



The Dilemma of Good Governance Implementation in Indonesia during the Pandemic of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19)

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Abstract

The Indonesian government's policies to prevent and encounter the spread of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic are still considered not optimal to realize good governance, with the high number of COVID-19 spread throughout Indonesia. This research discusses the implementation of good governance in Indonesia in the COVID-19 pandemic based on eight good governance indicators. This research uses observation techniques to collect the data. The research results indicate that Indonesia is not achieving the ideal target in implementing good governance in overcoming this pandemic. This happened due to a lack of assertiveness in policymaking and a low level of public participation in policy implementation, which led to delays in COVID-19 countermeasures actions. The implementation of policies in China, New Zealand, and Turkey indicates that these three countries have the authority to regulate strictly. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the rule of law and government policies' effectiveness is still weak; the government's delayed action in responding to pandemics proves a lack of government responsiveness. The policies implemented are not based on consensus; equity in accessing public services also becomes a problem. In the end, people lose their trust in the government because they failed to provide unaccountable information. Thus, good governance in Indonesia in the COVID-19 pandemic is still challenging to implement.

Keywords: COVID-19, Good Governance, Policy Comparison, Policy Implementation Dilemma, Public Policy.

1. Introduction

In overcoming the pandemic of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19), the government of Indonesia, as an official body to regulate the country and have the right to govern, should implement good governance to tackle the problems caused by the pandemic. The policies that the government has implemented are analyzed based on eight indicators of good governance: participation, the rule of law, transparency, effectiveness and efficiency, responsiveness, consensus-oriented, equity and inclusiveness, and accountability. Those Indicators would determine whether or not the government successfully implemented good governance during the pandemic.

Indonesia's government faces a dilemma between economic stability and surviving the pandemic through several policies that considered not accommodating all of its people's needs. Different situations and conditions in Indonesia require the government to create adaptive solutions and applicable to various societies. Implementation of good governance becomes the option to overcome and survive the pandemic, yet several obstacles are happening in society. Indonesia's government is challenged to counteract the pandemic to maintain its economic stability and keep its people safe.

COVID-19 began to spread in Wuhan, China, at the end of December 2019, which has had devastating effects on many countries. This virus is included in the pandemic category, which means that the spread of the COVID-19 virus has infected many countries in the world (Cucinotta&Vanelli, 2020). This virus's danger has left many countries faced with a difficult choice: to keep the country's economy stable while securing its citizens from the threat of death caused by COVID-19. This virus has had several impacts in several countries, such as a 12.9% increase in Brazil's unemployment, a 6.6% decline in the Russian economy, and an enlarged fiscal deficit of up

to 5.5% of India's GDP (Hana, 2020).

Indonesia, also a country affected by COVID-19, the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) reported in the first quarter of 2020 that economic growth fell from 5.02% to 2.97%, and in the second quarter, it fell to minus 5.32% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020). This number indicates that the spread of the COVID-19 virus has harmed various countries' economies, including Indonesia.

Realizing how huge the impact of this virus is, many countries are trying to tackle and break the chain of the spread of COVID-19. As an official body to regulate a country, the government has the primary responsibility to overcome the impact of COVID-19 through public policies that must be taken and implemented immediately by the apparatus and the people in the country. In this case, the implementation of good governance takes a vital role in encountering this pandemic.

Good governance is always associated with the management and governance of a country, and several terms explain the definition of good governance. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), good governance is a constructive and synergistic relationship between the community and stakeholders (United Nations Development Programme, 1997). Meanwhile, according to the World Bank, good governance is implementing government management that is responsible, solid, efficient market, prevention of corruption, and in line with democratic principles (World Bank, 1992). The implementation of good governance is related to eight essential indicators: the rule of law, stakeholders, transparency, community participation, equality, efficiency, effectiveness, and consensus-oriented.

Regarding the outbreak of COVID-19, we will discuss the implementation of good governance in Indonesia in overcoming COVID-19 based on eight indicators of good governance to assess the problems and dilemmas of policy implementation in Indonesia in the pandemic COVID-19.

