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Adaptive Risk Communication System and Policy for Health Crisis in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Three years since its first appearance at the end of 2019, until now, Covid-19 still exists. Realizing that the handling of Covid-19 cannot be carried out alone, the Indonesian government is trying to involve various parties to provide the public with an understanding of the risks. Considering that Covid-19 is still around, efforts to reflect on the risk communication system and the various risk policies adopted are necessary as a preventive action to anticipate various potential risks and health crises in the future. This research is qualitative with a case study type. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews with the Covid-19 handling committee in Indonesia (KPC PEN), observation, and literature study. The results of this study indicate that in building a risk communication system, the government cooperates with various parties. The communication system and risk policies implemented by the Indonesian government are not optimal in understanding risks to the public. Efforts are needed to conduct regular evaluations and monitoring to optimize communication systems and risk policies in anticipation of future health crises.

Keywords: Covid-19, System, Risk Communication, Policy, Indonesia

ABSTRAK

Tiga tahun berlalu sejak kemunculan pertamanya di penghujung tahun 2019, hingga saat ini Covid-19 masih ada. Menyadari bahwa penanganan Covid-19 tidak dapat dilakukan sendiri, pemerintah Indonesia berupaya melibatkan berbagai pihak untuk memberikan pemahaman risiko kepada masyarakat.. Mengingat saat ini Covid-19 masih ada, maka perlu dilakukan refleksi terhadap sistem komunikasi risiko dan berbagai kebijakan risiko yang ditempuh sebagai tindakan preventif untuk mengantisipasi berbagai potensi risiko dan krisis kesehatan di masa mendatang. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus. Data diperoleh dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam dengan Komite Penanganan Covid-19 dan Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional (KPC PEN) di Indonesia, observasi, dan studi literatur. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam membangun sistem komunikasi risiko, pemerintah bekerja sama dengan berbagai pihak. Sistem komunikasi dan kebijakan risiko yang diterapkan pemerintah Indonesia belum optimal dalam memberikan pemahaman risiko kepada masyarakat. Diperlukan upaya untuk melakukan evaluasi dan pemantauan secara berkala untuk mengoptimalkan sistem komunikasi dan kebijakan risiko dalam mengantisipasi krisis kesehatan di masa mendatang.

Kata Kunci: Covid-19, Sistem, Komunikasi Risiko, Kebijakan, & Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

Three years have passed since its first appearance at the end of 2019, yet, until now, Covid-19 still exists. Indonesia is one of the countries with high Covid-19 cases. As of 25 March 2023, there were 6,743,607 Indonesians exposed to Covid-19. 6,578,261 were cured, and 160,994 died (KPC PEN, 2023). Covid-19 provides a big lesson for the Government of Indonesia related to the risk communication system in managing non-natural disasters (health crises). The various impacts caused by Covid-19, the economic downturn, and the many fatalities are valuable lessons that need to be anticipated.

Looking into the Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia, the dishonesty of the Indonesian government regarding the first case of Covid-19 indicates that they were not prepared to anticipate the spread of this virus. In the early days of the emergence of Covid-19, the Indonesian government actually covered up this case. The Indonesian government instead provides narratives stating that it is impossible for Covid-19 to enter Indonesia because Indonesia is a tropical country, where this virus will die in the climate in Indonesia. This narrative has influenced people's understanding of risk so people did not take precautionary measures against Covid-19 properly. Furthermore, at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, many people doubted the existence of this virus by calling it a conspiracy. Many people do not believe in Covid-19 (Fardiah et al., 2022). This is certainly a big challenge for the Indonesia Government in tackling down Covid-19.

In the end, the Government of Indonesia formed a disaster communication system following the establishment of Covid-19 as a National Non-Natural Disaster by the President of the Republic of Indonesia on 13 April 2020 through the Covid-19 Task Force, which later developed into the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC PEN), several Ministries, Institutions, and Agencies appointed to implement the risk communication program, such as National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), Ministry of Communication and Informatics and Ministry of Health.

