

Buena gobernanza de la diplomacia sanitaria: una nueva agenda de estudios políticos en Indonesia después del Covid-19

Good Governance of Health Diplomacy: A New Agenda of Politics Studies in Indonesia post Covid-19

RECIBIDO:14/04/2021

SIDIK JATMIKA
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Dr.sidikjatmika@gmail.com

OKTAVIAN RAHMAN KOKO
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
vianrahman25@gmail.com

IMAN PERMANA
Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
imanpe.ip@gmail.com

AZKA AZZAHRA SALSABILA
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
sazzahra529@gmail.com

Este artículo está sujeto a una: Licencia "Creative Commons Reconocimiento No Comercial" (CC-BY -NC)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24197/st.2.2021.215-242>

ACEPTADO:06/06/2021

Resumen: El propósito principal de este estudio fue analizar cómo Indonesia enfrentó los problemas de buena gobernanza, especialmente en el aspecto de la rendición de cuentas, mientras realizaba la diplomacia sanitaria y la comunicación para manejar los problemas de Covid-19. En esta investigación se utilizó un método de investigación cualitativa que emplea un enfoque constructivista. La técnica de análisis de datos, el análisis de contenido, se utilizó para conocer las declaraciones, políticas y acciones del gobierno de Indonesia para manejar la crisis del coronavirus. El artículo encontró que el gobierno de Indonesia enfrentaba serios problemas de diplomacia sanitaria y comunicación política con las comunidades internacionales; institución intergubernamental y ciudadanos. Los hallazgos

Abstract: The main purpose of this study was to analyze how did Indonesia face problems of good governance, especially in aspect of accountability, while conducting the health diplomacy and communication in handling Covid-19 issues. A qualitative research method employing constructivism approach were used in this research. The data analysis technique, content analysis, was used to find out Indonesian government statements, policies and actions to handle coronavirus crisis. The article found that Indonesia government faced serious problems of health diplomacy and political communication with international communities; inter-governmental institution and citizens. The findings further revealed that Indonesia developed the "un- smart", "un-systematic", "un-objective", and "un-visionary" ways in practicing diplomacy and

revelaron además que Indonesia desarrolló las formas “no inteligentes”, “no sistemáticas”, “no objetivas” y “no visionarias” de practicar la diplomacia y la comunicación en la crisis de salud mundial. Esto muestra que la importancia de la buena gobernanza de la diplomacia y la comunicación en salud, incluida la preparación para la mitigación de desastres de salud en un país, es manejar los efectos de la crisis sanitaria mundial.

Palabras clave: Indonesia, Buen gobierno, Diplomacia y comunicación en salud, Análisis de contenido.

communication in the global health crisis. This shows that how important the good governance of health diplomacy and communication, including preparedness in health disaster mitigation in a country, is to handle such effects of global health crisis.

Keywords: Indonesia; Good governance; Health; Diplomacy and communication; Content analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

The term “Good Governance” (Ved, 2006) is contested in its meaning. Through the 1980s and 1990s, donor countries and institutions made aid conditional upon reforms in the recipient country, who were ineffective in encouraging real policy changes (Stoker, 1998). More recently, donors, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United States, are increasingly insisting upon performance and good governance as a prerequisite for aid, a practice called “selectivity.” This is a means of requiring a recipient state to demonstrate the seriousness of its commitment to economic and social reforms (Nag, 2018). There are no objective standards for determining good governance: some aspects include political stability, the rule of law, control of corruption, and accountability. High levels of poverty and weak governance are linked, making selectivity difficult to implement. For reforms to succeed, domestic support, ownership, and commitment are crucial, as are the recipient's cultural context and history (Kaufmann et al., 2005).

It is proposed that government, being the tangible expression of the legitimate authority within an organised society, has undergone a long transformational journey since its very emergence (Aubut, 2004). The various evolutionary forms and features of the government have been the product of its meaningful and viable responses to the changing expectations of the people as well as to the challenges they faced in an ever-changing environment (Leftwich, 1994). The exclusive domain of the state over the period became a shared space with inclusion of other actors and stakeholders, and an era of governance was ushered in since the 1980s. However, the universal model of good governance should

consider the national and local constraints of a society. Thus, the idea of good governance must face various types of challenges in the developing as well as underdeveloped societies (Rosenau, 1992) (World Bank, 1992).

Previously, Before the Covid-19 crisis pandemic transpired, Indonesia through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was known as a country with a high reputation in conducting humanitarian and disaster diplomacy as a donor aid, mediator, and beneficiary (Herningtyas, 2018). For example, through several humanitarian entities in the UN system, including the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) managed by UNOCHA and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (Marsudi, 2020) Indonesia also played an active role in delivering the assistance to the Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar's Rakhine State as part of soft-power diplomacy rather than coercive way as a rational choice to co-opt Myanmar parties (Jatmika, 2018).

In July 2020, Indonesia signed an agreement with Switzerland in the field of disaster management. This agreement is a result of diplomacy between the Indonesian government and Switzerland. One of the objectives of this agreement is to seek the development and potential of disaster management cooperation, funding, and technology transfer between Indonesian government and Swiss government (Marsudi, 2020). In July 2020 at the East Asia Summit (EAS SOM) virtual conferences, Jose Taveras said that Indonesia strongly supports cooperation and diplomacy, regionally (ASEAN), or internationally in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, especially cooperation in health infrastructure, and economic recovery. This aimed to prevent the crises in various fields, especially the post-pandemic global economy. In addition, it is a diplomatic effort for Indonesia in the economy development sectors that affected by COVID-19. All the facts above are a form that leads to the cooperation and diplomacy of a country in the field of humanity and disasters, especially in disasters that have a global impact and cross-national borders (Melissen, 2005).

The 2019-nCov virus or known as the new corona virus, was first announced by WHO on January 7, 2020. WHO Director-General, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus on March 11, 2020, declared a global pandemic (Alert, 2020) after the number of infections reached more than 121,000 in 216 countries (Aida, 2020). In 2 March 2020, the Government of Indonesia announced the first two cases in Indonesia (Narendra, 2020). At the time of writing (7 November 2020), in Indonesia, around 433,836

people were infected, with about 14,540 deaths, while at the global level there were 49,643,993 infected numbers in 216 countries, with around 1,247,952 deaths. Determination of a pandemic is based on three conditions, namely the emergence of new diseases in the population, infecting humans and causing dangerous diseases. In addition, it can spread easily and sustainably among the human body (Jayani, 2020).

