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Jakarta's Pandemic Information Ecosystem

A Study on Discrepancies between Supply and Demand of Information during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia

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Executive Summary

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the people experienced various difficulties in navigating their daily lives. The pandemic has forced them to adapt to situations they have never faced before. Using the *information ecosystem analysis* (IEA) framework, we want to answer the following questions: 1) How is information supplied to the citizens? 2) What kind of information are they demanding? 3) Moreover, what kind of gap emerges between the supply side of information and the real needs of the citizens?

The key findings of our study are summarized as follows:

Information Supply

- The Indonesian government prioritizes economy-related information over health-related information in their public communication.
- The public communication strategy implemented by the central government tends to focus on maintaining social stability. The government also tried to push this approach to non-governmental institutions, including mass media.
- Covid-19 mitigation measures involve various institutions in the central government, which, at times, overlaps and suffers from chronic miscoordination. Provincial governments also issued their own Covid-19 response policies which exacerbated this condition. As a result, lower level governmental bodies were overloaded with inconsistent rules, leading to poor policy implementation.
- The government, both at central and provincial level, has developed various digital solutions to mitigate covid-19 pandemic. However,

these solutions suffer from poor coordination and data management problems, resulting in a plethora of apps and other digital platforms that have similar functions and low user base.

- In the first half of 2021, media coverage was focused primarily on healthcare issues, including vaccination, BPJS health insurance, and healthcare infrastructure.
- Media coverage of the pandemic tends to focus on events in Jakarta, compared to other regions. The study found that 41% of news from free-to-air terrestrial national television came only from Jakarta, while 47% news came from all other cities other than the capital. Jakarta also takes the lead in online news coverage with 59.1%, compared to 18.2% for news from other areas.
- In Jakarta and other cities, healthcare issues dominated the media coverage of the pandemic compared to other topics. In television, healthcare issues dominated in Jakarta (70.3%) and cities other than Jakarta (71.6%). In online media, healthcare issues also dominated Jakarta (69.2%) and other regions (70.4%).

Information Demand

- The highest demand for information in the public health sector is related to information about medicine. This pattern applies both for respondents in high poverty-risk areas (24.5%) and low povertyrisk areas (23.3%).
- In the economic sector, the most demanded information is related to Direct Cash Assistance (BLT), both in high poverty-risk areas (41%) and low poverty-risk areas (29%).

- In the education sector, the most demanded information in high poverty-risk areas is related to internet access benefits for online learning (36%). Meanwhile, the most sought information for respondents in low poverty-risk areas is about when face-to-face school activities will return (47%).
- At the neighborhood unit (RT—the lowest level of administrative division in Indonesia) level, respondents did not get enough information about vaccination, both in high poverty-risk areas (32%) and low poverty-risk areas (27%).
- At the neighborhood unit-level, male respondents did not get enough information about school exam policies, while female respondents did not get enough information about online learning benefits.
- The majority of respondents relies heavily on social media (45%) compared to other media to obtain information about the pandemic.
 Facebook is the most popular social media for this purpose (62.35%).
- Television is the second-leading source of information for respondents to obtain information about the pandemic (31.5%), with tvOne being the most popular source for (53.50%) respondents.
- As many as 88% of respondents in this study admit to using communication channels at the neighborhood unit-level to obtain information on the pandemic.
- The majority of the respondents also tend to share information with friends and family (79.50%). This applies to both high and low poverty-risk areas.
- Our study found that media use does not necessarily correspond to media trust. Even though social media is the most widely used channel by the respondents, it is the mainstream media that they trust the most. This data is consistent both in high poverty-risk

areas (45%) and low poverty-risk areas (35%). Social media is the second most trusted platform for residents in high (23%) and low poverty-risk areas (23%).

- Direct interaction is an information channel that the respondents trust most in high poverty-risk (50%) and low poverty-risk areas (36%).
- The majority of the respondents (86.5%) consider the Indonesian government quite transparent on health issues. However, some respondents have the most negative perception of the government regarding the economic sector (37.5%).
- Respondents prefer to follow the central government (40%) as their source of pandemic-related information, compared to the ward unit (the administrative unit at the next-to-lowest level, consisting of several RTs/neighborhoods) or neighborhood unit (22%), DKI Jakarta administration (15%), health workers (11%), religious leaders (3.5%), families (2.5%) and other parties (6%).
- 66% of the respondents stated that they never communicate their problems related to the Covid-19 pandemic to the government. The most prominent reasons are: do not know how to (23.48%), do not believe the government will respond (10.61%), and the fear of experiencing bad things if they do so (4.55%).
- Overall, the respondents' perception of government performance and transparency in handling Covid-19 pandemic is low, especially in education and the economy. Regarding performance and transparency in education, 50% of respondents consider the government to be **not successful** or **not successful enough**, and 30.5% of respondents think that the government is **not transparent** or **not transparent enough**. Regarding performance and transparency in the economic sector, 68% of respondents considered the government to be **not successful** or **not successful enough** and

38.5% considered the government to be **not transparent** or **not transparent enough**.

