levels and impacts other sectors as well. In order to understand what the problems that need to be solved are, first we need to figure out what are the challenges and difficulties that appeared during the pandemic in Indonesia. We did not have the possibility to follow the actions and policies implemented by other countries like Western countries since each country has its own characteristics. However the explanation below could be used as a feedback regarding how State and people performed.

First, regarding the health issue, as mentioned previously Covid-19 has infected nearly 100000 people in Indonesia as of end of July 2020, and nearly 5000 people died. Surely this is not a positive result for Indonesia. Within a month following the first cases, around 2000 people were infected and the situation would further worsen in the next 2 or 3 months. Specifically, Indonesia is an archipelago country that had many entry points, different from Singapore or other western countries that have more limited access points. The geography of Indonesia therefore made it more difficult to control the mobilization of people within Indonesia. The Government needed to respond fast before the number of patients become overwhelming for the healthcare system, especially since more than 250 million people live in Indonesia. Despite other countries entering full lockdown, the central government only closed the country's borders to foreigners on April 2nd 2020 ("Indonesia closes its borders to foreign arrivals," 2020), one month after the first confirmed cases and once the confirmed local cases reached already thousands.

The Government also increased the budget for healthcare to help to the pandemic management. Related to this matter, the Government of Indonesia asked citizens to stay at home and follow the social distancing rules, starting from 16th of March 2020 to prevent the Covid-19 to spread too fast.

From the political sight, it was quite challenging to implement a single general policy from the central government considering Indonesia is a very big country. Indonesia comprises 33 provinces that are each led by a

Governor. Each province also consists of several regions led by Mayors/Regents. This pandemic that spread faster than the coordination between central and local governments resulted in the policies from the central government being too slow to efficiently slow down the rise in case numbers. The slow pace of decisions taken by the central government to decrease population movements within Indonesia also impaired the response that could be developed by the local governments since quarantine and lockdown can only be implemented through the central government's action. This affected the efficiency of the actions taken by local governments and prevented the possibility to slow down the increase in the number of positive Covid-19 cases in the early onset of the pandemic. Economic concerns and interests raised by the central government have also been a critical factor slowing down and impeding measures to tackle the virus spread (Rosser, 2013). While the economic impact of a pandemic is a valid concern, prioritizing economic preservation and damage control over strong measures and strategies to support healthcare, to counter the virus spread and prevent people from dying is ultimately a wrong choice that could lead to an increased duration of the pandemic with more economic damages.

In another example, Central Government only admitted a confirmed case of Covid-19 just after tests in central laboratory at Jakarta were done which required few days. Regarding these slow testing procedures, local governments pushed the central government to allow them to perform testing by themselve and validate the results in local laboratory from their region. This demand from local government was accepted and a list of authorized and competent laboratories in Indonesia was released through a declaration from the Ministry of Health or *Keputusan Menteri Kesehatan Nomor HK.01.07/MENKES/182/2020 tentang Jejaring Laboratorium Pemeriksaan* Corona Virus Disease. The list itself, was declared on 16th March 2020, 13 days after the first confirmed cases of Covid-19 were officially documented (3rd March 2020).

In another case, Tegal, a small city in Central Java decided to initiate a "lockdown" of the city from 30th March 2020 due to a big "mudik" from Jakarta and other big cities. Tegal is known as a city of workers. Mostly they worked in Jakarta as housemaids or labor force in factories. When they lost their job, they started to come back to their hometown, including Tegal. This is why the local administration of Tegal implemented their own local lockdown. This also happened in West Java Province in which the Governor of West Java allowed the Mayors and Regencies in West Java to execute their own local lockdown or *karantina wilayah.*

Another example relates to the transportation across provinces as it happened in Jakarta and West Java. Both Provinces could not take a decision regarding the trains crossing their area. Both provinces wanted PT. KCI, the train company, to stop the train in order to prevent the spread of Covid-19 between the two provinces. They were unable to do it since it was a decision depending of the central government. Finally few days later PT. KCI changed the schedule as proposed by the central government through the Ministry of Transportation. Following this, the Central Government made specific technical rules called *Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB*) or Large-Scale Social Restrictions. In the PSBB a detailed protocol for movements of people was specifically acknowledged. For administration purpose, local governments ask the permission to the central government for the

local rules and policies they wish to implement and the central government declared if it is agreeable or rejected. First PSBB was implemented in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia on 10th April 2020 for two weeks will be re-evaluated later on. Second PSBB was implemented in West Java near Jakarta (Bogor City, Bogor Regency, Depok, Bekasi City, and Bekasi Regency) starting from 15th April 2020 for two weeks and will be re-evaluated similarly depending of the situation's progression. And third PSBB was implemented in Tangerang, Banten starting from 18th April 2020. This matter should be a serious concern for the Government of Indonesia for public well-being in an emergency situation despite potential resistance.