At the beginning of 2020, Indonesia was prepared to face an outbreak, according to the 2019 report from Global Health Security (GHS) compiled by The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). These reports said that Indonesia ranks 30th in the world in terms of health insurance with a score of 56.6 (Gunawan, 2020). However, is Indonesia's readiness in diplomacy and political communication at national level in facing the COVID-19 pandemic as good as stated above? The polemic of public communication by the Indonesian government in dealing with this pandemic was conveyed by Commission III member of the DPR from the PPP Fraction Arsul Sani who stated that the government's public communication space during the pandemic period was very apprehensive and must be improved to maintain Indonesia's dignity in the front of national and international level (Nugrahani, 2020). Based on the background above, this article aims to describe how Indonesia facing the problems of good governance, especially in the aspect of accountability, when conduct the health diplomacy and communicability in handling Covid-19 outbreak.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Diplomacy as a concept introduced by Europeans and Americans in the 20th century continues to be developed in the 21st century as a scientific cluster that is very important for scientific studies and practitioners in international relations. According to (Kunz & Morgenthau, 1948) diplomacy is the main instrument of a country as an intangible national power. This foreign policy instrument is a peaceful and theoretical tool used by a country to achieve its national interests (Noonan, 2014).

Younus Fahim (2010) defines diplomacy as the main instrument of foreign policy that represents the broader goals and strategies of the country in the context of the country's interactions with the international community globally (Fahim, 2010). This usually manifests itself in international agreements, alliances, and foreign policy manifestations

which are usually the result of negotiation and diplomatic processes. Diplomacy according to Crister Jönsson (2005) is closely related to communication skills. He said that communication is a very important aspect that every country representative (diplomat) must have to convey the interests of a country in front of the international community (Jönsson, 2005).

Practicing diplomacy is a form of international communication both verbally and non-verbally with the aim to convey an important message. According to Muhammad Shoelhi in his book entitled *Diplomacy, International Communication and Diplomacy Practices* is a combination of science and art of negotiation or a strategy to convey messages through negotiations which aim to convey the national interests of a country in the fields of politics, economy, trade, social, culture, defense, military, and various other interests in international relations. It can also be said that diplomacy is a process carried out by an actor who represents a country in an international system that is involved in negotiations both personally and publicly to achieve interests in a peaceful way. From the two definitions above, it can be concluded that the concept of diplomacy in general is communication practices carried out to achieve national interests in hard politics or low politics. According to Hans J Morgenthau, the national interest is closely related to the territory of power and trust. The relations with power in this context mean each country has the power to influence other countries so that they can achieve a certain goal. Every country has national interests that cannot be achieved without international community support (Swajaya, 2020).

So, to achieve national interests, the state needs to gain the international community influence by forming a "trust", one of which is by participating in various international issues. Those participation is a practice of international diplomacy and communication (Jönsson, 2005). So, diplomacy and communication skills are very important as intangible power of national interest. In its development, the theory and axiology of diplomacy are getting wider according to the increasing complexity of international issues, one of which is the theory of Global Health Diplomacy or global health communication.

2.1. Global Health Diplomacy

The emergence of global health diplomacy theory is influenced by the development of issues experienced by the international community,

namely global health issues, especially the issue of the pandemic outbreak (Ruckert et al., 2016). The theory of "Medical Diplomacy" was introduced in 1978 by Peter Bourne, the president's special assistant for health issues during the Carter administration (Adams et al., 2008). The emergence of certain humanitarian problems, especially the health crisis, can be the basic idea in building dialogue and bridging diplomatic barriers globally because previously the state only focused on overcoming traditional problems. Furthermore, Governments and International Organizations are increasingly embracing Global Health Diplomacy as a tool to simultaneously run programs in improving the health sector and international relations (Katz et al., 2011; Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, France, Indonesia, Norway, Senegal, South Africa, and Thailand, 2007).

Various countries are starting to realize that threats to health issues can also have an impact on various aspects and pose a global crisis threat, especially on the issue of disease outbreaks that cross national borders. Although the term Global Health Diplomacy has entered the mainstream, it has many different meanings (Aginam, 2010; Merson et al., 2009). These generally fall into three distinct categories of interactions surrounding international public health issues: (1) Core Diplomacy; Formal negotiations between countries, (2) Multistakeholder diplomacy; A negotiation between or between states and other actors, does not necessarily lead to a binding agreement; and (3) Informal Diplomacy; Interactions between international public health actors and their counterparts in the field, including officials of host countries, non-governmental organizations, private sector companies, and the public (Katz et al., 2011; Bourne P, 1978; Chattu & Knight, 2019).

Currently, attention to global health diplomacy has increased in line with the increasing challenges influenced by various factors, both from the environmental aspect and the increasing of the health budget does not in line with economic improvements, especially for underdeveloped countries and developing countries (Katz et al., 2011). Going forward, global health practitioners and foreign policy practitioners will collaborate and take the benefit to achieve and advance global goals (Michaud & Kates, 2013; Kickbusch et al., 2007).

The global epidemic is defined by WHO as an epidemic that crosses national borders and causes various negative impacts which globally will cause a crisis in various fields (World Health Organizations, 2015). Epidemic refers to the increased spread of disease in a particular

community. The WHO also defines a pandemic as the spread of a new disease, although the specific threshold for meeting these criteria is unclear (Novotny, 2006). The term is most often applied to a strain of influenza, which is identified as an epidemic when the virus "can easily infect a person and spread from- person to person- in an efficient and sustainable manner" in some areas, has a slightly different label referring to "extraordinary event." "which is a public health [risk] to consider or influence other countries in the spread of the disease" (Qiu et al., 2017; Adisasmito, 2019).

2.2. Global Communication

Communication is a branch of science that is quite interesting in the scientific field of international relations, either individually or globally. The theory of communication in international relations study was introduced by Harold D. Lasswell. Lasswell defines communication as the ability to control someone. He also criticized the techniques or communication patterns that occurred in the phenomena of World War I and II, where people at that time influenced each other by using verbal or non-verbal means to achieve a goal (Malik, 2020).

Seeing world interactions both nationally and internationally makes this branch of global communication increasingly more complicated both in terms of the actor, scope, strategy or topic, and also the medium. So that in the 21st-century global communication has entered an area or topic that is more fundamental in social aspects such as communication in the fields of culture, health, education, development, and other aspects. So the role and global communication strategy are increasingly needed by the world of globalization today, one of which is in the field of international public health. Currently, health communication is very important and become the focus of scientists both in the fields of international relations and health (Jönsson, 2005).