• Only 1.5% of the respondents used government apps and websites, and only 3% trusted them.

Supply-Demand Gap for Information

- The Focus Group Discussions with respondents conclude that the main factor influencing their perceptions of government's transparency is not the budget accountability nor the government performance, but rather the extent to which the government's official information helps respondents gain access to social assistance and other pandemic relief programs.
- There is an information gap between the central government and the sub-district (*kelurahan*) level which creates coordination difficulties, especially on policy implementation.
- The central government instructions are what the respondents most comply with (40%), followed by neighborhood unit/ward unit (22%), DKI Jakarta Provincial Government (15%), and health workers (11%). The respondent's high level of compliance with central government poses challenges in the rule implementation on the ground especially given the inconsistencies in central and provincial policies. The problem arises as officers on the ground might implement provincial regulation, but citizens choose to comply with central government's rule.
- The citizen's low awareness and low use of the government's "digital solutions"—both presented by the central government and the provincial government of DKI Jakarta—shows that these solutions do not answer the needs of the respondents.

- Although the government has disseminated information through various channels, most respondents still have difficulties accessing practical information in critical sectors like healthcare, education, and the economy. For example, 40.58% of residents stated that they urgently need, but do not receive, information on how to access direct cash assistance programs from the neighborhood unit communication channels.
- The respondents' attention to information about PPKM (the quarantine policy) differs based on the economic characteristics of their residential areas. Respondents in high poverty-risk areas tend not to need this information, while it is in-demand in low poverty-risk areas.
- Our study finds no difference in demands of information to access economic-related information at the neighborhood-level because respondents in both areas equally needed information about the direct cash assistance.
- In the education sector, respondents in high poverty-risk areas demand more information about online learning benefits. On the other hand, respondents in low poverty-risk areas demand more information on face-to-face school activities.
- Gender-based differences in the demand for information between male and female respondents are most visible in education-related information.

Background



Background

Jakarta is one of the cities that suffered the hardest hit during the Covid-19 pandemic. As of October 3, 2021, Jakarta has recorded 858,069 Covid-19 positive cases, or 20.3% of the national cases, making it the city with the highest number of Covid-19 cases in Indonesia.

The pandemic affects not only public health but also various other aspects of life. It is estimated that the economic growth in Jakarta will decline by 2.36% in 2021 (idxchannel.com, 2021). Per July 2020, Jakarta's level of economic disparity has widened (Katadata.com, 2021). The poverty rate has reached its highest peak in the last 20 years at 4.72% (BPS Jakarta, in Katadata.com, 2021). In terms of education, the implementation of distance learning (PJJ) and the unequal distribution of infrastructure and digital literacy in Indonesia have hampered the teaching and learning process. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology estimated that students would need one month to catch up due to ineffective distance learning (CNNIndonesia. com, 2021).

The government has issued several policies to deal with the pandemic, with a total budget of Rp800 trillion in 2020 (CNNIndonesia.com, 2020). From this total portion, Jakarta is allocated a budget of IDR 10 trillion, most of which is distributed for social safety nets (Kompas.com, 2020). Accountability and transparency of the distribution are crucial due to the size of the budget and the critical nature of the pandemic response. For the policy to reach as many affected people as possible, an open and effective information system is non-negotiable.

This study seeks to understand the role of the information ecosystem of the citizen community of Jakarta in accessing various pandemic-related policies. This ecosystem includes the information supply (supply-side) and the demand for information (demand-side). By information supply, we mean information circulated by the government, the media, and the communities. while the demand for information refers to information needs in the communities related to Covid-19 pandemic. This study maps the pattern of information supply and demand to find gaps between the two that need to be filled.

This study is a baseline study to guide the implementation of the USAID-Internews "Media Empowerment for Democratic Integrity and Accountability" (Media) program by strengthening civil society's capacity to demand transparency and accountability of government policies.



Aldo Serena/Remotivi

An alleyway in Koja Sub-district, Neighborhood 007/Ward 009.