Economic Impact

Second, regarding the economic issue, many business places also had to close since social distancing and quarantine were implemented. It automatically influenced the economy activity of the country. As per April 2020, the Minister of Economy of the Republic of Indonesia said that the economy of Indonesia could drop to 2.3 % or maybe even worse until minus 0.4 %. Besides, the value of Indonesian Rupiah could be very low until Rp. 17.500-Rp. 20.000 per USA Dollar (Intan, 2020). Still the Minister said that the situation was different from the monetary crisis in 1997-1998. At that time the economy of Indonesia could survive because of the Small and Medium Enterprise but in the current situation SMEs are strongly affected by their forced decreased activity. On April 2020, Government of Indonesia stated that around 1.5 million people lost their job because of Covid-19, with 10% being fired and 90% "staying home". Some 160.067 workers from 24.225 companies were fired and 1.080.765 workers from 27.340 companies were forced to stay home. From informal sector, there were 265.881 workers from 30.466 companies who lost their job ("*Dampak Corona* 1,5 *Juta Masyarakat RI Kehilangan Pekerjaan karena* COVID-19, *edisi 11 April 2020*," 2020). Government of Indonesia claimed that the pandemic also caused the decrease of productivity from the labor and companies also purchasing power of people.

This increase in unemployment then raised another challenging social issue related to Covid-19 in Indonesia caused by the cultural background. People in big cities like Jakarta went back to their hometown due to many reasons such as the loss of work and inability to pay bills or more simple reason like staying home without doing anything to lead them going back to their hometown to spend that time. The Government still tried hard to tell people to stay and prevent unnecessary mobilization to avoid virus spread and even provided them with some program to fulfil their live during the pandemic. One of such program was Program *Kartu Prakerja* for those who seek job, lost their job, or people that need higher competences listed at some Government Office such as Ministry of Workers, Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises, etc. The Government of Indonesia increased the budget from 10 Billion Rupiah before pandemic to 20 billion Rupiah during the pandemic. This program itself aims to distribute 3.550.000 rupiah to 1 million people through online workshop hosted by State owned Enterprises/government/private companies for 4 months.

Despite these incentives, the Government has been moderately successful to hold the mobilization of people. It also is specifically difficult to achieve since this pandemic happened near *Ramadhan* month and the tradition in Indonesia called "*mudik*" or coming back to the hometown to celebrate the *Eid ul-Fitr* is a behavior deeply anchored

into local culture. The economic impact and job losses further worsened the situation since it had a negative impact on the disease spreading. Movements' restriction failed to be implemented efficiently in time and incentives to help the jobless population did not prevent non-essential movements between provinces which led to a massive surge in cases from June 2020 until now with new provinces becoming 'hot spot" of positive cases such as Central and East Java. The negative impact on national economy and its pressure led to an easing of restrictions of movement between provinces. Overall in order to mitigate the economic impact and the effects on its citizens, Indonesia had to shorten lockdown restrictions compared to other countries that applied restrictions on people's travels during much longer periods. This difficult situation to weight between general health and the economic impact and the difficulties it generates on its population led to general failure of social distancing and restrictions measures which resulted in a growing number of cases reaching nearly 100000 cases at the end of July 2020. This forced choice that needs to balance the economic impact of the pandemic and the general health can be considered as another non-traditional security risk and should lead to measures and transformations that take into account the fact that both sides of the problem need to be addressed and are inevitably linked to each other: higher number of unemployed people will decrease their ability to support economy as consumers while an increase in sick people may also lead to a decrease in workforce but as well decrease their spending habits to be ready to face hard times.

Social Impact

Another challenge from a social perspective is the lack of trust in the government actions. When the government asked people to stay at home and decrease or stop all unessential activities included their religious activity, many people rejected and some of them caused chaos. Indonesia is not a secular country and religion is one of their based in *Pancasila* at the first point. Indonesia is also known as the biggest Moslem country in the world. As per the data from Census held once every 10 years in 2010, it was noted that Indonesians comprise 87,18% Moslem, 6,96% Christians, 2,9% Catholics, 1,69% Hinduisms, 0,72% Buddhists, 0,05% Konghucu, 0,13% others and 0,38% unknown.