According to a report from the World Innovation Summit for Health (2015) states that global health communication is strategic scientific development, and its implementation has become informed about health which requires relevant, accurate, accessible, understandable communication, and information that is communicated to and from all individual elements that aimed in advancing global public health, especially in dealing with health crisis issues (Suggs et al., 2015). The concept of communication according to Lasswell is a functionalist approach that focuses on the global communication system, how the

mass communication system works, and what strategies are carried out by communicators. The communication model according to Lasswell's communication patterns or models is formed simply through five elements, namely: who (who), says what (talk what), in what channel (on what channel), to whom (to whom), and in what effect (with what influence). Laswell divides communication actors into two, namely communicators (objects that convey messages) and communicants are those who receive messages and have an influence on the environment (Michaud & Kates, 2013).

From Laswell's explanation above, the field of communication science has many branches in social science, one of that is health communication which is currently increasingly popular. health communication can be described in one word - complex. This pervasive complexity burdens the health policy, health workers, governments, and individuals with various elements of society. Health communication can occur at the international, domestic, intrapersonal, interpersonal, group, and organizational levels, all of which have important message content that can realize the interest and policy. The various explanations above are useful for analysing the practice of the Indonesian government's communication skills and patterns both internationally (diplomacy) and national communication in dealing with Covid-19 (Michaud & Kates, 2013).

3. METHODS

This is qualitative research and constructivism approach, which using the content analysis method to find out such of Indonesian government statements, policy and action to handle coronavirus crisis.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Government as un-credible communicator: Immunity, caused by tropical God bless

The Covid-19 virus was first announced by WHO on January 7, 2020. Since then, WHO has issued an appeal to every country to prepare the best prevention to deal with this pandemic out-breaks (Massola, 2020). Uniquely, this appeal was ignored by several Indonesian public officials who issued statements and policies that were very ambiguous and not in line with global health protocols. This has been shown by

various un-smart health diplomacy and communication, especially by the Ministry of Health. The fact, since the end of 2020, several warnings have actually appeared about the spread possibility of a Covid-19 case in Indonesia; the unique thing is that the Indonesian government only officially announced the first case in March 2020 (Salis, 2020). During February 2020, the Indonesian Government repeatedly denied this virus also occurred in Indonesia. For example, until February 9, 2020, Indonesia had not reported a single case (transmission of the Coronavirus), whereas according to Marc Lipsitch epidemiologist at Harvard TH Chan School of Public Health, Harvard University which was involved in the Covid-19 research told ABC news, there must be several cases in Indonesia (Cahya, 2020). This was supported by the UI epidemiologist, Pandu Riono, who confirmed the prediction of the local Indonesian transmission of Covid-19 which had occurred since the third week of January (Riono, 2020). This statement was reinforced by data that reported that there were foreigners from Wuhan who were positively infected with the virus after he returned from Bali on January 22, 2020. However, this was denied by Lion Air, which carried passengers from Indonesia to China (Kahfi, 2020).

The denial that COVID-19 is a serious global health problem, was conveyed by the Minister of Health, Terawan Putranto, who stated that the public did not need to panic and "just enjoy" dealing with the virus, and he believed that Indonesia had 'strong immune' to prevent the coronavirus. He said it because Indonesia is a tropical country that is as blessed by God so that Corona cannot be entered Indonesia. Because of that he also advised Muslims to pray istighosah in order to be given health by God. This was also supported by the vice president of Indonesia, Ma'ruf Amin, on February 29, 2020, He said that Indonesia could be free from corona until now because of the prayers of kyai (muslim religious leader) and scholars who always read the qunut (muslim prayer) (M&T Advisory, 2020)

4.2. Controversial statement on mask (face-shield)

When the covid-19 case was first announced on March 2, 2020, the Minister of Health, Terawan, said that masks were only required for those who were sick or medical personnel, while for people who are healthy do not need to wear masks. This statement is weird because WHO has made it mandatory to wear masks to prevent the spread of Covid-19.

4.3. Controversial Policies against Physical Distancing

At the end of February 2020, WHO urged to limit or even temporarily suspend airlines to anticipate the widespread spread of COVID-19, both nationally and internationally; the Indonesian government has instead issued various stimulus policies to bring in foreign tourists as much as possible. President Joko Widodo provided an incentive of Rp.10.3 trillion (US \$ 700 million) to support the consumption, investment, and tourism sectors (Puspa, 2020). The Minister of Transportation, Budi Karya Sumadi, said that the government determined that starting March 1, 2020, it would provide a 50% discount for domestic flights to 10 domestic tourist destinations in Indonesia. In detail, the Government and PT Angkasa Pura spent a budget of up to 800 billion rupiahs (US \$ 57 million) for the tourism sector during the pandemic. However, the mobility of people from many countries infected with corona and it one of the keywords for the transmission of COVID-19 (Mufti, 2020).

Poor and ambiguous communication patterns do not only happen in the minister of transportation and the minister of health. Information asynchrony is also observed between central and local government, especially in limiting people's movement. For example, the communication between the central government and the provincial government of the capital city of Jakarta. When April 2020 cases of COVID-19 infection increased, the Governor of Jakarta, Anies Baswedan proposed a regional lockdown policy to avoid spreading it increasingly to various regions in Indonesia, as urged by the Chair of Commission III of the DPR, the National Democratic Party Faction, Ahmad Sahroni but this policy was rejected by the central government (Ghaliya, 2020). As a result, the Jakarta government as the epicentrum of the spread of Covid-19 only issued a large scale Restriction (PSBB) policy. This has an impact on the increasing number of infected cases that spread to other areas of Indonesia.

4.4 The Effect of Ambiguous Policy

These denials action give the impression that the Indonesian government, especially the Ministry of Health, seems to have an "ambiguous" policy and seems to underestimate Covid-19. Various reactions emerged among the international community, Indonesia, and experts. The debate questions Indonesia's readiness to face COVID-19 with the fact that 50 countries that have close contact with China have

been infected, while the Indonesian public government continues to deny the existence of this virus. According to various parties, the idea that Indonesia is 'immune' is very unscientific and baseless (Pramudiarja, 2020). Actions and communication by public officials, especially in the health sector, have actually caused debate and questioned the ability of the Minister of Health. According to Gerindra Party politician, Fadli Zon, the Minister of Health (Menkes) said Mr. Terawan was too arrogant in handling the virus with another name, Covid-19 (Malik, 2020). Communication, information, and unclear actions also came from the style of Minister of Health Terawan in dealing with the Corona Virus (COVID-19) outbreak into the public spotlight. There have been various reactions from the public, one of which is forced Minister Terawan to resign from his position because he is considered to have underestimated the spread of COVID-19 and in competent. Another chos was conveyed by the Minister of Agriculture Syahrul Yasin Limpo, who on July 7, 2020, introduced a necklace against COVID-19 (Sutrisno, 2020). All statement above has an impact that make confusion of the Indonesian people in the form of panic buying, people who are too afraid, people are too brave and various other negative impacts.