1.1 Exemplary Governance Implementation in Indonesia

The terminology of good governance began to be known in Indonesia in 1993 (Krina, 2003). However, good governance began to be encouraged to be implemented in Indonesia when the New Order era changed to the era of reformation (Solihin, 2012). The implementation of good governance in Indonesia was influenced by internal and external factors. On the internal side, corruption, collusion, and nepotism are some of the causes of the multi-dimensional crisis. It has spread rapidly in all aspects of life. The practice of corruption, collusion, and nepotism is often done by the government, executive, legislative, and judiciary. Meanwhile, on external factors, the global citizen plays a vital role in implementing good governance in Indonesia. The influence of global citizens has made the Indonesian government interact with the international community and any international body involved in the development of the domestic economic and political situation in Indonesia. (Maryam, 2016).

During the Reformation era, the executive and legislative bodies created three laws that changed Indonesia's government system. First, Statute No. 32 of 2004 discusses decentralization, which made provinces and cities to be able to regulate and manage their own government and development. Second, Statute No.28 of 2004 discusses the regional autonomy regarding management and allocation of funds to local governments, which are provinces and cities. Lastly, Law No.28 of 1999 regarding the Synchronization implementation of government at the central and regional levels is an indicator of good government implementation. These three laws are good governance indicators in Indonesia, the government as a governing actor for the people (Handayani& Nur, 2019).

2. Methods

Based on the background of the study, this research uses qualitative methods. The data used in this research is secondary data sources that have been achieved through documentation and observation techniques relevant to this study. Documentation in this particular research is referred to the governmental report, statements from officials, and other internet sources. Observation went to the policy implementation and the status quo. This research seeks to enhance levels of understanding of impediments to the implementation of good governance in Indonesia during the Pandemic of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19).

3. Discussion

3.1 The Impact of COVID-19 in Indonesia

The spread of COVID-19 in Indonesia has directly impacted the Indonesian people in various sectors. According to the survey on MSMEs in Asia by the Asian Development Bank, said that as many as 48.6% of Indonesian MSMEs had to go out of business. Furthermore, the labor sector, which caused layoffs on a large

scale due to this pandemic (Asia Development Bank, 2020). From the education sector, Learning Activities as of July 2020 had to be done online. This impacts students who have difficulty getting the connection and do not have proper phones or gadgets. Even so, the central government provides aid and assistance with internet data to help students in online learning activities.

The COVID-19 pandemic is causing sporadic social changes where these changes happened suddenly and unevenly (Khoirunnisa, 2020). People are required to be adaptive to all kinds of social changes and new habits. All activities should be adjusted under the health protocols, such as wearing masks, washing hands, and maintaining distance. The Indonesian government then implemented a policy known as the new normal adaptation (Saputra, 2020).

After the COVID-19 outbreak, the activities which involved many people were no longer being held due to suspicion, loss of trust, tolerance, and fear of crowds. (Lubis, 2020). The suspicion that arises due to people coughing, sneezing creates a bad stigma such as discrimination against suspect COVID - 19, positive patient of COVID-19 patients, recovered patients, and even health workers. This discriminatory attitude can be done by avoiding helping others through direct physical contact with people suspected of having COVID -19, refusing health workers from a boarding house, and even refusing COVID -19 funerals by local residents. (Fajar, 2020).

Social interaction such as school, work, and religious activities are also limited. Fortunately, social changes come along with technological improvement. Thus, the people who previously held direct or face-to-face activities could still manage all these activities through the internet. All kinds of activities such as school, work, even shopping now rely on technology development (Khoirunnisa, 2020).

The impact in Indonesia does not only affect one sector but almost every sector. COVID-19 has made it difficult for almost all sectors and society to survive this pandemic. So that a strict policy implementation from the central government, which has full authority, is needed in an effort to raise the welfare of the people.