KPC PEN is working hard to carry out the maximum response to Covid-19. Various policies were made to suppress the development of the Covid-19 case, starting from Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB), Enforcement of Restrictions on Micro Community Activities (PPKM), Enforcement of Emergency Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM), Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PKKM) in Java and Bali, Enforcement Restrictions on Community Activities (PKKM) Level 1-4. Unfortunately, these various policies did not get a good response from the community, with many violations committed by the community. The government is also less assertive in taking action against violations of the implementation of health protocols.

The lack of understanding of the public's risk of Covid-19 in Indonesia is also influenced by the many hoax news developing in society. Data as of 2 October 2022 from the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia shows 2,240 Covid-19 hoax issues on various social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. The government is working hard to combat this hoax news and information, hoping public awareness to take preventive measures against Covid-19 can improve. In current conditions, the actual media is needed to educate the public about Covid-19. On the other side, one recent study in disaster communication found that new media and social media have consequences on people's lives. The development of new media influenced how disaster information was collected and distributed (Wardyaningrum & Hutomo, 2022).

Realizing that the handling of Covid-19 cannot be carried out alone, the Indonesian government is trying to involve various parties to provide the public with an understanding of the risks. Risk communication can be carried out by providing various information and risk evaluations provided by academic experts, the government, interest groups, and the public. To communicate risks, public support is needed to create changes in the behavior of each individual, especially for high-risk communities. The community is expected to be able to know the situation, pathogens, and preventive measures.

Risk communication is very important to provide awareness for the public to understand the risk of Covid-19. Understanding the risk of Covid-19 in Indonesia still needs to be improved because, until now, many people have not taken proper precautions (violating health protocols and refusing vaccines) are indicators. Therefore, risk communication must continue to be provided to the community with various approaches to increase the understanding of risk to the public so that they

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can properly take precautionary measures against Covid-19. The Indonesian government must work hard to do this to suppress the emergence of new cases.

Risk communication has attracted the attention of researchers to conduct research as a scientific contribution to tackling Covid-19. Crossref.org data shows that there were 2,434,735 studies conducted in the 2020-2022 timeframe related to risk communication, including Olaniran & Williams (2022), Warren & Lofstedt (2021), Koinig (2021), Lawal (2022); Kalocsányiová et al. (2021), Ironstone (2022), Lazris & Rifkin (2021), Yang (2022), Sinha (2021), etc.

Based on research related to risk communication research as above, there has not been any risk communication research that examines aspects of risk communication systems and policies simultaneously, especially in Indonesia. Even though these two aspects are important for evaluating the success of risk communication, considering that currently, Covid-19 is still around, efforts to reflect on the risk communication system and the various risk policies adopted are necessary as a preventive action to anticipate various potential risks and health crises in the future.

METHODS

This type of research is case study research. According to Joe R. Feagin; Anthony M. Orum; & Gideon Sjoberg (1991), a case study is a study that analyzes from different perspectives (multi-perspective analysis). Therefore, researchers pay attention not only to the voices and perspectives of actors but also to the relevant group of actors and interact with them. This is a salient and important feature of the case study.

The case studies in this research will be focused on the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC PEN) by analyzing the risk communication system implemented in handling Covid-19. Indonesia is one of the countries with the highest number of Covid-19 survivors in the world. This, of course, requires hard work together to reduce the negative impact of Covid-19. The results of the research are expected to provide recommendations related to risk communication systems that the government can implement in dealing with various health crises in the future. The sources in this study are as follows:

Table 1. Informant Identity

Informant	Organizational Sectors	Position
Informant 1	Ministry of Health	Bureau of Communication and Public Services
Informant 2	Ministry of Health	Communication Strategy, Information, and Education
Informant 3	Ministry of Communication and Informatics	Coordinator of Information and Health Communication
Informant 4	Covid-19 Response Committee	Secretary of Field of Behavior Change
Informant 5	Covid-19 Response Committee	Coordinator of Experts Team
Informant 6	Covid-19 Response Committee	Head of Public Communication
Informant 7	Covid-19 Response Committee	Teams of Behaviour Change
Informant 8	Covid-19 Response Committee	Teams of Behaviour Change
Informant 9	Covid-19 Response Committee	Teams of Behaviour Change
Informant 10	Covid-19 Response Committee	Teams of Behaviour Change
Informant 11	Covid-19 Response Committee	Teams of Behaviour Change