4.5 Panic Buying?

Various ambiguous statements by public officials have actually added to the political upheaval of some Indonesians, for example after the announcement of a citizen who was first positively infected with Covid-19, in early March 2020, a number of supermarkets in Jakarta were filled with buyers who flocked to buy basic needs and hoarding it (Loasana, 2020).

4.6 Mental Pressure on Society (concern)

This became clear when the Indonesian Government at the end of January 2020 quarantined 238 Indonesians from Wuhan, China to Natuna Island, Riau to be quarantined for 14 days. The selection of Natuna as a place of observation was rejected by local residents. They are worried about the Coronavirus spreading. Natuna residents also protested asking that the 238 Indonesian citizens of the observation site from Wuhan be moved from the hangar of the Raden Sadjad airport to warships stationed offshore. Furthermore, there have been many cases of community refusal

around the burial site to the corpse of medical personnel, and patients who died that caused by Covid-19 (Khasni, 2020).

4.7 The Covid-19 Conspiracy

Influencers who have followers on their social media accounts deliver posts that create controversy and undermine public trust about this virus and the government. For example, Jerinx (singer of metal group Superman IS Dead), through his account, called Covid-19 just a conspiracy by stating: "Because of being proud to be lackey of the WHO, the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI) and the Hospital arbitrarily oblige everyone who will give birth to a Covid test -19 first." As a result of his statement, Jerink was reported to the police with a report on the ITE law on the spread of fake news and hate speech which caused him to be questioned by the police (Sheany, 2020).

5. DISCUSSION: KEY FACTOR OF AMBIGUOUS

5.1 Low- skill of Diplomacy and Communication

This study found the fact that one of the sources of the problem is the low-level skill of diplomacy and knowledge about health diplomacy or communication among public officials, especially in the Ministry of Health which actually already has a Bureau of Foreign Cooperation. This bureau was formed in 2010, as an echelon II level unit that assists the Minister of Health in establishing health cooperation with foreign parties, under the name of the Center for International Cooperation. In accordance with the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia number 64 of 2015, then in 2016, the Center for Foreign Cooperation was changed to become the Bureau of Foreign Cooperation (KSLN Bureau). The KSLN Bureau as an echelon II unit under the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Health has the main duties and functions of being the coordinator and facilitator of foreign relations and cooperation in the health sector (Brown, 2018). The KSLN Bureau as the main actor for the Ministry of Health in establishing cooperation with foreign parties, both as an initiative of the outside and from within (units) of the Ministry of Health. The KSLN Bureau consists of Bilateral Health Cooperation Section; Regional Health Cooperation Division; Multilateral Health Cooperation Division. Uniquely, from all existing officials, none of them has an educational background from International Relations as a scientific basis that teaches skills of diplomacy.

Furthermore, it is found that the Health Diplomacy study has a peripheral position in the study of International Relations, especially in Indonesia. In the International Relations study curriculum, there is no single campus that teaches a special subject: Health Diplomacy". Usually, this discussion is only one of the topics in the 16 lecture sessions of Diplomacy or developmentalism Studies. Moreover, at the Medical Faculty, there is no single course that specifically discusses Health Diplomacy (Program Pendidikan Dokter UMY, 2020).

5.2 Low Quality of Coordination

Bureaucratic Problems and Sectoral Ego Are Judged as Obstacles to Handling Covid-19. This was conveyed, among others, by Member of the National Awakening Party (PKB) faction, Abdul Kadir Karding, on July 28, 2020, stated that the handling of a potential vaccine for Covid-19 was evidence of bureaucratic problems in the Indonesian government (Utama, 2020). According to him, there are a number of bureaucratic problems that often arise, ranging from the poor bureaucracy in Indonesia, the slow pace work of the bureaucracy required for resource development that must be carried out continuously. The most basic problem, coordination and sectoral ego of existing institutions. In fact, Karding said, sometimes there are still many officials, even at the ministerial level, who have different words, plans, strategy, and perspective from one another.

5.3 Politicking

The domestic communication crisis was also evident when public officials in Indonesia took advantage of the momentum of this pandemic with politicization. Certain parties use citizen panic as a value that can be used to win their sympathy. Unidirectional communication patterns can be seen between the central government and regional governors or local officials. In Jakarta, according to an analysis by international journalist Sana Jaffrey who stated that Jakarta as the epicenter of COVID-19 is very strategic to become an attractive political stage which coincides with the general election of local governments. He also said that politicization during this health crisis has impaired its effectiveness coordination flow between officials and social groups in dealing with this virus. This is very visible in Jakarta, where the pattern of handling between governor Anies Baswedan and the central government in every

decision. In another city, the Election Supervisory Board Commissioner (Bawaslu) stated that there has been a politicization by using social assistance during this pandemic (Bayuni, 2020). The form of politicization is clearly visible where these candidates for public officials provide social assistance by labeled as regional heads, symbols of certain parties, and there are indications of manipulation of budgets for handling the corona virus.

There are several reasons why Corona is more deadly than SARS in Indonesia; First, Social Media Makes More Resound; The emergence of social media and its availability on several devices now allows information to spread faster around the world than ever before. The rapid dissemination of information, such as regarding the number of infections and death tolls due to corona, allows investors to find out information more quickly. In fact, information is often received before the United State stock exchange is opened. Then the second reason, namely the existence of the World Economic Supply Chain; The current global supply chain is more bound than ever before. In addition, international trade is also more complex. At present, it is indeed a China-based company that is facing the hardest blow of this outbreak. An example is Apple. The United States (US) company has the potential to experience a lot of pressure because many companies supplying iPhone cell phone parts are located in China. The company has even warned of a potential hit from the corona virus in its latest quarterly report. The third reason, namely the Stock Price Record; News of the coronavirus plague dragged US stock indexes out of their record highs. In addition, coronavirus outbreaks have hit the second largest economy in the world, the impact of which could affect domestic growth, which would harming global growth in the end. Earlier, JP Morgan had reduced its full-year gross domestic product (GDP) growth forecast for China. The cause is due to shocks on the demand side due to the corona virus from Wuhan (Sebayang, 2020).

This paper provides two contributions, firstly, in the field of diplomatic practice and secondly, the study of diplomacy. This is evident in the case of Indonesia's diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in the early 21st century which uniquely happened almost simultaneously with the occurrence of political tensions between Indonesia and China regarding sea boundaries especially in Natuna, the South China Sea and the issue of Chinese Labor in Indonesia. In fact, to strengthen its claim, Indonesia made a policy of changing the designation of the South China Sea which has been commonly used in international

forums (which can be implicitly interpreted as China's sea in the south); to become the North Natuna Sea, which Indonesia implicitly wants to emphasize that there is Indonesian sovereignty in the region (Setiaji, 2020). Likewise with Chinese Labors, Indonesia continues to allow thousands of Chinese Labors despite the mounting peak of the Covid-19 epidemic and the emergence of demonstrations against the arrival of Chinese citizens (Makki, 2020).