3.2 COVID-19 and Comparison of Interstate Policies

The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends to always wash their hands before and after activities, wear a mask when going out or around other people, then keep a distance of at least one meter to reduce the risk of being infected by other people. WHO also explains in detail the proper way of washing hand procedures. Further, WHO continues to provide procedures for various activities to prevent the spread of COVID-19, such as shopping at the market, visiting family at healthcare facilities, medical appointments, mechanisms on an ill family member, etc. (World Health Organization, 2021).

The United Nations Children Fund or UNICEF, which focuses on humanity and children's development, has also responded to the COVID- 19 pandemics. Civil society, parents, teachers, and children all have an essential role in creating safer and online learning environments at home and in the community. UNICEF emphasized the government to take an important role and make comprehensive cross-sectoral coordination (United Nations Children's Fund, 2020).

Since the beginning of the spread of the COVID-19 in January 2020, Indonesia's government has denied that this virus has spread in Indonesia. This was implied by statements from several state officials, such as Minister of Health Terawan Agus Putranto, who challenged foreign researchers who said that the COVID-19 virus had spread in Indonesia. Another statement by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, on February 15, saying that Corona could not.

Enter Indonesia because the entry admission was convoluted. More nonsensical statements were also made by another minister, such as the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan and the Minister of Transportation Budi Karya Sumadi (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

The Indonesian government considered being unprofessional in overcoming the spread of the COVID-19. Even at the beginning of the spread of this virus, no policy was taken as a preventive measure. In comparison, government actions and policies are taken immediately in some countries when they get information about this virus's spread. For example, Turkey started March 16, 2020, closed schools, and immediately prepared a national television and internet-based curriculum. The local government also implemented a regulation on the prohibition of traveling outside the city without permission from the local government (Rufinaldo, 2020). A restriction on going out of the house for elderly aged 65 and over and children under the age of 20 is also being implemented. After a few weeks, the Turkish government also temporarily stopped international flight activities to prevent the outbreak from outside of the country. At the same time, student dormitories were prepared by the

local government as a special isolation area for Turkish citizens returning from Umrah activities in Saudi Arabia.

On the other hand, as case zero, China immediately took decisive actions with a lockdown policy. The Chinese government disallows any transportation to and from Wuhan, schools were closed, and citizens were temporarily prohibited from going out. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Chinese government enforces its resources to build medical facilities and infrastructure actively. Wuhan Leishenshan Hospital was built in 7 days, Beijing Xiaotangshan Hospital was built in 7 days, and Wuhan Huoshenshan Hospital was built in 8 days. This policy proved effective in encountering the COVID-19 virus in China (Citradi, 2020). China's strategy is to strengthen national policies for washing hands, checking temperatures, and wearing masks. As the outbreak continued, China began to adapt its control procedures by adopting a scientific and risk-based approach.

China is focused on accelerating detection of the spread, isolation, and early treatment. Due to technological innovation that is growing rapidly in this country, they can do the mapping and prevention mechanism. With the Chinese people's incredible commitment to take collective action to encounter their common threats, China's extraordinary achievements are possible. China shows the excellent implementation of good governance in encountering pandemics even though China is a country with a socialist government system. This is proof that Chinese governance's effective and efficient actions as a public institution with excellent responsiveness even though it is not a country with democracy system.

New Zealand is also a country that is considered bold in encountering COVID-19. Strict and assertive policies have been taken since the beginning of the spread of COVID-19. As of February 3, 2020, after released information about a man in the Philippines as the first person outside China to die from COVID-19 on February 2, 2020, the government immediately prohibited foreigners from boarding New Zealand. Further, a 14-day isolation policy was also enforced for New Zealanders who had just returned from China. The New Zealand government considered assertive in preventing this virus. After the information that the first positive case of COVID-19 in New Zealand came from Iran, the ban on flying to Iran was immediately implemented(Clark, 2020).