Methodology & Research Limitations







Methodology

We use *information ecosystem analysis* (IEA) as the main analytical framework in this research. IEA is an approach to look at the dynamics of the flow of information circulating in a community by taking three main elements into account: 1) information supply (*supply*), 2) information needs (*demand*), and 3) the gap between the two (*information gap*) (Internews, 2020). The IEA approach is applied in this study in the following ways:

Scope of Study

We chose Jakarta as our main research location. The main reason for this is because Jakarta is the capital city and one of the first cities to be affected by the pandemic (Velarosdela, **2021**). Jakarta is also the city with the highest health infrastructure in Indonesia.Therefore, by assessing what is happening in Jakarta, we can anticipate what would happen to other cities with poorer health infrastructure (Kusnandar, 2020). Jakarta is also the city with the highest number of Covid-19 cases to date. When we decided on DKI Jakarta as the research location in May 2020, Jakarta was the province with the highest number of Covid-19 cases with 4,546 cases (https://covid19.go.id/peta-sebarancovid19). Until early September 2021, DKI Jakarta remains the province with the highest number of accumulated cases, at 858,921 or 20.3% of the total number of cases.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the neighborhood unit (*Rukun Tetangga*—RT). We selected the neighborhood unit because it is the lowest administrative area where residents have daily interactions. Additionally, the neighborhood unit is often the main administrative unit spearheading the implementation of government policies (Alika, 2021). By choosing the neighborhood unit, we hope to be able to record the daily experiences of citizens facing the pandemic, and especially to see whether information about pandemic assistance meets or does not meet the real needs of the citizens.

We selected ten neighborhood units from ten sub-districts (*kelurahan*) in DKI Jakarta, equally representing the high poverty-risk and low poverty-risk areas. The sub-district selection was based on a survey conducted by the DKI Jakarta provincial government (*Pemprov*) entitled the 2019 DKI Jakarta Province Social Vulnerability Potential Index (Central Bureau of Statistics of DKI Jakarta Province, 2020). We used one of the indicators from the index, namely the poverty-risk index (from now on, IRK), to select ten sub-districts (kelurahan). These ten sub-districts were selected by considering the representation of the five administrative city areas in DKI Jakarta: North Jakarta, East Jakarta, Central Jakarta, West Jakarta, and South Jakarta. After successfully selecting ten sub-districts, we asked for recommendations from kelurahan officials regarding neighborhood units that reflected the characteristics of the IRK at the sub-district level. From these recommendations, we chose ten neighborhood units as our unit of analysis. Five sub-districts were categorized as high poverty-risk (Koja, Krendang, Tanah Tinggi, Cipinang Besar Utara, and Rawajati) while the other five were categorized as low poverty-risk (Papanggo, Tanjung Duren Selatan, Cempaka Putih Barat, Malaka Jaya, and Tebet TImur).

Research Methods

In implementing the IEA approach, we used five methods of data collection:

• Desk Research

We conducted desk research to describe the background of the circulation of information flows in Indonesia. We examined the results of past research and news that explained the context of the circulation of information, including overviews of the information landscape in Indonesia, the impact of the pandemic on the accountability crisis, and overviews of the information ecosystem in Indonesia. The results of this desk research became the material for writing the information supply section. The study of the literature took place from May to September 2021.

• Content Analysis

We also conducted a content analysis of mass media news from January 1, 2021, to June 30, 2021. We collected sample of news from two television stations (Metro TV and tvOne) and five online media outlets (Okezone, Detik, Kompas, Liputan6 and Kumparan). tvOne, RCTI, and Metro TV are the three most-watched television stations in Indonesia (Viva.co.id, 2020). We eliminated RCTI because it is not a news television channel. Meanwhile, the five online media chosen for this research are the top-ranked news portals in the Alexa index per September 27 2021, at 15:32 (when this research began). In other words, the main factor in selecting the media outlets analyzed in this study is the extent of their public reach.

From the two selected television channels, we collected our primary and backup samples. We used constructed week sampling, by which we chose two different dates with the same days in the content analysis research period. This is to ensure that every calendar day is represented in the news sample. After obtaining the sample, we coded the news based on five variables: News Topic, Resource Person, Information Source, News Origin, and News Dimension. To ensure the consistency of the coding process, we conducted a reliability test measuring the level of agreement between coders in the five content analysis variables. The intercoder reliability test showed a level of agreement above 80% for all media and variables.

• In-Depth Interview (IDI)

We conducted in-depth interviews at two levels: national and neighborhood levels. These two series of interviews took place between August and September 2021. All of our interviews were conducted online due to the pandemic situation.

The IDI informants at the national-level include government officials (either at the sub-district-level or provincial-level), civil society activists, and private communication consultants of the government. A total of 29 people were interviewed for in-depth interviews at the national level, and their composition is detailed as follows.



Gender of IDI Informants (National)



As for the informants at the neighborhood unit-level, we were looking for community leaders who could talk about the dynamics of the flow of pandemic information, especially on three variables: access to information, sources of information, and their experience in sharing information. We expected these leaders to share their experiences in receiving and seeking information in three sectors: economy, healthcare, and education. The figures were chosen to represent important groups such as the youth, religion, women, the business sector, and the health sector. For in-depth interviews at the neighborhood level, we conducted interviews with 52 people of various backgrounds from May-July 2021. The selection of these informants was mainly done through a technique of snowballing sampling recruitment where the informants recommend other relevant informants. The composition of informants is detailed as follows.