The practice of Indonesia's diplomacy toward the handling of COVID-19 is unusual, reckon practically, the diplomacy includes cooperating with countries with political tensions. Moreover, to decrease the public sensitivity and commotion in Indonesia, this diplomacy is combining the practice.

It leads up to how disaster can abolish certain diplomatic hurdles. Conceptual Framework Disaster diplomacy discusses whether natural disasters induce international cooperation amongst countries that have traditionally been "enemies". Key principle regarding disaster diplomacy is: the emergence of disaster as a threat could create opportunities to facilitate cooperation between countries. There are also opportunities for countries in conflict situation having mutual relationships that were previously hard to achieve.

This paper also enriches the study of international relations, especially in understanding the phenomenon of diplomacy relating to the issue of Health. The term Global Health Diplomacy, has enriched the discourse of diplomacy studies, in addition to a variety of terms that previously existed, among others, specifically Humanitarian Diplomacy and disaster diplomacy. Covid-19 as a pandemy in many ways is indeed closer to the term disaster diplomacy, but it needs to be realized that Health Diplomacy (Global Health Diplomacy) can also be done in peacetime or when disaster has not yet occurred.

6. INDONESIA'S DEVELOPMENT IN HANDLING CORONA VIRUS

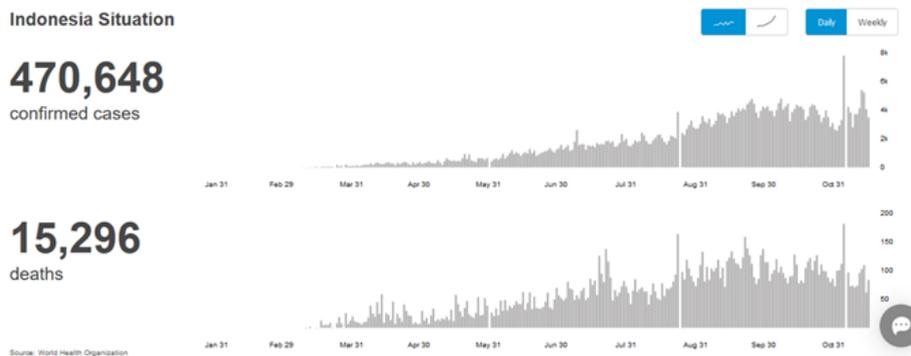
6.1 By Statistics better than Global, USA, and France

Indeed, in many ways, Indonesian Government has shown ambiguity in its policies. However, it must be admitted that there have been some progress in the Indonesian Government's policies in dealing with Covid-19, such as the number of cases which is statistically relatively better than the average case in the world. As in the speech of Indonesian President Joko Widodo, He conveyed that the data could be

compared to the world's average death and recovery as recorded by WHO stated in 15 November 2020, the average active case of Covid Indonesia was 12.28%, this percentage is much lower than Global Covid that was 27.85%, and also Indonesia's recovery data is 83.92%, much better than the world recovery rate of 69.3% (Reza, 2020).

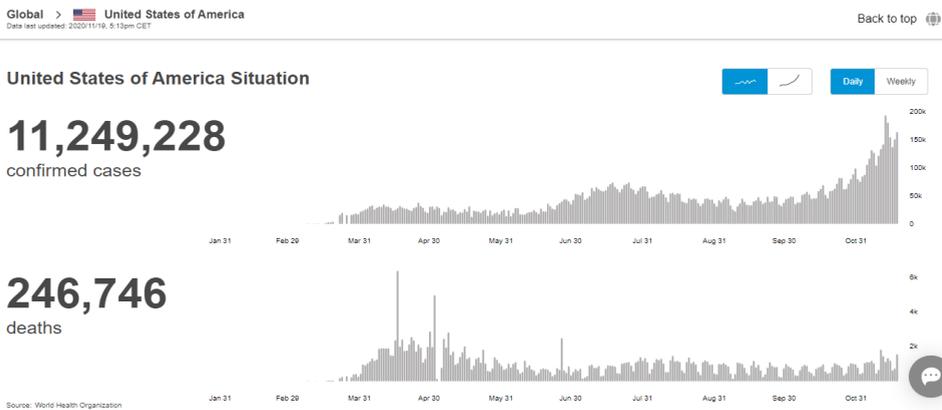
Furthermore, Indonesia is also statistically better than USA and France as of November 20, 2020 as shown in the table below; (World Health Organization, 2020).

**Figure 1. Covid-19 case statistics graph (March - November 20th 2020)
Indonesia situation**



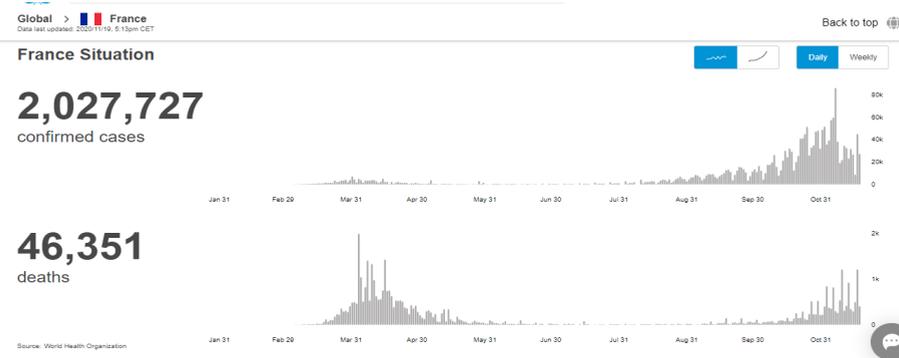
Source: World Health Organization (2020)

Figure 2. United State of America situation



Source: World Health Organization (2020)

Figure 3. France situation



Source: World Health Organization (2020)

Table 1. Comparison table of Covid 19 in Indonesia, US, and France on November 2020

CASES	INDONESIA	USA	FRANCE
Populations	268.583.016	331,000,000	67,000,000
Number of Case	478,720	11,249,228	2,027,727
Number of Death	15,503	246,746	46,351

Source: World Health Organization (2020)

The table above shows that Indonesia is better than the United States and France in terms of the number of cases and the mortality rate.