Source: Interview, 2022

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RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Risk Communication System for Covid-19 Response in Indonesia

The Indonesian government at the central level is stuttering in responding to the pandemic and is lagging behind the government at the regional level. This confuses the community to follow policies at the regional level or wait for central government policies. The various complexities of handling Covid-19 at the central level have become an obstacle. The central government experienced confusion in setting priorities for response between the economy and health. Therefore, the central government must optimize its central role to coordinate with existing sub-systems under it by coordinating with experts to formulate priorities for handling Covid-19.

An effective communication system should encourage public engagement. Efforts to encourage public involvement are carried out by establishing policies and initiatives. This is where the central role of communication is to bridge the public and decision-makers to coordinate in various collective actions. Realizing this, the government has finally created a Covid-19 response communication system through the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC PEN, where the role of risk communication is carried out by the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Communication and Informatics. BNPB focuses on behavior change campaigns, and the Ministry of Health focuses on logistics informing about the distribution and logistics of vaccines and other health support tools. In contrast, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics focuses on vaccine information and national economic development and fights infodemics and telecommunication network provision.

In general, there are two areas of public communication in the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery, namely in the Task Force for Handling Covid-19 (KPC), which focuses on programs to change people's behavior, and the public communication team in the National Economic Recovery (PEN) which is played by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics together with the Ministry of Health. The field of public communication at Covid-19 Task Force is chaired by Informant 6, a journalist with a lot of experience in the field of public communication. In supporting his work, the field of public communication in the Covid-19 Task Force is assisted by volunteers from academia and the media.

> "..*And I'm a media person, Mas Fajri, so, in the beginning, I was 20 years in the media, a journalist like that. I used to be the editor-in-chief at Bisnis Indonesia. When I joined there, I was pulled over, where I became one of the directors, eee, then helped as a volunteer in the Task Force. As the Head of the Public Communications Sector, where are the people from? around 75 people that we seek to jointly run a communication program like that to become a collaborative media program*." (Interview, informant 6).

Informant 6's work background as a senior journalist certainly makes it easier for the public communications team to build relationships with the media. As stated by Informant 6 above, public communication collaborates with the media to establish collaborative media communication programs. This program is realized as a Journalist Fellowship, which invites journalists to support and communicate behavior change programs to the public. This program is one of the most successful risk communication programs run by public communications. No less than 5,000 journalists are members of this Journalist Fellowship program. They produce daily news related to Covid-19 to provide awareness to the public in implementing health protocols.

To facilitate the coordination of volunteers in the behavior change team, public communication, and coordination with the task force at the regional level, small groups were formed via WhatsApp to facilitate coordination between the sub-systems under them. In general, KPC PEN provides a big narrative related to risk communication that will be given to the community. Then, through the groups created, each sector holds discussions to determine strategies and approaches to the community.

Seeing the development of Covid-19 and after benchmarking with other countries, the Government of Indonesia has finally built a risk communication system based on public trust. Judging from the Circular of the Minister of Health Number HK.02.01/MENKES/199/2020 concerning Communication for Handling Covid-19, which states that the risk communication system developed by the Government of Indonesia is based on controlling people's psychology so they do not panic, rather than building citizens' awareness and preparedness. In building a risk communication system, the government adapts to the global strategy developed by the World Health Organization. The strategy has five pillars, one of which is related to structure. With this structure, it is hoped that the Government of Indonesia can prepare its infrastructure, human resources, and budget.