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern does not tolerate violations of the regulations that the New Zealand government has made. The New Zealand government communicates clearly and openly. Prime Minister Jacinda has the slogan "Unite Against COVID-19", displayed in various conventional and digital media to raise people's awareness to encounter this pandemic. Besides, society can access the information about COVID-19 on the official New Zealand government website. The broader spread of the COVID-19 pandemic has prompted the New Zealand government to implement an eradication strategy. Through elimination strategies, strict border controls, rapid case detection through a large number of tests, and then self-isolation, contact tracing, and providing hand-washing places in public places and facilities. Seeing the development and compliance of New Zealand, the World Health Organization (WHO) said that the policies taken by New Zealand are a positive example for other countries(NZ Herald, 2020).

3.3 Indonesia and the Policy Dilemmas

The countermeasures to COVID-19 in Indonesia, when compared to countries such as Turkey, China, and New Zealand, are considered way too late. When those countries have started their policy in January and February 2020, Indonesia has just started it in early March 2020 to determine the emergency response status in encountering COVID-19, then the large-scale social restrictions (PSBB) policy on April 10, 2020, in Jakarta (Muhyiddin, 2020). The lockdown policy is also problematic because it inhibits trade and business flow, yet many regions still need accommodation, such as basic commodities. Several regional governments have independently locked or isolated their regions due to the central government's lack of effective data transparency. However, the central government opposed the decision because the decision to isolate the area was made under the central government's authority. The integration between The local government and the central government, which are not in synergy, cause the countermeasures of COVID-19 to be ineffective.

On May 28, 2020, the central government had just socialized the Productive and Safe Society Protocol to respond to the New Normal through protection for oneself and others and living with COVID-19. Public policies always impact the people, including health workers who are at the front line of preventing and caring for positive patients with COVID-19. The Indonesian government's delay in taking action has caused many health workers to die from COVID-19. From March to December 2020, at least 342 health workers and paramedics died from COVID-19(Khumaidi, 2020). Even at the initial number of 100 health workers who died, the government did not prioritize health workers. Responding to this issue, President Joko Widodo has rebuked

Minister of Health Terawan four times regarding the ineffective budget absorption to the imbalance in the number of COVID-19 tests.

In regards to the implementation of good governance, David Fasenfest (2010), in his journal entitled *Government, Governing, and Governance*, defines government and governance functions. He argues that governing is an activity to control or regulate (Fasenfest, 2010). Francis Fukuyama (2013) also defines governance as the government's ability to make and enforce a rule within a country (Fukuyama, 2013). The definitions of these two authors refer to one agreement, the government's ability to make policies and control the implementation of policies towards its people. In other words, the government has supranational power with policies that government bodies have legitimized.

3.3.1 People's Participation

According to the implementation of good governance, policies taken by the government always relate to people's participation. In Laswell and David Easton's policy making theories in the 1950s, the policymaking pattern has a monitoring and evaluation stage (Dunn, 2018). In other words, public participation is an indicator of whether or not the government's policies have been right. The PSBB policy and the new normal adaptation in Indonesia indicate that these policies are also not applicable. The dilemma that comes up is that for middle-up people, the PSBB policy, lockdown, and so on will not have a significant impact. Nevertheless, on the other hand, for people who live below the poverty line, these policies make life even more difficult for them, including the people who depend on the direct trading sector, such as sellers in the market. Even though they know that the market is one of the crowded places and can potentially spread COVID-19, people also have no choice but to continue to sell and be active in the market to fulfill their families' economic needs.

This policy's weakness is that the government only sees the policies that have been implemented without other solutions being taken to overcome economic problems for people who depend on the trading sector directly and for people who are significantly affected. In comparison, countries such as China, Turkey, and New Zealand have thought about their people's survival. For this reason, when the lockdown was implemented, the governments of these countries also prepared a large number of funds to assist in foodstuffs and so on. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, providing assistance such as Funding Assistance (BLT) and others is considered too late to be implemented because it is considered a burden on the national budget. The BLT provided by the Indonesian government was just disbursed in August 2020 for the first phase (Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan Republik Indonesia, 2020). While the pandemic has spread since the beginning of the year, how can the people survive for more than four months without any government assistance if they do not continue to work and ignore the government's instruction for lockdown?