When it happened some people thought that Government forbid them to pray and rejected their human right. To face this situation the Government then ask the Scholars and all Religion Activists to give their statement from the view of religion in order to give a rational statement about the current situation and to defuse the issue at hand.

Besides Religion Activists, the Government of Indonesia also involved academicians to give explanations about the issue from an academic point of view. The lack of knowledge from people also caused extra troubles through circulation of hoaxes in social media about the Covid-19 issue and made the situation harder. Rejection for the funeral of people dying from Covid-19 for example was advertised in some places in Indonesia. People believed that dead people still could spread the virus. Another example was people rejecting the doctors, nurses or other medical workers. They believed it to be too risky to get close to them since they interacted with sick people.

Once declaration was made that it was fine to perform religious activities from home and explanations about the virus would not spread 7 hours after the death, the situation has been getting better. To prevent other rejection issues, the Government then implemented

specific health protocol related to Covid-19 which included providing special areas for funerals to be held. We observed how people trusted more the experts than their own Government. This should be a hard homework for the government to build a stronger trust relationship with their citizens in order to better implement all the necessary policies. In other words the central government could have had better results with a better communication involving experts and detailed though concise explanations as to what they decided to implement such rules and policies to limit social interactions. Such situation can cause social troubles which in time of crisis like the Covid-19 pandemic can have detrimental effect the management of the crisis such as slowing down the implementation of social distancing measures and therefore represents a non-traditional security issue that impacts social stability and crisis management.

Another challenge for Indonesia came from Law Enforcement. In Singapore, it was illegal to sell masks, hand sanitizer or other related health products for higher price with a very strict law, while the opposite happened at Indonesia. Some people still sold masks 10 times more expensive than normal price in both online and conventional markets and also because of the scarcity of product. In order to address this issue the Government pushed the online platforms or e-commerce to ban the dishonest sellers. It was a complicated task due to the size of a country like Indonesia. Just after WHO released the information that medical masks should be prioritized for medical personal use while healthy people could use a non-medical mask on 3rd April 2020 (Arbar & Indonesia, 2020), the situation started getting better. More people included Small and Micro Enterprises in Indonesia switched their scope and produced non-medical masks to sell with low prices that can be afforded by people. This serves as well as a positive example as to how local companies and businesses can re-purpose and adapt their expertise and services to help the country facing a major crisis while maintaining an economic activity.

As a special note related to the law enforcement, Indonesia is needed to pay attention more than other countries. First, the large size of the country with numerous people who lost their job might induce a rise of the criminality correlated to the unemployment level. In addition the Ministry of Law and Human Right of Indonesia has released 22.158 prisoners to prevent the spread of Covid-19. It might be too early to predict their behavior and if they perform good or bad actions once back to the community. But the risk of cases involving criminal recidivists should raise awareness and the police and army need to more alert in their duty in the current situation.

Other Effects

In term of economic and social issues, the difficulties did not arise only from within Indonesia but also from outside. Since the pandemic materialized in December 2019 and spread towards many countries including ASEAN countries, the economic and social activities from and to Indonesia were also directly affected. The “lockdown” policy done by countries near Indonesia such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, for example made the mobilization either for goods, services or people more limited. This led to an unusual situation in which the country needed to focus on its own capabilities and assets with a minimum of external exchanges. This essentially led the Republic of Indonesia to manage the Covid-19 situation alone similarly to what happened for most countries. While being an uneasy situation this represents also an opportunity to strongly assess the strengths and weaknesses that the global

pandemic has revealed and to start to improve the points that failed to meet satisfying results.

Discussion

Improving The Communication

After checking the challenges faced by the country, then we can outline some aspects that the Government needs to improve and be more vigilant about. As pluralism theory declares, the state is not the only actor in international relations (Leira, 2015). Instead the state should involve other actors. Involving the figures such as religion activists and academicians in giving statements was an important and good idea. But the government could also pay more attention to involve media. Media have a very important role since they are bridging the information from the government to people. And the government should ensure the media to be neutral and accurate in providing information. Therefore the first point of improvement should be the communication with the population (Gazali, 2014). In order for the communication to be efficient and have a positive effect early in the crisis the government first needs to make quick and clear decisions (Djalante et al., 2020). Waiting for the first cases to be confirmed was not necessary to start working on communication and the policies to be implemented once the pandemic starts to impact the country (Braunack-Mayer et al., 2010).