"*Talking about risk communication, there is a global strategy built by the World Health Organization. There are five pillars, one of which is building a structure yes/building a system. There prepare everything, including infrastructure, human resources, and budget. So it can strengthen risk communication. We build the network, the working mechanism. In fact, we do not have anything specifically in the form of legislation that regulates risk communication. This is included in disaster management regulations. So the Ministry of Health has regulations related to disaster management, in which information systems are part of disaster/health crisis management. There are clusters there, yes, there are disease clusters, there are nutrition clusters or health sub-clusters, so those are part of that. So, the system built becomes part of how to handle health crises/disasters handled by the Ministry of Health. There is Minister of Health Regulation No 75 of 2019, apart from building a risk communication system, there are also risk communication guidelines in handling health crises.*" (Interview, informant 1).

From the above, it is clear that in building a risk communication structure, the Government of Indonesia is guided by the global strategy undertaken by the World Health Organization. The government prepares the infrastructure, human resources, and budget. Considering that this pandemic is included in a national disaster, pandemic management is also guided by disaster management regulations. The Ministry of Health already has guidelines related to risk communication for handling health crises. In building a risk communication system, the Government of Indonesia implements a decentralized system. The hope is that local governments can assist the central government in accelerating the handling of Covid-19. The central government has ensured risk communication guidelines that can be adjusted by the government in each region. Furthermore, local governments are allowed to develop messages according to their respective regions.

"*.. It is different for each region because each region makes its own task force. The order to create their respective task forces was an order from the policy taken by the President. They also have their own channels because like this, there are special conditions where for example the stipulation of the Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) is 1 2 3 4, that's for each region are different, so the role of the regional head and his staff is very important because in general we only provide guidance in general terms. What is the Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) like, for example in the economic and social aspects of social assistance from the data center from the area. The point is just the message anyway, in the area may develop. For example, Central Java has a Jogo Tonggo campaign so that right and left do not go hungry.*" (Interview, Informant 3).

Coordination between ministries, agencies and related parties in the KPC PEN at the central level as well as with the regions is routinely carried out. When Covid-19 is at its height, coordination can be done weekly via Zoom. Coordination with various related parties was attended by no less than 1,000 participants. Various problems were discussed in this coordination, both related to developments in conditions in each region, as well as forms of intervention given when there was a high number of new cases in an area. The results of this weekly meeting will then be reported to the president to request direction and approval regarding the policies taken.

Considering that the government cannot reach all elements of society with limited resources, the government cooperates with various parties as message communicators, such as religious leaders, community leaders, public figures, survivors, and experts at the national and local levels. Efforts to increase the capacity of risk communicators are carried out by the government through the pentahelix coordinator with various existing sectors both within the government itself and externally.

With pentahelix coordination with various existing elements, the government is expected to be able to coordinate well to provide effective information so that there is a change in people's behavior in actively participating in the handling of Covid-19. Even so, every message communicator structure should be given treatment to have the same understanding so as to be able to provide the right information to the public. As representatives of the government, they can assist the government in providing effective information to the public to avoid confusion, frustration, and confrontation as a form of public protest against efforts to tackle Covid-19.

Indonesia is a disaster-prone country, but the early warning system in Indonesia is still weak. Disaster communication is a solution to save people from disaster risks. The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) noted that Indonesia experienced 3,092 natural disasters. In response to this, community preparedness is key because no one can predict exactly when and how a disaster will occur, but disaster risk can be reduced.

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Efforts to mitigate risk are communicating risks as well as possible. In the context of disaster, risk communication has several objectives, including increasing awareness, educating the public, motivating the community to move, making agreements, and gaining people's trust. Thus, it is hoped that the risk communication carried out by the government during this pandemic will be able to provide understanding, motivation, agreement and public confidence in the potential caused by Covid-19, which in the end will be able to motivate them to take proper preventive measures.

Communication systems are very important for a disaster-prone country like Indonesia. With this system, it is hoped that it will be able to provide an opportunity for the community to save themselves from disasters. In line with this, declaring Covid-19 as a National Disaster by President Joko Widodo on 13 April 2020, the disaster communication system that needs to be implemented is of course, a concern. Responding to this, eventually, the Government of Indonesia formed a Task Force Team chaired by the Chairman of the National Disaster Management Agency at that time, namely Doni Moarfa. However, the more complex the Covid-19 problem, the Indonesian government merged the Task Force Team into the Committee for Handling Covid-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC PEN).