On the other hand, COVID-19 test kits such as PCR and Rapid Test in Indonesia are expensive. In some regions, the price for having PCR reached more than two million rupiahs at the beginning of the pandemic, while economic growth was getting worse. As a result, many people are not willing to do independent tests. In Turkey, the PCR test price is only two hundred thousand rupiahs, with results that can be obtained in just two hours (Bozdog, 2020). This is a contradictory situation in two different countries with two different mechanisms in overcoming the pandemic. Furthermore, another issue comes up along with the second indicator which is transparency, this issue would be explained in the next indicator.

Based on the analysis under the indicator of public participation, this indicator hasn't been fully implemented because of the economic situation faced by the society in order to live their lives. Besides the implementation of the regulation, the government does not provide much assistance to the people, thus they still need to get on their financial needs. Besides, the high price of COVID-19 test kits also makes the participation getting lower. Public distrust makes the situation get worse, people could not believe the regulation and policy taken by the government because of the lack of transparency.

3.3.2 Transparency

Transparency as an indicator of good governance is also being a problem in Indonesia. Transparency in government for many researchers and practitioners is essential to the people's trust and an accountable government (Kjær, 2004). Stephan Grimmelikhuijsen, Gregory Porumbescu, Boram Hong, and Tobin Im (2013), in their journals, argue that transparency is always related to the disclosure of information starting from policymaking, procedures, functions, and performance of the implementation of policies that have been made (Grimmelikhuijsen, Porumbescu, Hong, & Im, 2013). The government should make two points in transparency: the spread of COVID-19 and budgeting in overcoming this pandemic. Andreas Harsono, a researcher from Human Rights Watch, on Saturday, April 11, 2020, criticized the transparency of data on the spread of people infected with COVID-19 that was not given out openly. This is also supported by the opinion of a spokesperson

for the National Disaster Management Authority (BNPB), who said that there are differences in data from the central and regional governments (Riana, 2020).

Public information disclosure which managed by the state, is regulated in Article 28F of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that “Everyone has the right to communicate and obtain information to develop themselves and their social environment, and the right to seek, obtain, own, store, process, and deliver the information in every way possible.”

Referring to the mentioned regulation, the people should get information related to issues that are happening in Indonesia. In governing a state, Indonesia guarantees the existence of derogable rights or human rights conducted by the state, including the right to obtain information (Wibawa, 2020). In addition to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, information disclosure is also supported by the Law on Openness of Public Information (KIP) Article 1 point 2, which declares that: “Public information is generated, stored, managed, sent, and/or received by a public institution related to state administrators and other public institutions' administration under this Law and other information relating to the public interest.”

Concerning information disclosure, the state has an obligation to disseminate information that can threaten many people's livelihoods and public order, under what is declared in Article 10 paragraph (1) of the Law on Openness of Public Information.

The lack of data transparency on the spread of COVID-19 has made the public distrust government instructions and policies. Furthermore, government policies such as Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB), wearing masks, and crowd dispersal have also been violated at some time by government officials so that the people no longer comply with government policies. On the other hand, the budget as a vital element of policy implementation also has transparency problems. The number of purchases of Personal Protection Equipment (PPE), test kits, and aid funding budget is also considered not transparent. The transparency of the information on the use of the COVID-19 budget is considered to have the potential for corruption due to the government's lack of transparency in information regarding the procurement of goods and services. The absence of budget data transparency has proven to be a potential corruption because the Minister of Social Affairs Juliari Batubara was proven to have committed corruption in a funding assistance program worth 17 billion Rupiah (Priasmoro, 2020). These two things indicate that transparency is a vital element for the government to be done in the implementation of good governance. The openness of information makes the people have a control function over the government when doing their responsibilities. A phrase in political science that John Dalberg-Acton has stated, "all power tends to be corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely," is appropriate in the case of transparency. In a democratic government, the government has the authority to make and enforce policies, while the people have the control function of the government's policies. To fulfill this function, transparency in the policymaking process and policy implementation is essential. Hence abuse of power cannot be done by the government.