• Survey

We have conducted an online survey in August 2021. We targeted two hundred survey respondents who were divided into ten neighborhood units in the research area. We conducted a nonprobability sampling, so the survey results could not reliably reflect the population at the neighborhood unit level in Jakarta. All surveys were conducted online due to the pandemic.



Gender of Survey Respondents



Educational Level of Survey Respondents

Survey Respondents' Profession





• Focus Group (Focus Group Discussion/FGD)

We carried out online focus group discussions at the end of August 2021, with a focus on topics like the level of public trust in the central government, the DKI Jakarta provincial government, and sub-district administration. The group discussions also explored the participants' experience of government assistance in the economic, health, and education sectors. The discussion involved a total of 59 participants.









FGD Informants' Profession



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Research Limitations

Our research faces a number of limitations. The three main obstacles we encountered in this study were:

Bias in the Sub-district and Neighborhood Unit Selection

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the long time needed to obtain research permits at the sub-district administration, we had a hard time finding sub-districts willing to let us utilize their region as our research area. As a result, there are areas that may not fully reflect the high poverty-risk and low poverty-risk characteristics. The more we select sub-districts from our list of reserves, the more mixed their characteristics tend to be. For example, the Kelapa Gading Timur subdistrict had a poverty risk index (IRK) of 4.65, which is one of the areas with the lowest IRK. However, because of the difficulties in accessing the area, we were forced to choose the Papanggo Urban sub-district which is located in the North Jakarta area with an IRK of 19.30. Although that rate is still fairly low, this figure is not as extreme as the IRK in Kelapa Gading Timur sub-district.

Changes in the Research Stages due to the Pandemic

After getting 10 neighborhood units from 10 sub-districts in 5 administrative city areas of DKI Jakarta, we dispatched our field researchers to start the in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and surveys. But due to the implementation of restrictions on community activities (PPKM) which began on July 3, 2021, a change of schedule had to be made. After the in-depth interviews in July 2021, we had to prioritize the survey due to uncertainty of when the PPKM would end. We were afraid that we would not have the time to carry out the surveys. Additionally, the quarantine prevented us from carrying out the focus group discussions. At the end of August 2021, we decided to conduct the surveys first, and then close out with focus group discussions at the final stage of data collection.

Adaptation of Research Techniques due to the Pandemic

Due to the restrictions on community activities, we were forced to change our research method from offline to online. This condition hindered the research process because not all informants were familiar with online interactions. In addition, poor internet signals in high poverty risk areas sometimes hampered the interviews, since the field researchers were forced to repeat questions.

Content Analysis

Our media content analysis research faced limitations related to the monitoring period and the research instruments. The monitoring period we chose for online media and television news, which was during January-June 2021, resulted in a bias in our findings towards what we called the "healthcare period". The first semester of 2021 was marked by the government's intensive vaccination programs, which began on January 13, 2021. Due to the rigorous implementation of this program, health issues dominated other issues in the media. Furthermore, the government has imposed repeated quarantines in the past six months as the number of people infected with Covid-19 fluctuated.

Other than that, our research instrument only allowed us to monitor news topics through the analysis of the first three paragraphs of text news in online media and, in the context of television news, through the initial narration of news anchors before the pictures were rolled. This was done to avoid the complexity of the topics raised in the news. It is well known that a news article or report might contain more than one topic linked to one another. Therefore, our choice to focus on the topic of the first three paragraphs became a limitation of this study.

Additionally, our instrument was also not designed to analyze the framing of the news. In practice, the main keyword or theme contained in the news may not necessarily represent the framing of the news. For instance, vaccination-themed news can be framed in the context of national economic recovery policies. On the other hand, news on the state budget could be framed in the context of healthcare financing. In this sense, the monitoring carried out has the limitation of treating the topic as the "main subject of the news".



Muhammad Soufi Cahya Gemilang/Remotivi

Alleyway 2B, in Neighborhood 007/Ward 005, Tebet Timur Sub-district.

The Supply-Side of Information



The Supply-Side of Information

The Information Landscape

The Pandemic and Accountability Crisis in Indonesia

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country with the largest Muslim population in the world. In 2020, Indonesia's population is 270.2 million, of which 70.72% are of the productive age (15-64 years) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). The island of Java, which covers only 7% of Indonesia's territory, is an island inhabited by 56.10% of the population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Indonesia is classified as a lower middle income country (Hamadeh et al., 2021). As many as 10.14% of the population fall into the category of poor people (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Besides poverty, corruption is also still a serious problem where Indonesia is ranked 102nd out of 180 countries in the world in the Corruption Perceptions Index 2020 (Transparency International, 2020).