The central government also formed a Covid-19 and PEN Management Committee through Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 82 of 2020 to integrate efforts to handle health and the economy in a balanced and integrated manner. Minister of State Secretary, Pratikno ensured that the government's efforts in dealing with the pandemic impacts caused by the Covid-19 would not be relaxed at all. On the other hand, the government is currently working on making a vaccine for Covid-19 widely available soon (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2020). As a result, the World Health Organization (WHO) invited the Minister of Health Terawan for his successful handling of Covid-19 in Indonesia. WHO invited Minister of Health Terawan to share his experience in dealing with Covid-19 because he had completed the IAR and was able to implement lessons that already through by him as a health minister, not only to respond to the latest pandemic but to strengthen their systems in creating better prepare for future health emergencies (Kurnia, 2020). This progress is seen in the number of cases, recoveries, and deaths due to Covid-19 in Indonesia which is relatively better than the world average cases, even compared to developed countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom.

6.2 The Firm Stance of The Indonesian Government

As the President of Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, stated in his speech on November 15th 2020, the government will take a clear action in prioritizing the safety of the people and in enforcing physical distancing regulations. For example, The Government acted decisively against the crowd caused by Habib Rizieq Shihab, by reprimanding the Minister of Home Affairs, the National Police, and the Regional Heads and dismissing the Kapolda Metro Jakarta Raya and West Java (Reza, 2020). Habib Rizieq is the Leader of Islamic Front Defenders, on 10 November 2020 He returned to Indonesia after 3 years living in Saudi Arabia, had raised a crowd of around 10,000 people at Soekarno-Hatta Airport. On November 15, 2020, Furthermore, His son's wedding ceremony had caused a crowd of around 20,000 people. The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Mahfudz MD, emphasized that Indonesia is a democracy where law enforcement is carried out to protect the safety of the nation and state) (Gusti, 2020).

7. CONCLUSION

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that the ineffective implementation of the crisis management strategy carried out by the government as described above is due to the low quality of Good Governance in the field of Health Diplomacy and Policy. This is influenced by several factors. First, the poor public communication carried out by stakeholders regarding the ongoing pandemic and the policies that follows. Second, different perceptions in translating policies related to handling COVID-19 by both central and regional stakeholders. Third, differences in perceptions between the central government and local governments due to differences in interests and political factors as well as unclear directions from the Central Government to the Regional Government.

For Indonesia, the handling of Indonesian citizens (WNI) from Wuhan, China, is not just a domestic problem, but is part of foreign policy as well. Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi stressed that this issue was related to one of Foreign Policy of Indonesia priorities, namely the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad.

Learning from the handling experience so far, the Indonesian government needs to anticipate some of these challenges. First, Indonesia must continue to emphasize that the handling of the corona virus is part of Indonesia's sovereignty, so that the Indonesian government must be able to ward off doubts by WHO and the international community. Indonesia's health diplomacy must be carried out beyond traditional diplomacy through the participation of various domestic actors. For example, the handling of the corona virus is the territory of the Ministry of Health, but health diplomacy is the domain of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, the many health issues that are technical in nature must often be harmonized with diplomacy. Second, the need for cooperation between the government and non-state actors at the national and global levels in overcoming health problems. The minimal role of non-state actors can be in the form of encouraging broader public participation in the dissemination of information regarding the policy handling of the Corona virus in Indonesia and various countries. The success of Indonesian citizen observation on Natuna Island also needs to be conveyed to the wider community as one form of success of the Indonesian government through a variety of media, including the media

and various online platforms. Third, the need for Indonesia to spearhead international collaboration to work together with other countries to increase national readiness capacity in dealing with a pandemic, such as the Corona virus. In this case, the health issue needs to be integrated with the national defense system, so that the synergy between central, regional, TNI (military) and Polri (police) government agencies needs to be intensified. Health diplomacy is indeed not something new for the Indonesian government. However, Indonesia's ability to handle the Corona virus, including the Indonesian citizen from Wuhan, is an important test to demonstrate its competence in global health diplomacy. This study emphasizes how important of good governance of health diplomacy and communication, including preparedness in health disaster mitigation in a country to handle such of effects of global health crisis.

The issue of global health, especially the spread of the COVID-19 outbreak, is very real and has a profound impact on the global community, especially in the economic aspect. The concept of Global Health Diplomacy states that in the current era, health issues are very important to be studied and taken seriously by every country, and dealing with various international cooperation is needed. It can prevent and reduce the possibility of spreading these health issues, especially disease outbreaks, such as; Ebola, Zika virus, SARS, and COVID-19. Therefore, mainstreaming Health Diplomacy studies in International Relations and Medical Sciences curriculum is an urgent matter.

In the international context, communication and diplomacy are very important instruments, especially in dealing with global issues that have crossed national borders and can provide threats to global in various aspects, such as; social, cultural, economic, and political aspects. This study finds the fact that the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been able to carry out health diplomacy well. However, ambiguous statements emerged came from other public officials, such as the Ministry of Health; The Ministry of Transportation; the Ministry of Agriculture; the Ministry of Tourism, and so on. Therefore, it is necessary that graduates of the International Relations Study Program be given the opportunity to work on Foreign Cooperation at the Bureau of the Ministry of Health.

Communications delivered by public officials, bureaucratic groups, and certain parties that only exacerbate the situation. Actually, this phenomenon not only in Indonesia but also in other developed countries such as the US, UK, Germany, and Spain. This is confirmed by an

analysis from the University of Oxford-based Reuters Institute of Journalism. In his analysis, he points out that countries whose citizens support right-wing parties do not know more information about COVID-19, while citizens who support other parties and trust the politicians, they get wrong narrative about this virus.

REFERENCES

- Adams, V., Novotny, T. E., & Leslie, H. (2008). Global Health Diplomacy. *Medical Anthropology*, 27(4), pp. 315–323. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01459740802427067>
- Adisasmito, W. (2019). Indonesian and Global Health Diplomacy : a Focus on Capacity Building. *Journal of The Lancet*, 7(2).
- Aginam, O. (2010). Global Health Governance, Intellectual Property and Access to Essential Medicines: Opportunities and Impediments for South-South Cooperation. *Journal of Global Health Governance*, 4(1), pp. 12.
- Aida, N. R. (2020, February 11). Pernyataan Ahli Harvard, WHO hingga Kemenkes soal Indonesia Negatif Virus Corona. *Kompas.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/02/11/070000665/pernyataan-ahli-harvard-who-hingga-kemenkes-soal-indonesia-negatif-virus?page=all>.
- Alert, S. (2020, January 23). What Is a Coronavirus?. *Science Alert*. Retrieved from <https://www.sciencealert.com/coronavirus>
- Aubut, J. (2004). *The good governance agenda: who wins and who loses. Some empirical evidence for 2001*. LSE, Development Studies Institute (No. 04-48). DESTIN Working Paper.
- Bayuni, E. (2020, March 13). COVID-19: Mr. President, you need professional help. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/03/13/covid-19->