With the situation above, it can be concluded that the government transparency about the spread of COVID-19 and budgeting in overcoming the pandemic hasn't been implemented. The lack of data transparency affected by the limited data access from the government regarding the number of spread of the virus, financial aids, and procurement of goods and services. This lack of transparency creates a public distrust that then would affect the public participation.

3.3.3 Accountability

Accountability as the indicator is related to transparency. From the first case of COVID-19 in Indonesia in early March 2020 to April 12, 2020, the Government of Indonesia announced that the positive cases for Covid-19 in Indonesia were 4,241 cases, of which 373 people died, and 359 recovered. This official data becomes a basis data for all actors in preventing the spread of COVID-19. However, some groups of people doubted the data's accuracy from the central government (Alizar& Usman, 2020). People think that the government covers up the number of cases, and there is confusion over the data, according to dr. Irma Hidayana from Columbia University, everyday doctors inform the death rate with symptoms of COVID -19. In the second week of April 2020, it is estimated that the death toll due to COVID -19 is almost ten times the data announced by the government (Purnomo, 2020). After being urged by several parties, the Head of the BNPB Disaster Information and Communication Data Center, Agus Wibowo, admitted that there was no synchronization between the published data and the actual data. (Purnomo, 2020).

Besides, the role of the government in overcoming the pandemic isn't only provide the actual data but also provide test kits, PPE, and vaccines. According to the Indonesia Corruption Watch, as of February 13, 2020 up

frontline in prevention, caring, and reducing the death rate of COVID-19 and policies for the people to reduce the number of the spread of the virus. The procurement of PPE and COVID-19 test kits still has several obstacles (PemerintahProvinsi Kalimantan Timur, 2020). This matter impacts the data on the spread of COVID-19, causing the data obtained is less accurate and has an indication of a wider spread but is not detected because the number of tests per day is considered not enough. On the other hand, in some reports, many health workers are tired, and their immunity has weakened, making them vulnerable to COVID-19. It is reported that more than 200 health workers have died due to the government's failure to prioritize health workers as the frontline(Khumaidi, 2020). Even so, the government still has not implemented policies that prioritize health workers optimally before the vaccines are out. The ratio of the number of health workers and the number of positive patients with COVID-19 is not proportional. Another problem that happened is the location for isolation cannot accommodate all of the COVID-19 positive patients.

While the policies for the people are actually good enough in encountering the spread of the virus, and yet, this matter is linked with the previous indicators which is the rule of law, that the implementation of the regulation and policies are not strictly implemented. The policy is considered as an effective policy when it comes to an effect for the settled goals, in this particular matter the effectiveness of the policies taken by the government ain't be able to achieve the goals that have been settled. PSBB, PPKM and any other regulation applied are not giving any changes to the prevention of the spread, the virus has just kept spreading on and on. The fact of the issue that the society keeps disobeying the regulation taken, it creates the preventive measures and action to overcome the pandemic in the society could not be a good policy. This might be caused by several things including the public distrust and lack of alternative options that has not been given to the society for them to live their life with the protocols and regulations implemented by the government.

The policy effectiveness on two different parts has been considered to be ineffective. The failure of the government to protect the health workers led to the high number of deaths from doctors, nurses and other medical workers as the frontliner. The number of test kits in order to trace the spread also can not be fully provided, thus it comes to the inability to do the mapping of the spread. Further, the policies for the people also cannot be assumed to be effective seeing the fact that the number of the spread increasing day by day even after the implementation of the regulations.