The study of Su et. al. (2021) on 23 world countries since the first reported case of Covid-19 (2019/12/31) to mid 2020 (2020/06/25) shows that the trend of efficiency in handling the pandemic in Indonesia has a U pattern. Indonesia had experienced an improvement in efficiency ratings in the middle of the pandemic, but it worsened again after that.



Cross-Countries Comparison of Covid-19 Mitigation Efficiency

Source: Su et. al., "An Examination of COVID-19 Mitigation Efficiency among 23 Countries", in *Healthcare*, 2021, 9 (6).

Poor efficiency in the government's pandemic response is closely related to the poor transparency and accountability of the officials and public agencies (ICW, **2020**). The audit from the Supreme Audit agency of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK RI), for example, highlighted the poor management of government assistance (Tempo, **2021**). The agency stated that, no matter how serious the pandemic, the government must not ignore accountability in the distribution of social assistance. But the fact is that the government has yet to draw up a reporting mechanism for state funds used to deal with the impact of the pandemic. Furthermore, BPK also found that many incentives and tax facilities for economic recovery were channeled to the wrong targets. The Rp 9 trillion pandemic response budget was also misused in ten ministries and institutions, more than half of which occurred within the Ministry of Social Affairs.

One of the major cases of mismanagement was revealed at the end of 2020, when the Minister of Social Affairs Juliari Batubara was arrested for accepting a bribe of Rp. 32.2 billion for the provision of social assistance during the pandemic. The state's loss was estimated to be at IDR 2 trillion (Media indonesia, 2021).

The revision of the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) Law in 2019 was considered by civil society organizations as a turning point in the weakening of corruption eradication efforts in Indonesia. The ratification of the revised law started a series of chaotic events within the KPK, ranging from serious ethical violations conducted by KPK chairman Firli Bahuri to the case of the "civic knowledge test" (*Tes Wawasan Kebangsaan*—a test that KPK employees had to take) which became the pretext for the dismissal of 59 KPK employees. But this weakening of the KPK's performance had actually occurred even before 2019, as indicated by the number of corruption cases investigated by the KPK which continued to decline after experiencing a peak in 2017 (KPK Statistics, processed by Katadata, 2021).



In the first half of 2021, the KPK took action on only 19% of its targets (ICW, 2021). So far, in the second half of 2021, the KPK had only cracked down on five cases of misuse of the Covid-19 budget. ICW (Indonesia Corruption Watch) monitoring (2020) throughout 2020 found 194 allegations of misuse of government assistance related to the pandemic. Most of the abuses were related to illegal levies (46 complaints), inclusion errors (43 complaints), and assistance not received (23 complaints). The types of government assistance with the most complaints were provincial government assistance (36 complaints) and Village Fund for Direct Cash Transfers (34 complaints). ICW also

received 45 non-abuse related complaints from residents about the government assistance, including complaints that the government assistance failed to help their situation, that affected groups did not receive aid, or general questions related to government assistance.

Overview of the Indonesian Media Ecosystem

The fall of the authoritarian and militaristic New Order regime in 1998 prompted reforms in various sectors. One of the main agendas of the Reformation was to ensure public accountability and information disclosure. The press industry has experienced dramatic changes after the revocation of the Press Publication Business License (SIUPP) and the passing of the 1999 Press Law. This situation allowed the press industry to be run by entrepreneurs outside the New Order circle, and anyone could become a journalist without being a member of the Indonesian Journalists Association (the only journalist professional organization sanctioned by the New Order). Inevitably, thousands of new media companies appeared in the early days of this change.

Between 2014-2016, the Press Council (in Prasetyo, 2017, p. 14) estimated that there were around 47 thousand media outlets in Indonesia. As many as 43 thousand of them are online media and another 2-3 thousand are print media outlets. However, from this number, only 168 online media and 321 print media have passed the Press Council's verification process as professional media. In 2015, the Press Council noted that there were 674 radio stations and 523 television stations throughout Indonesia.

In 2008, the Public Information Disclosure Act was passed and the Public Information Commission was established. This commission was formed to standardize technical guidelines for public information services and resolve public information disputes. The spirit of public accountability brought about by this reform has been going strong

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for 23 years. But, in the human rights sector (VoA indonesia, 2015), the military sector (Imparsial, 2019), or the anticorruption sector (ICW, 2010), the improvements on the right to information and public expression are stagnating. In the media industry sector, stagnation occured on all platforms with unique challenges on each platform.