For example, the "panic buying" that took place when the country started to enter into a lockdown phase could trigger other people to display the same "panic buying" behavior. The media could be used to reassure people, giving more positives news related to Covid-19 such as people who recovered from the disease, the availability of stock for food and products and other news to show that the Government is acting to help the people in order to earn their trust and comply with government policies. Media also should be more active in preventing and handling hoaxes and fake news related Covid-19. In Indonesia, based on data from *Asosiasi Pengguna Jasa Internet Indonesia*, Indonesians use the internet mostly for chatting (89,4%) and also for social media (87%) (Setyowati, 2018). Those platforms were the easiest way to spread the hoaxes and false information.

As observed in Indonesia, the more recent actions of the Government put them back on track to mitigate the situation but showed a lack of understanding from the population with the term "new normal" emphasized by the government. This led to the Indonesian government to change this label from "new normal" to 'adapting to new habits" in order to ensure people do not believe that the crisis is over and everything is back to normal ("Indonesia shifts from 'new normal' to 'adapting to new habits,'" 2020). However the central government still needs to emphasize clearly on the current necessities and to build a real communication path with their citizens and not only related to the healthcare issues and social distancing necessity.

Another solution is emphasizing Law Enforcement. Government need to be very strict in implementing the PSBB. But in order to give legitimacy in strict law enforcement the communication and the information given to the population requires to extremely clear and understood. In this case the Government really needs to handle all the details from the top down to the grassroots. Supervision in implementing all the policies is highly necessary to avoid mistakes and exploits. Government should be fair in treating their citizens. Many violations discovered should be a home work for Government to solve. Incentives to comply or punish-

ment like fines would be a better idea than putting violators into jail.

Besides punishment, the Government could create a reward system for those who work to fight the current situation. Using a strict but fair dual reward and punishment system could be good way for the people to put back their trust into the government. It would show that the Government was there and did not give up to solve the crisis. This could be a critical moment for the Government to show their competence and earn back trust and unity.

Evolution of National Economy

The loss of jobs has been extremely high in Indonesia and the government should certainly work on renovating laws and policies regulating employment to protect job holders but also the companies. For example, the Government already involved third parties such as businessmen but they need to go beyond their roles since they are some of the main stakeholders in economy. The policy to cut the tax and give longer time for credit for small micro enterprise was a good idea even if the country will need to spend more money for that to compensate. Those technical issues require to be managed very well. Fake data should be also avoided at all cost through thorough investigations. Determination of what kind of company and which SMEs will benefit this policy should be almost flawless. Besides, missing data due to Indonesia having a large population can potentially occur. Collaboration with media and high technology is surely needed. Who gets help from the government should be transparent and well informed since it has the potential drawback to cause chaos and discontent.

But the economy and local businesses certainly will need to evolve once the pandemic reaches its end. In the digital era it appears essential and beneficial to be able to promote online transaction and interactions and this is a domain in which Indonesia can greatly improve compared to other countries. The ability to shift from a company-based work to a remote working model during time of crisis might have given more flexibility to Indonesian businesses and companies to face the economic induced by the Covid-19 pandemic. As a matter of fact the global pandemic of 2020 has completely revolutionized the view and perception on remote working (Peek, 2020). The development of capabilities for remote working in the post-Covid-19 era might be an important step forward to improve economic flexi-bility. Early analysis of data in United States seem to indicate that the states in which the fraction of remote working was higher correlated with lower unemployment insurance claims (Brynjolfsson et al., 2020). This ability to shift to remote work in time of crisis should be used as parts of strict business continuity plans that should be mandatory for all businesses and companies in order to maintain sustainable activity in case of major crisis such as Covid-19 but also in case of other incidents that may lead to business disruption.