In order to support the optimization of the disaster risk communication system, several factors need to be considered by the community, namely resilience in dealing with it. This is because disasters have uncertain impacts and disaster risks. Therefore, resilience is the main factor. Disaster resilience or resilience is the ability to adapt in responding to disasters. Risk communication as an effort to grow resilience. Risk communication, according to Kees Boersma; T.Comes; & Teun Terpstra (2017), is an effort that includes mitigation, prevention, preparedness, and response, to post-disaster recovery.

Given the concept of this communication system, we can use systems theory. Systems theory is a rigorous multidisciplinary meta-theory describing complex organizational processes to be communicated to achieve essential survival (Von Beralanffy, 2020). Organizations are considered living organisms in this systems theory. Analysis in systems theory is on a holistic functional (system) group, not individuals in the organization. In system theory, communication between systems and the environment will continue to change. This system theory can be used to evaluate organizations in coordinating internal and external communication activities to adapt to changing conditions and the environment (G.L. Kreps., 2019). The principles of analysis in systems theory relate to transformation systems, openness, interdependence, negative entropy, balance, and the required variation.

After a few months since the pandemic began to enter Indonesia, the government began to build a pandemic management system by KPC PEN based on Presidential Regulation Number 82 of 2022 on 20 July 2020. With the KPC PEN, it is hoped that the handling of Covid-19 can be carried out in a structured, coordinated, and integrated manner. one institutional. This committee consists of a policy committee whose job is to set programs and policies with the division of roles, an executive head who integrates policy implementation, and a Task Force that implements and controls implementation in the field.

Currently, the KPC PEN has been working to revive Indonesia's downturn due to Covid-19 both from a health and economic standpoint. The government's efforts have indeed yielded quite significant results compared to the early days of the pandemic. It is just that the various communication strategies implemented by the government have so far not been fully successful in increasing community participation and active role. This is proven by the community's non-compliance in implementing health protocols properly.

The pandemic requires the government to communicate quickly due to high demands from the public regarding various Covid information. Therefore the government must be able to optimize its communication function through various existing channels both to provide information internally and externally. This can be used as an innovative strategy to respond to health threats, calm tensions, or also provide direction (Ratzan et al., 2020). In utilizing existing channels, the government is expected to be responsive in responding to various feedbacks given by the public. Based on the problems above certainly affects the community's level of trust and involvement in carrying out policies for handling Covid-19. Halim (2020) said that the initial stigma that had formed had an impact on the emergence of various individuals who did not comply with the health protocols campaigned by the Indonesian government.

In risk communication, information should be packaged properly and be able to give trust to the public. Information that is not well planned actually causes panic and public distrust. Risk communication needs to be built with the right communication strategy in place. Therefore risk

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communication should be able to design a good communication strategy. According to Rogers in Hafied (2017), a communication strategy is a design to change human behavior on a larger scale by transferring new ideas. Meanwhile, Middleton (2007) argues that the success of a communication strategy needs to be supported by all elements of communication, starting from the communicator, message, channel (media), receiver, and effect to achieve optimal communication goals.

Efforts to realize an adaptive communication system to address the various complexities are by setting up various new strategies as crucial steps that need to be developed in detail in the planning process. According to Wijaya (2015), when there is an error in planning a strategy, we will not get satisfactory results which can even cause fatal losses. In line with this, our government suffered fatal losses when it was hit by a pandemic with many fatalities and a downturn in the nation's economy. Therefore the government must regulate steps to minimize these losses. This can be done by establishing a new adaptive system to encourage the transformation of changes in people's behavior during the Covid-19 pandemic.

As we know, the implication of optimizing the Covid-19 risk communication system is a change in people's behavior. This change refers to social changes that are expected by the community to 1) Immanent Change is a form of social change that comes from the system itself with little or no outside initiative, 2) Selective Contact Change, such as outsiders, unconsciously and spontaneously bring new ideas to members of a social system, and 3) Directed Contact Change is when new ideas or procedures are brought in intentionally by outsiders (Leibo, 1995).