Television is a medium with a penetration rate of 96% in 2017 (Nielsen, 2017). This dominance had an effect on advertising revenue: television controlled 85% of the advertising spending portion in 2019 (Nielsen, 2019). Currently, the television industry in Indonesia is controlled by only a handful of large companies, all of which are based in Jakarta. Apart from actually violating the Broadcasting Law which mandated networked broadcasts (Networked Station System—SSJ), this centralization also caused inequality between broadcasting industry actors in Jakarta and outside of Jakarta.



Muhammad Fawwaz Rifasya/Remotivi

One of the corners of the residential area in the Neighborhood Unit 005/Ward 002, Sub-District Tanjung Duren Selatan, Jakarta Barat.


Muhammad Soufi Cahya Gemilang/Remotivi

A view of the *Kompleks Rumah Susun* (Low-cost Apartments Compound) Klender in Malaka Jaya Sub-district, East Jakarta.

TVRI is the only public TV station in Indonesia. TVRI's status as public TV was established after the issuance of the Broadcasting Law in 2002. During the previous decades, TVRI was a propaganda tool controlled by the government. To this day, TVRI has not succeeded in carrying out its role as an ideal public television and is often plagued by internal conflicts full of practical political interests.

Although television is the media with the highest penetration, the public prefers digital media (including social media) as their news source (Newman et al., 2021, p. 137). In this context, Detik.com, Kompas.com, and CNNIndonesia.com are the most widely accessed mediums (Newman et al., 2021, p. 137). News sites consistently dominate the sites with the highest traffic in Indonesia. On September 20, 2021, for example, 7 of the 10 most accessed sites in Indonesia were news sites (Alexa.com, September 20, 2021). However, digital journalism products were often considered problematic, plagued by cases of inaccuracy, sensationalism, and discrimination (Remotivi, 2019; Remotivi, 2021).

Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, the print media was already facing serious economic challenges. This situation forced many media to apply some measures, from reducing the number of pages and publication days, migrating to digital media, mass terminations of workers, or, worse, stopping publication forever. Citing Nielsen, the Alliance of Independent Journalists noted that there were 16 newspapers and 38 magazines out of business in 2015 (Yuganto, 2015). In spite of a drastic shift in the consumption pattern of news readers from print to digital, the print media still survived with a penetration rate of 8% due to the reader's trust factor on their information (Nielsen, 2017).

Apart from that, Indonesia's progress on strengthening freedom of press and of expression is also stagnating. Although Indonesia experienced an increase in ranking in the World Press Freedom Index from 119th in 2020 to 113th in 2021 (Reporters Without Borders, 2021), press freedom in Indonesia is still in the red or poor category. Apart from the concentration of media ownership in eight giant corporations (Tapsell, 2017), this low ranking is caused by other factors like the cases of violence against journalists, the censoring of information from and in West Papua, and the existence of a number of easily abused articles in the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (ITE), which had imprisoned people for defamation charges.

Amnesty International Indonesia noted that in 2020 alone there were 119 cases related to the ITE Law with a total of 141 suspects, including 14 activists and 4 journalists. LBH Pers also recorded 117 cases of violence against journalists during 2020 (katadata.co.id). In addition, in the last few years there has also been a trend of information manipulation by buzzers and cyber troops, who had silenced critics in the digital world by hijacking social media accounts, blocking sites, blacking out internet access, and doxxing personal identities. SAFEnet (2020) assessed that digital freedom in Indonesia is under threat from authoritarianism.

Public Communication Policy during the Covid-19 Pandemic

The Indonesian government has issued a series of policies to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic. This study examined a number of policies and their implementation that have an impact on pandemic response in general and the dissemination of information in particular. The main findings of this policy implementation review can be divided into three: 1) economic recovery prioritization, 2) control of information and expression, and 3) weak coordination.

Prioritization on Economic Recovery

There are two policies we need to look at to understand the government's priorities in dealing with the pandemic. The first policy is the Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2020 which came out in March 2020. Through this policy, the Covid-19 Task Force (*Gugus Tugas Covid-19*) was formed. The second policy product is the Presidential Regulation Number 82 of 2020 which appeared four months later in July 2020. Through this decision, the government formed a new committee called the Committee for the Handling of Covid-19 and the Recovery of the National Economy (KPCPEN) as a supervisory body to oversee the Covid-19 Task Force was formed.

The Covid-19 Task Force, which was formed first, was made to deal with the pandemic as a healthcare issue only. In addition to the Ministry of Health as the director, the National Disaster Management Agency was also responsible for overseeing the work of the Task Force.