While the government should encourage companies to define strong business continuity plans to maintain some degree of activity while major business disruption occur, it should also provide a framework to define such plans and create a set of incentives and sanctions through reworking laws and regulation to support a remodeling of business models but also to provide social protection to employees and avoid abuse in manpower lay-off. In such plans the lawmakers should emphasize the fact that in time of crisis everything should be attempted to preserve job positions such as remote working, shift from full-time to part-time or work shifts before considering the inevitability of terminating a job

position. Another aspect that should be encouraged would be to re-purpose the business or industrial activities when possible to help fighting the crisis at hand but also with the benefit to maintain an economic activity. Some successful examples of such shift in activity has been seen in West Java Province where some companies such as state-owned arms manufacturers PT Pindad and state-owned aircraft manufacturer PT Dirgantara Indonesia were able to shift some of their activity to produce ventilators that are critical equipment needed for hospitals (Atika, 2020). Promoting such local innovation and flexibility has been beneficial for West Java to have a better control of the pandemic than other Indonesian provinces ("West Java bucks Indonesia's trend of rising cases," 2020). Taken together of these facts show that Indonesia could gain very important benefits from encouraging and paving the way for economic models allowing more flexibility and to shape the future of the country.

Modernizing the Healthcare System

The healthcare system in Indonesia has been strongly impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic and has shown its limits in term of ability to face a major health crisis. The need to modernize the healthcare aspect in Indonesia is now evident to all. The local healthcare system was unprepared to face the current pandemic situation with an organization that is suboptimal for a country the size of Indonesia and the lack of priority given to health matters (Soewondo, Ferrario, & Tahapary, 2013; Suryanto, Plummer, & Boyle, 2017). The death of at least 89 healthcare workers due to Covid-19 as of July 14th 2020 (Oktavianti, 2020) in Indonesia is alarming not only because of the dramatic result of people dying while trying to treat and save others but also because it is a loss of specialized and valuable manpower that will take years to replace in a country that is already showing a deficit in the numbers of doctors, nurses, beds and ICU compared to the size of its population (Setiati & Azwar, 2020). While progress has been made with the implementation of the *Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial* in 2014, the current Covid-19 highlighted the fact that there is still need for improvement in order to be ready to face major health crisis (Suryanto, Plummer, & Boyle, 2016). Not only the modernization of the healthcare system appear to be a necessity but it could also prove to be beneficial from an economic point of view and further helps in Indonesia's development. The unaddressed medical need in Indonesia is estimated to be worth nearly $70 billion (Lim, Sharma, Colyer, & Lee, 2018). Improving the system could develop an entire economic field relatively unexplored in Indonesia until now. Though it would require extensive effort and planning the potential benefits for the country economy and development are worth the effort. Such modernization would promote developing education to train more healthcare workers, modernize the hospital system to achieve more modern standard, facilitate communication between healthcare facilities and provide a better follow-up of medical needs for the population. That would require direct involvement of the government to launch such a modernization that would need to start by building a trust that Indonesian citizens currently lacks in their healthcare system. The wealthiest citizens prefer to go abroad for their healthcare needs which by itself represent an economic loss at the national level (Lim et al., 2018). This could also be used to promote better cooperation between clinicians and research teams of scientists to address the issues faced by the local health institutions. This could in

turn promote innovation in the field of health sciences by itself could as well generate substantial economic benefits. Overall the future of Indonesia will have to include as well an improvement of its healthcare system to reach more modern standards in order to be able to face major health concerns such as the Covid-19 crisis but also the local issues faced by an important population. This is an important field for a country and government in order to fulfill its role in providing protection and care to its citizens. In addition, a developed healthcare system will in turn be an important actor of local economy and innovation to help in the development of Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

In the case of Indonesia, it is not possible to implement strictly similar solutions used in Western countries. While western countries are more individualistic, eastern countries like Indonesia with its high social culture face bigger mobilization concerns. The Government needs more effort to manage it. Even if the situation is still not as big as China, Italy or USA the possibility for it to reach similar range or even beyond that in the next few weeks or months is real and needs to be taken seriously.

The size and archipelago type country also results in Indonesia having to watch over larger areas. As mentioned previously, the number of potential entry points is very high so the risk and difficulty to watch over all constitute a bigger challenge for Indonesia. Next, make the most of the role of specific figurees, scholars and experts in Indonesia to also educate people. Until now, Indonesians still believe more these persons than the government and the government should see this as another option or instrument to educate, inform and reach their citizens (Erikson, 2020).

Last but not least, Indonesia should be ready for the situation post-pandemic not only in term of healthcare issue, but also in term of economic, social and political concerns and flaws that need to be addressed. It is possible that some actors use this Covid-19 issue as "political product" to drop another figure or just advertise their name. This kind of issue could influence the stability of the country especially since the pandemic happened all over the world. That is why as the theory of Non Traditional Security mentions, collective actions like co-operation between countries is strongly and strictly needed to solve non-traditional security issues such as the current Covid-19 pandemic.

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