Therefore in changing people's behavior, the government can focus on efforts to provide an understanding of behavior change on a person-to-person basis. In the end, the people who have changed their behavior can become agents of change for the people around them. The government has done this through the Behavior Change Division of the Covid-19 Task Force by taking a personal approach through the closest people both in the family, school, and workplace environment.

In carrying out social change, of course, it cannot be done instantaneously but in various stages, including 1) Invention, which is a process of change in which a new idea is created and developed into society, 2) Diffusion which is a process in which ideas are conveyed through the relationship of certain social relations systems, 3) Consequence, which is a process of change that occurs within the community system itself from the results of adoption (acceptance) or rejection (rejection) of ideas new ideas (Leibo, Jefta, 1995).

In line with the above explanation, changing the behavior of the government must be done massively and gradually. Over the last two years, the Covid-19 risk communication system has been directed there with various targets set to changing people's behavior. This effort is carried out by conducting evaluations every six months through various surveys conducted. This effort must be carried out both when the pandemic is waning and now when Covid-19 is predicted to become endemic. This is in anticipation so that people are always prepared to face a pandemic that does not know when it will end.

Risk communication carried out by the government through KPC PEN continues to strive to improve the Covid-19 response system through collaboration with many parties, both the government and private sectors. It encourages community involvement to play an active role in carrying out Covid-19 precautions. Through the Behavior Change Ambassadors, KPC PEN invites the active role of volunteers (lecturers, students, students, workers, and the general public) to provide education to the public to increase their awareness. Community awareness needs to be continuously encouraged through the people around it. Slowly, this awareness begins to emerge and is increasing. This effort turned out to be quite effective in suppressing the Covid-19 case. Through the Behavior Change Ambassadors, the government also obtains responses and feedback from the public on policies taken so that efforts to deal with Covid-19 can be maximized.

The government hopes that the risk communication system in the future will be able to provide full awareness from the public to carry out disease prevention independently. So that when a disaster/epidemic/pandemic comes, the community is ready with various preventive measures taken. Learning from the Covid-19 pandemic, where it takes quite a long time to raise public awareness in implementing preventive measures (implementing health protocols), creating public awareness as early as possible of any potential disaster/epidemic/pandemic is a challenge that the government needs to answer. After this pandemic, the government also has targets to cover diseases that have the potential to become a national disaster if not treated immediately, such as stunting and malnutrition.

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Risk Policy for Covid-19 Management in Indonesia

In handling Covid-19 in Indonesia, the government has established several policies that are expected to be guidelines for preventing the spread of Covid-19. Through the Covid-19 Handling Committee, the government currently has five main policies for handling Covid-19: foreign travel policies, domestic travel policies, policies on large-scale activities, and policies related to when Covid-19 appears.

Meanwhile, with regard to the policy formulation process, it begins with an analysis of the problem by involving a team of experts as well as from the relevant ministries. In conducting this problem analysis, the government accommodates feedback from the public. From feedback from the community, the government conducted a situation analysis to measure the extent of the impact, whether it was only for small communities or had a national impact. If the impact is local, decisions will be issued, or whatever is specific to a particular sector. However, if the impact is nationally systematic, a coordination meeting will usually be held. The coordinating ministry chairs the coordination meeting, and the results of this coordination meeting will be submitted to the president for approval. For example, regarding vaccination requirements, where this is very systematic, a coordination meeting involving the relevant ministries is held. From this coordination meeting, decisions will emerge which are expected to change/add/reduce existing rules based on existing inputs and directions after a government policy has been enacted to socialize this policy through various channels.

"*The first was through a press conference by the spokesperson for the Covid-19 Task Force, as well as using websites and social media which were distributed to various regions. Apart from that, there is also outreach through regional meetings*" (Interview, Informant 5).