In July 2020, through the Presidential Regulation, the Covid-19 Task Force was subsumed under the KPCPEN. Such restructuration indicated a shift in priority. Apart from the Covid-19 Task Force, the KPCPEN also oversees the Policy Committee and the National Economic Recovery Task Force (hereinafter, the Economic Task Force). The focus of pandemic response has then shifted from the healthcare aspect to economic recovery. This can be seen, for example, by the election of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto as the leader of the KPCPEN, who is authorized to provide recommendations on pandemic response to the president.

The central government's regulation on public communications also reflected this. The Decree of the Minister of Health Number 413 of 2020, for example, regulated guidelines for Risk Communication and Community Empowerment (*Komunikasi Risiko dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, or KRPM). The guidelines adopted the Risk Communication and Community Engagement Readiness and Response to Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) issued by the World Health Organization (WHO). Interestingly, KRPM added one key actor not included in the WHO guidelines, the entrepreneurs and "private partners". For areas with spiking covid cases, KRPM emphasized that "it is necessary to mitigate the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic so the wheels of the economy can still turn".

Apart from KRPM, the Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 1 of 2020 also reflected the government's economic priorities. The regulation stated that budget reallocations were to be instructed to local governments for capacity building purposes to "handle the economic impact, especially to keep their respective regional businesses alive." The economic strategies mainly took the form of procurement of food and basic necessities; incentives for reducing or exempting local taxes, as well debt repayment extensions; providing stimulus to small industries; and dealing with other economic impacts.

This shift from health crisis to economic recovery sparked a public outcry. In a national survey conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute in September 2020, 60.5% of respondents thought that health should be the government's top priority over the economy (Media Indonesia,

2021). In addition, the involvement of private actors in dealing with the pandemic raised the suspicion that they could use the pandemic to make profit. This view is reinforced by the opinion of a civil society activist who thought that the pandemic was being used as a profitmaking scheme. She said:

Our health minister came from a BUMN (state-owned corporation). He brought a lot of special staff from that BUMN, so that clearly reflected that he is actually a representation of political-economic interests trying to take advantage of the pandemic through official institutions, that should have been respectful, trusted institutions. (Civil society activist, woman)

Control on Information and Expression

Apart from economic issues, social stability is prioritized by the government and in some cases, at the expense of transparency and accountability. The key mechanism for this is by suppressing information that has the potential to cause controversy or public disturbances. This was done in two ways: 1) limiting the information released by the government and 2) limiting the way the media covers the pandemic.

The first strategy was done through a number of policy products, for example, through the way KRPM adopted WHO guidelines. WHO guidelines mentioned the need to "communicate what is and is not known: explain the extent of uncertainty" (World Health Organization, 2020). This formulation was adopted by KRPM as a stipulation that the government "communicates information that should and should not be known by the public by explaining the extent of uncertainty that occurs." This difference emphasizes that the government has the right to keep information that should not be known by the YHO with the public. The government's right is different from the principle adopted by the WHO

guideline which urges the authorities to always be transparent about the pandemic in order to avoid confusion in the community.

In addition to information control, there are also policy products regulating how the government communicates with the public. This is stated in the Circular Letter of the Minister of Health Number 199 of 2020 concerning Communication for Coronavirus Disease Response 2019 (Covid-19). The letter explicitly stated that government public communications should avoid using words such as "critical", "crisis", and "similar terms".

Similar actions also happened in the government's efforts to control media coverage on the pandemic. The Circular Letter of the Minister of Communication and Information Technology Number 6 of 2020 was made as a guideline for new communication custom in the Covid-19 pandemic situation intended for various information actors, including state officials, journalists, and other stakeholders. The guideline called on journalists to "avoid using adjectives that can increase public anxiety." Journalists also needed to "avoid publishing any content that triggers public panic." This tendency is confirmed by the excerpts from an interview with a government communications consultant:

We'll be the one to package what message is right for the public, which supports the government's data transparency policy, but also doesn't make the public noisy and doesn't make the public anxious. So, there are some things that are important for us to share with the public, but there are also some things that are not too urgent for the public to know. Transparent doesn't mean naked, right? (Government communications consultant, male)

The government's authority to categorize information that should not be made public is contradictory to the government's principle of public communication in the Decree of the Minister of Health which mandates the government to "immediately provide updated information transparently, even though it is incomplete, to explain the situation (manage uncertainty), providing a channel for communication that is easily accessible for the public to get the latest information (e.g. hotlines, official websites, official social media, etc.)" (Decree of the Minister of Health Number 413 of 2020, 146).