communication-president-jokowi-you-need-professional-help.html

- Bourne, P. G. (1978). A partnership for international health care. *Public health reports (Washington, D.C.: 1974)*, 93(2), 114–123.
- Brown, M. D., Bergmann, J. N., Novotny, T. E., & Mackey, T. K. (2018). Applied global health diplomacy: Profile of health diplomats accredited to the UNITED STATES and foreign governments. *Globalization and Health*, 14(1). doi: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-017-0316-7>
- Cahya, G. H. (2020, February 15). ‘It’s meant to help’: Harvard professor responds after government dismisses study on undetected coronavirus cases. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/02/14/its-meant-to-help-harvard-professor-responds-after-government-dismisses-study-on-undetected-coronavirus-cases.html>
- Chattu, V. K., & Knight, W. A. (2019). Global Health Diplomacy as a Tool of Peace. *Peace Review*, 31(2), pp. 148–157. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2019.1667563>
- Fahim, M. Y. (2010). *Diplomacy, The Only Legitimate Way of Conducting International Relations* (Doctoral Dissertation). Corllin University, California.
- Ghaliya, G. (2020, September 30). Health Minister Terawan urged to overhaul his communication skills. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/09/29/health-minister-terawan-urged-to-overhaul-his-communication-skills.html>
- Gunawan, A. (2020, February 09). Riset EIU: RI Lebih Siap Hadapi Corona, tapi Mari Berdoa. *CNBC Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200209094517-4-136413/riset-eiu-ri-lebih-siap-hadapi-corona-tapi-mari-berdoa>

- Gusti, M. (2020, November 16). Mahfud: Tak Tegas Cegah Kerumunan, Aparat akan Dicotot. *Kompas TV*. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.tv/article/124014/mahfud-tak-tegas-cegah-kerumunan-aparat-akan-dicotot>
- Jatmika, S., M. I. (2018). Indonesia's Role in Humanitarian Crisis in Rakhine State of Myanmar (2012-2017). *Southeast Asian Studies*, Graduate School Chulalongkorn University, pp. 5-8.
- Jayani, D. H. (2020, Maret 12). Perkembangan Kasus Baru Virus Corona di Indonesia. *Katadata.co.id*. Retrieved from <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2020/03/12/perkembangan-kasus-baru-virus-corona-di-indonesia>
- Jönsson C., Hall M. (2005) Communication. In: *Essence of Diplomacy. Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kahfi, K., & Cahya, G. H. (2020, February 14). Govt downplays reports of Chinese tourist who tested positive for coronavirus after Bali sojourn. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/02/13/govt-downplays-reports-of-chinese-tourist-who-tested-positive-for-coronavirus-after-bali-sojourn.html>
- Katz, R., Kornblet, S., Arnold, G., Lief, E., & Fischer, J.E. (2011), Defining Health Diplomacy: Changing Demands in the Era of Globalization. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 89, pp. 503-523. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0009.2011.00637.x>
- Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., & Mastruzzi, M. (2005). *Governance matters IV: governance indicators for 1996-2004*. The World Bank.
- Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia. (2020, Juli 22). Keterangan Pers Menteri Sekretaris Negara, Istana Bogor. *Kementerian Sekretariat Negara*. Retrieved from https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/keterangan_pers_menteri_sekretaris_negara_istana_bogor_22_juli_2020

- Khasni, I. A. (2020, April 11). Kisah Penolakan Jenazah Perawat Positif Virus Corona di Ungaran, Ganjar Berkaca-kaca. *Tribun News*. Retrieved from <https://jogja.tribunnews.com/2020/04/11/kisah-penolakan-jenazah-perawat-positif-virus-corona-di-ungaran-ganjar-berkaca-kaca>
- Kickbusch, Ilona, Silberschmidt, Gaudenz & Buss, Paulo. (2007). Global health diplomacy: the need for new perspectives, strategic approaches and skills in global health. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 85 (3), pp. 230 - 232. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2471/BLT.06.039222>
- Kunz, J. L. (1948). Book Reviews and Notices: Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace. *Western Political Quarterly*, 1(4), pp. 461–463. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591294800100415>
- Kurnia, T. (2020, November 06). WHO Puji Menkes Terawan Sukses Tangani COVID-19, Benarkah?. *Liputan 6*. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/4401589/who-puji-menkes-terawan-sukses-tangani-covid-19-benarkah>
- Leftwich, A. (1994). Governance, democracy and development in the Third World. *Journal of Third World Quarterly*, 14(3), pp. 605–624.
- Loasana, N. (2020, March 3). Panic buying hits Jakarta supermarkets as govt announces first COVID-19 cases. *Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/03/03/panic-buying-hits-jakarta-supermarkets-as-govt-announces-first-covid-19-cases.html>
- Makki, S. (2020, July 23). Update Corona 23 Juni: 47.896 Positif, 19.241 Orang Sembuh. *CNN Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200623134024-20-516435/update-corona-23-juni-47896-positif-19241-orang-sembuh>
- Malik, A. A. (2020, Maret 19). Terawan Dituding Sepelekan Corona dan Didesak Mundur, Pramono Anung: Sudah Didengar Bapak Presiden. *Tribun News*. Retrieved from <https://wow.tribunnews.com/2020/03/19/terawan-dituding->

sepelekan-corona-dan-didesak-mundur-pramono-anung-sudah-didengar-bapak-presiden?page=1

- Marsudi, R. (2020, June 23). Extraordinary Ministerial Pledging Conference for UNRWA: Indonesia Increases Humanitarian Aid for Palestine in 2020. *Kementerian Luar Negeri*. Retrieved from <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/list/berita/83/extraordinary-ministerial-pledging-conference-for-unrwa-indonesia-increases-humanitarian-aid-for-palestine-in-2020>
- Massola, J. (2020, February 5). WHO concerned Indonesia appears to be coronavirus free. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/who-concerned-indonesia-appears-to-be-coronavirus-free-20200205-p53xzj.html>
- Melissen, J. (2005). The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations. *Cultural Diplomacy*. Retrieved from http://culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/pdf/research/books/soft_power/The_New_Public_Diplomacy.pdf
- Merson, M. H., & Page, K. C. (2011). The dramatic expansion of university engagement in global health: implications for US policy—a report of the CSIS Global Health Policy Center, 2009. *Global Health: Governance and Policy Development*, 453.
- Michaud, J., & Kates, J. (2013). Global health diplomacy: Advancing foreign policy and global health interests. *Global Health: Science and Practice*, 1(1), pp. 24–28. doi: <https://doi.org/10.9745/GHSP-D-12-00048>
- Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, France, Indonesia, Norway, Senegal, South Africa, and Thailand. (2007). Oslo Ministerial Declaration—global health: A pressing foreign policy issue of our time. *The Lancet*, 369(9570), pp. 1373–1378. doi: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(07\)60498-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(07)60498-X)
- Mufti, R. R. (2020, May 6). Government to allow public transportation to operate, but still bans ‘mudik’. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/05/06/government-to-allow-public-transportation-to-operate-but-still-bans-mudik.html>
- M&T Advisory. (2020). Indonesia on the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Outbreak: New Regulations and Policies. *Makarim & Taira S. Law*. Retrieved from https://www.makarim.com/uploads/599779_M&T%20Advisory%20-