Responding to the rapid changes of Covid-19, especially with the emergence of various new variants, the government always evaluates existing policies. In early 2022, the government held a special meeting to evaluate travel policies. From the results of this evaluation, new rules were established related to the requirements for both domestically and abroad traveling. It is that people must have taken a booster vaccination. Also, those who have not received a booster vaccination must include the PCR or swab antigen test results.

Various policies set by the government in the prevention and control of Covid-19 were apparently not successful enough in attracting public attention, with various violations being committed. This is due to the inconsistency of the government in implementing existing policies. The community is confused by the many policies made by the government. During this pandemic, the government has issued various policies, including the policy of staying at home, the policy of physical distancing, the policy of using personal protective equipment (masks), and the policy of maintaining personal hygiene (hand washing), policies on working and studying at home (work/study from home), policies on postponing all activities that gather large numbers of people, policies on large-scale social restrictions (PSBB), as well as new normal policies.

The difficult choice for the government was whether to save the economy or health first. After going through various considerations, the government is convinced to save both. Considering that the country's economic capacity is not as strong as that of developed countries, it is impossible for the government to adopt a total lockdown policy. The government also cannot adopt a policy to provide complete freedom for the community in carrying out their activities during the Covid-19 period, given the character of our society, which is challenging to regulate, and their low awareness of implementing health protocols. So at the direction of President Joko Widodo, the gas brake policy has become an alternative. The policy implies that the government must be flexible in dealing with Covid-19. When Covid-19 is high, the government acts decisively, but when Covid-19 is down, the government provides easings to the community.

Efforts to encourage public confidence in the policies for dealing with Covid-19 are carried out by the government by holding forums for public hearings. As mentioned above, in making policies, the government generally conducts environmental analysis to map existing problems. In carrying out the environmental analysis, the government involves the community in providing input on a problem it is facing. So that the Covid-19 policy taken by the government can be said to have been based on the needs of the community. However, the government should be able to listen to the public more. So that all people at various levels of society feel involved and listened to by the government, which will increase their confidence in handling Covid-19.

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Collaboration with the government in each region and various elements of society within it is the key to successfully communicating the Covid-19 risk policy. Governments in each region generally have their channels to communicate Covid-19 policies. The central government stipulates only guidelines that can later be developed in each region by considering social and economic aspects.

With effective government communication, at least it can provide solutions to several problems during the Covid-19 pandemic. Among them is the chaotic public communication during a crisis. This condition has caused various public information confusion over a crisis situation which has caused a loss of public trust in the government and provided an opportunity for the infodemic to flourish, further exacerbating the Covid-19 pandemic.

The government's failure to communicate policies has caused the public to lose the ability to understand issues accurately and reliably, especially in helping them to respond appropriately to the outbreaks. The government must provide appropriate information as a means for the community to act and behave in a better response to the crisis. On the other hand, various incorrect information distances the public from responding appropriately to the crisis and can even exacerbate the existing conditions. For example, the misunderstanding of the public perceiving the pattern of the spread of the virus has resulted in the community actively participating in spreading the virus through various social interactions. Information that is not comprehensive about the funeral procedures for Covid-19 victims causes the public to react excessively and inappropriately. So, many people reject the burial of Covid-19 victims in the public cemetery area.

Meanwhile, with regard to the Indonesian Government's policy in tackling Covid-19, it must collide with the many violations of the implementation of health protocols committed by the public. Policies made by the government should be policies that have a clear vision, mission, and objectives so that the strategy for achieving them can be in line with this. Various Covid-19 policies, starting from Large Social Restrictions (PSBB), which were imposed at the beginning of the pandemic and then changed to Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) both in Java-Bali, Enforcement of Restrictions on Micro Community Activities (PPKM), Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) Emergency, Imposition of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) Levels 1-4 do not show clear vision and mission and what their goals are. In addition, these various policies also do not indicate how long the timeframe for achieving them will be. This causes low public participation in various policies that are made.