3.3.6 Responsiveness

Responsiveness of the government becomes another indicator of good governance. The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in several changes in the Indonesian people, including the bureaucratic process of public services, administrative, social, health, education, and others. This is one of the government's main concerns in creating policies to maintain conditions during the pandemic to remain productive but still upholds health protocols.

The government has optimized public services in the new standard era with online-based services utilizing technology, information, and communication. However, many services are complicated, slow, and expensive. The quality of public services that is expected by the people has not been met their expectations. Indonesia's late responses in overcoming COVID-19 also were seen when the Indonesian government announced COVID-19 as a national outbreak that was late far behind when the virus first appeared in China. The government's inability to respond to the public services during the COVID-19 pandemic indicates the Indonesian government's low responsiveness. Therefore, the government needs to improve public services' quality to be accessed by the people without any obstacles, especially in a pandemic situation (Arfan, Mayarni, & Nasution, 2021).

According to the situation above, the government is not responsive enough to overcome the pandemic. The government tends to underestimate the emergence of COVID-19, so it causes unpreparedness in adjusting and overcoming the pandemic. Thus, the government is too late to take another response.

3.3.7 Consensus Oriented

In creating the policy to overcome COVID -19, the government does not meet the indicator of consensus. Large-Scale Social Restrictions as one of the government's policies to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak. The implementation of the PSBB was well accepted by some people, such as civil servants or private employees who were able to survive. However, for business activists and the informal sector, PSBB is not a practical solution. People with low income feel many losses, and even their business is bankrupt. For example, online drivers, when the PSBB policy was implemented, they did not get any income because there were no orders from the customers (Nasruddin&Haq, 2020). In this case, it can be assumed that there is no consensus or mutual agreement between the government as the policymakers and its people. The implementation of PSBB has affected society, especially for those with a middle-low society, and the fact that their interest is not being

considered. The Indonesian government has failed to accommodate various conditions and needs of its people.

Consensus means that every should agree regarding the applied policy or at least there is no objection upon it. What happened in Indonesia is that the policies taken by the government are not giving other choices to several societies but to break the rules in order to survive the pandemic. PSBB, PPKM and any other regulations considered to be a burden for them, they don't have another alternative. However, on the other hand, the policies aren't becoming a problem, but a blessing, such as for the medical equipment company, mask distributor and so forth. Options for the people should be given if we want them to obey the regulation to overcome the pandemic, the policy with no consensus could be harmful for several parties in related to the situation. The big gap in the society in the terms of accommodation of interest makes the implementation of policies couldn't be effective.

According to the analysis about consensus oriented, the government didn't take the policy based on consensus oriented. This is affected by the government that can't accommodate common interests of certain parties such as online drivers and other low income societies. Thus, there is no mutual agreement between the government and its people.

3.3.8 Equity and Inclusiveness

The last indicator is equity and inclusiveness; we see that there are several groups of people who have the work with a high risk of being infected to COVID-19. Their work requires traveling and interacting with other people make them vulnerable to COVID-19 through droplets or interaction between people. The risks they have on their job are not fair enough to compare them with their access to healthcare facilities (Nurfauzi&Sihaloho, 2020). During the pandemic, they cannot access healthcare facilities due to decreased income. Besides, social assistance such as the social safety net (JPS) program provided by the government is only for the poor but not for the middle class who are at risk of falling into poverty. Health assistance from private parties such as free test services for online drivers is still lacking in number and only focuses on big cities like Jakarta. (Kurniawan, 2020). There are only a few programs for the middle-class society for health assistance from the government. It can be proven that not all groups of people can access and receive health assistance. The middle-class society does not get the welfare that all Indonesian citizens should be able to get.

Based on the situation above regarding equity and inclusiveness, the government didn'ttake some parties into consideration on the prosperity of its people. It is because the government didn't give the same access to public services for all people. Besides, the government didn't provide more financial aid for people whose livelihoods have been affected by COVID-19. Thus, the people get prosperity in equity.