- %20Indonesia%20on%20the%20Coronavirus%20Outbreak%20_%20New%20Regulations%20and%20Policies%20(February%202020).pdf
- Nag, N. S. (2018). Government, Governance and Good Governance. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 64(1), pp. 122–130. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019556117735448>
- Nanda, V. P. (2006). The “Good Governance” Concept Revisited. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 603(1), pp. 269–283. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716205282847>
- Noonan, M. (2014, February 27). Morgenthau on Diplomacy. *War on the Rocks*. Retrieved from <https://warontherocks.com/2014/02/morgenthau-on-diplomacy/>
- Novotny, T. E. (2006). US Department of Health and Human Services: A Need for Global Health Leadership in Preparedness and Health Diplomacy. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(1), pp. 11–13. doi: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2005.076885>
- Nugrahani, A. W. (2020, February 24). Mewabah di 35 Negara, Virus Corona Dikonfirmasi Menelan 2.624 Korban Jiwa. *Tribun News*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2020/02/24/mewabah-di-35-negara-virus-corona-dikonfirmasi-menelan-2624-korban-jiwa?page=1>
- Pramudiarja, A. U. (2020, Maret 03). 2 Kasus Positif COVID-19 Runtuhkan Mitos Indonesia 'Kebal' Corona. *Detik.com*. Retrieved from <https://health.detik.com/berita-detikhealth/d-4922757/2-kasus-positif-covid-19-runtuhkan-mitos-indonesia-kebal-corona>
- Program Pendidikan Dokter UMY. (2020, November 16). Penanganan Covid-19. *Umy.ac.id*. Retrieved from <https://medicine.umy.ac.id>
- Puspa, A. (2020, February 19). Kemenkes Nilai Kasus Korona di Diamond Princess Rumit. *Media Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/291087-kemenkes-nilai-kasus-korona-di-diamond-princess-rumit>
- Qiu, W., Rutherford, S., Mao, A., & Chu, C. (2017). The Pandemic and its Impacts. *Health, Culture and Society*, 9, pp. 1–11. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5195/HCS.2017.221>
- Herningtyas, Ratih, S. R. (2018). Mainstreaming Security Norms as Japanese Strategy to Gain Its Global Power: A Content Analysis

- on ODA Documents. *Humanities and Social Science*, 6(1), pp. 19-24.
- Reza, T. (2020, November 16). Jokowi Ingatkan Tindak Tegas Pelanggar Protokol Kesehatan. *Kompas TV*. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.tv/article/124131/jokowi-ingatkan-tindak-tegas-pelanggar-protokol-kesehatan>
- Riono, P. (2020, August 29). Epidemiolog Prediksi Puncak Covid-19 RI Baru Terjadi 2021. *CNN Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20200829130346-199-540627/epidemiolog-prediksi-puncak-covid-19-ri-baru-terjadi-2021>
- Rosenau, J. N., Czempiel, E. O., & Smith, S. (Eds.). (1992). *Governance without government: order and change in world politics* (Vol. 20). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruckert, A., Labonté, R., Lencucha, R., Runnels, V., & Gagnon, M. (2016). Global health diplomacy: A critical review of the literature. *Social Science & Medicine*, 155, pp. 61–72. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.03.004>
- Salis, M. (2020, Maret 06). UPDATE Pasien Virus Corona per Jumat, 6 Maret Malam: Tembus 100 Ribu, 2 Pasien Baru di Indonesia. *Tribun News*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2020/03/06/update-pasien-virus-corona-per-jumat-6-maret-malam-tembus-100-ribu-2-pasien-baru-di-indonesia>
- Sebayang, R. (2020, February 09). Corona Lebih Menakutkan dari SARS, Ini 3 Alasannya. *CNBC Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/market/20200209103705-17-136416/corona-lebih-menakutkan-dari-sars-ini-3-alasannya>
- Setiaji, H. (2020, April 01). Andai Tak Ada Corona, RI Bisa Catat Deflasi Bukannya Inflasi. *CNBC Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200401122039-4-149031/andai-tak-ada-corona-ri-bisa-catat-deflasi-bukannya-inflasi>
- Sheany. (2020, May 5). On social media, Indonesians fight back against dangerous COVID-19 conspiracy theories. *Coconuts.co*.

- Retrieved from <https://coconuts.co/bali/features/on-social-media-indonesians-fight-back-against-dangerous-covid-19-conspiracy-theories/>
- Stoker, G. (1998). Governance as theory: five propositions. *International social science journal*, 50(155), pp. 17-28.
- Suggs, L. S., McIntyre, C., Warburton, W., Henderson, S., & Howitt, P. (2015). *A FRAMEWORK TO INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HEALTH COMMUNICATION GLOBALLY*. 47.
- Sutrisno, B. (2020, November 6). Health Minister Terawan to speak about COVID-19 IAR success at WHO conference. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/11/06/health-minister-terawan-to-speak-about-covid-19-iar-success-at-who-conference.html>
- Swajaya, N. (2020, May 28). Enter 'New normal': Diplomacy post-COVID-19. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/05/28/enter-new-normal-diplomacy-post-covid-19.html>
- Tribunnews.com. (2020, February 3). *Emil Sebut Jabar Siaga Satu Virus Corona Covid-19 dan Minta Warga Makin Waspada—Halaman 4—Tribunnews.com. Tribunnews.Com*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2020/03/02/emil-sebut-jabar-siaga-satu-virus-corona-covid-19-dan-minta-warga-makin-waspada?page=4>
- Utama, F. (2020, Juli 28). Masalah Birokrasi dan Ego Sektoral Dinilai Hambat Penanganan Covid-19. *iNews.id*. Retrieved from <https://www.inews.id/news/nasional/masalah-birokrasi-dan-ego-sektoral-dinilai-hambat-penanganan-covid-19>
- World Bank. (1992). *Governance and development* (pp. 1–3). Washington, DC: Author.
- World Health Organization. (2020, November 16). Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. *WHO*. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019>