Judging by government policies which should be policies that aim to meet the needs/interests of the public in the broadest sense. The government must strive to measure the effectiveness of policies made to protect the interests of society before the interests of groups. Policy is essentially a policy that can protect the public interest (as well as the interests of society and the livelihoods of many people). Therefore, government policies are also often equated with public policies (government policy is public policy) (Ali, 2012).

Assessing the Government of Indonesia's policies in handling Covid-19, we can use the dialectical model developed by (Marsh & Smith, 2000). This model aims to explain further the relations and roles of actors and their interests in formulating policies. Going deeper, Marsh & Smith (2000) provides an alternative in explaining the reciprocal relationship between 1) structure and agency, 2) network and context, and 3) network and outcome. This dialectical relationship explains the interactive relationship between two variables that influence one another.

In line with the above, looking at the policies taken in Indonesia cannot be separated from the interests of the political actors in it. Based on interviews with the Covid-19 Task Force Expert Team, there is clearly a trade-off between policies during the Covid-19 pandemic. This is inseparable from the development of the existing situation and conditions as well as the influence of the actors involved in the policy-making process. For example, there is a requirement for passengers on land, sea, and air transportation to show vaccine certificates, so the Ministry of Transportation and the Ministry of Tourism are the main actors. If initially every passenger was required to take a SWAB/PCR test every time they traveled, now it is only required for those who have not done the third dose of vaccine. This change is certainly inseparable from the vision of the Ministry of Tourism to restore the economic downturn during the Covid-19 pandemic. This is actually understandable. It is just that efforts to control the surge in cases due to tourism activities must still be carried out as situation analysis also needs to be the main concern of actors in making a Covid-19 policy.

Apart from that, in setting policies, the government must be sensitive to developments in the Covid-19 case, which spreads very easily in various regions. The policies issued are not limited to partial policies or carried out separately or in half. The policies issued by the government are

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comprehensive and integrated. A comprehensive policy is a policy that is established after conducting a root cause analysis from the beginning to the end. This can be done by conducting an initial study of the main causes, the transmission medium, mapping the affected areas and residents, and how to break the chain of transmission to the discovery of a vaccine (Muslim, 2020).

An integrated policy demands that all parties in authority, such as the central government, regional governments, and related institutions, have the same flow of coordination. Unfortunately, the facts on the ground are quite the opposite, with many cases of discoordination and disharmony between one unit and another. For example, in March 2020, the central government refused to isolate the area because this could hinder economic growth and human migration. Still, in reality, several areas implemented lockdowns without approval from the central government, such as Bali, Papua, Solo, Maluku and Tegal (CNN, 2020).

According to Gregory (2006), the government needs good communication in conveying the policy process from conception to implementation. Various policies taken by the government will, of course, provide feedback in the form of perceptions from the public which provide feedback with various perceptions from the public, both positive and negative. In line with this, the government needs to set a strategy for communicating policies so that every policy taken by the government can be accepted by all elements of society (Nugraha, 2021).

In developing communication policies for handling Covid-19, the government is expected to be able to maintain good relations between communicators and communicants. Any feedback given by the public on policy communication should be well received by the government. The government must realize that every communication process will affect social relations with the community, building social interactions (Iwan Kosasih, 2016). Communities will feel truly involved in making and implementing policies so that the community's active role in handling Covid-19 can be increased.

CONCLUSION

Collaboration between sub-systems is the key to the success of the risk communication system in responding to this pandemic by KPC PEN. The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) focuses on communicating risks related to people's understanding and awareness of changing behavior. The Ministry of Health focuses on the vaccination program. The Ministry of Communication and Informatics focuses on combatting hoaxes and disinfodemics. Coordination is routinely carried out by these three ministries, agencies, and institutions and involves various related elements to respond properly to a pandemic.

Currently, Covid-19 is still there and will even continue to exist. In response, the government needs to continue evaluating the established risk communication system and policies. Adaptive risk communication systems and policies are needed to anticipate potential health crises in the future. With the existence of an adaptive risk system and policy, it is expected to be able to read the complexity of the problems caused by the health crisis to find alternative preventive measures immediately.

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