Several policies, such as requiring the use of masks, and PSBB, have been implemented. Nevertheless, the implementation is not enough to be called successful. Thus, the spread of COVID-19 does not become controllable. In contrast to countries such as Turkey and New Zealand, which strictly implement their policies, including stopping all international flight activities, Indonesia, until the end of December 2020, still actively flies domestic and foreign flights even with its requirements self-quarantine and rapid tests or PCR. In fact, this is also not effective in overcoming the pandemic.

Concluding on the analysis regarding the implementation of good governance in Indonesia during the pandemic based on the eight indicators, here is the table of comparison between the status quo and the concept of good governance:

Table 1. Comparison of Good Governance's Indicators

No.	Indicators	Analysis			Reasons
		Implemented	Partially Implemented	Not Implemented	
1.	Public Participations		v		a. Financial Needs; b. Lack of Assistance; c. Expensive Test Kits; d. Public Distrust.
2.	Transparency			v	a. Limited Data Access on the Spread Number; b. Lack of Transparency in Financial Aid Number; c. Lack of Information

			Regarding the Procurement of Goods and Services.
3.	Accountability	v	a. Covered Up the Data b. Unstructured Policy
4.	Rule of Law	v	a. Violation done by Government officials and powerful actors; b. Unclear Standardization.
5.	Policy Effectiveness	v	a. High Number of Death from Health Workers; b. Increased Number of the Spread of the Virus in society.
6.	Responsiveness	v	a. Underestimate the spread of COVID-19 b. Unpreparedness
7.	Consensus Oriented	v	a. Didn't Accommodate the Common Interest b. No Mutual Agreement
8.	Equity and Inclusiveness	v	a. Limited Access to Public Services b. Lack of Financial Aid

Indonesia is facing a dilemma in implementing strict policies since the beginning of the pandemic spread in Indonesia. This indeed reminds the people of the spread of COVID-19 in Italy and Spain, which have entered the second wave phase. Since the beginning of the pandemic, these two countries have also been indecisive in implementing policies such as lockdowns, making the death rate and the spread of this outbreak have increased rapidly. On the other hand, Indonesia does not dare to implement public policies due to many factors. The level of the spread of this epidemic had a significant impact on the Indonesian economy, which now is in a recession.

4. Conclusion

Analyzing Indonesia's implementation of good governance during the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia is not achieving the ideal target in implementing good governance from the eight indicators described. Indonesia's problem in implementing good governance lies in the lack of assertiveness in policymaking, which has resulted in delays in overcoming COVID-19. Low public participation in policy implementation is also influenced by public opinion towards the government itself. In contrast to Indonesia, the implementation of policies in China, New Zealand, and Turkey indicates that these three countries have the authority to regulate strictly with the right to govern. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the rule of law and the effectiveness of government policies are not optimal. Thus, good governance in Indonesia in the COVID-19 pandemic is quite hard to implement. Especially regarding data and budget transparency which led to a corruption case committed by the Minister of Social Affairs, Juliari Batubara. The delay of action from the government in responding to the pandemic proves the lack of government responsiveness. In accommodating its people's interests, the government is still unable to manage it based on consensus orientation. For example, the PSBB policy is still getting criticism from middle-class society. The lack of a middle-low society in accessing healthcare facilities indicates the public services are not distributed fairly to the people. Meanwhile, the government's openness in overcoming the pandemic has also resulted in public distrust of the government for providing unaccountable information. Various comparisons of countries that have succeeded in overcoming the spread of COVID-19 are not adopted by Indonesia's government to be implemented. In the term data transparency, Minister of Health Terawan chose to remain silent in providing information on the spread of COVID-19 and considered letting the spread of COVID-19 in Indonesia become worse due to the failure to formulate effective and strict policies for both health workers and the people. On several occasions, the Minister of Health Terawan most likely does not want to inform the details of the plans and information regarding COVID-19. This led to Joko Widodo's government cabinet's reshuffle, which reshuffled several ministers, including Health Minister Terawan, to conduct a more effective government to realize good governance.

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