These conflicting principles raised some criticism from people who accused the government of withholding critical information about the pandemic. For example, during the pandemic, people often criticized the government for lack of transparency on test results, tracing, and the mortality rate of Covid-19 cases to the public (Rojani, 2020). A civil society activist corroborated this critique:

The routine information [to be publicly announced] is only about the number of confirmed cases, recoveries, and deaths. No [information on] tracing. Until now, actually, the data about tracing is still not very good, and even nothing about testing. Well, the data exists but it's never been communicated. (Civil society activist, woman)

In addition, the government also wanted to maintain their credibility in the eyes of the public by underreporting the number of daily death cases. About data transparency on cases and deaths caused by Covid-19, a civil society activist said:

They [the government] don't want to [be transparent]. They want their jurisdiction to look good, [as if] there were no cases and not many deaths, so they try to cover it up. In this case, what's being controlled is the data, not the disease. So [being transparent] is not only a matter of what is publicly available or not on an official website or the government's official Covid publication channel... And then, sometimes, they [government officers] get WhatsApp messages from their superiors instructing a restriction of testing at the Primary Health Care Center (Puskesmas) in certain periods. Nonetheless, [in front of the patients] the Primary Health Care cannot refuse to provide the requested health service, so they must still do the test. But [it is uncertain] whether the sample [taken in the restriction period] is counted or not by the laboratory. Maybe they [the Primary Health Care Center] just sent the sample but then it was held off and only counted and included as the positive case in the next testing period. (Civil society activist, woman)

Poor Coordination

In dealing with the pandemic, each government institution has their own agenda, so it is difficult to see them as a solid, unified, body. They tried to be seen as a solid group of actors representing one common interest, but the opposite has happened. For example, the Covid-19 Task Force and the KCPCN together with the Economic Task Force have two different, and not always in line, priorities: public health and economy. These differences in inter-institutional interests were also highlighted in our interview with a central government communications consultant. It says:

The Ministry of Health has its own [interest], the Ministry of Education and Culture has its own [interest]. Now, the one who is trying to sew them together is the KPCPEN, which is responsible for public communication. [...] But, they did it in a sectoral way, for healthcare they bind (their interests) with the Ministry of Health, for education they bind with the Ministry of Education and Culture, for social assistance they bind with the Ministry of Social Affairs. (Government communications consultant, male) Not only at the inter-agency level, clashes also occurred between national and local regulations, which made it difficult to implement policies on the field. This, for example, can be seen from the statement of a sub-district official in Krendang, West Jakarta:

There is a difference in rules by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Jakarta's Governor regulation. The Ministry of Home Affairs told us [to instruct business owners] to close at 8 PM, but they can still open 24 hours for takeaway only. However, the governor's regulation told us to close at 8 (for all purposes). So, we [officers on the ground] face a rather ambiguous rule. Meanwhile, many local businesses struggle to accept this regulation, so it is understandable that there are some resistances. But, fortunately, we can negotiate with them more humanely, by telling them, for example, "Yes, takeaway is still possible," so that they can accept [the restriction]. And, from our end, we can't help but follow the Ministry of Home Affairs as a guideline rule. (Krendang Sub-district Official, male)

Fragmented Digital Solutions

Since the beginning of the pandemic in Indonesia, the government has developed various digital platforms intended to help deal with Covid-19. In March 2020, KCPEN launched **covid19.go.id**, the government's official website which was projected to be the one-stop source for all official information about Covid-19. In addition to the national website, each province and district/city also had their own official website (a list of sites can be found at **kawalcovid19.id**). However, the performance of this site-based information system is still lacking. Farizi and Harmawan's (2020) research on the government's official website found three main problems in the government's information system during the pandemic: 1) information inconsistency, 2) lack of data transparency, and 3) confusion caused by poor data synchronization. The improvement of the Covid-19 data management system, which has been carried out since November 2020, has been slow. Up to August 2021, only Central Java has been integrated with data from the central *Pusdatin* (Data and Information Center) (jatengprov.go.id, 2021). Consequently, differences often crop up between the central government's and the regions' data.

The official local government website also has its own problems, especially in the unequal features. The official website of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government (corona.jakarta.go.id), for example, has more diverse features. In addition to the Covid-19 statistical data in Jakarta, this site also has features enabling users to check for recipients of government assistance and register for vaccinations. This site is also connected to the Jakarta Kini (JAKI) application platform, a digital city management platform developed by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. Meanwhile, the Central Java website (corona.jatengprov. go.id) only provides a list of information and without any access to online services.

In addition to the websites, the government has also developed a number of digital applications related to Covid-19. In addition to the PeduliLindungi application developed by the Ministry of Communication and Information which was launched in August 2021, there are also 10 Rumah Aman developed by the Presidential Staff Office, United Against COVID-19 (BLC) developed by KCPEN, and SIRANAP RS developed by the Ministry of Health.

The local governments also follow this step. The West Java Provincial Government developed PIKOBAR, DI Yogyakarta developed Cared+, the West Sulawesi Provincial Government developed PaPa Sulbar, Bandung Regency developed Sawarna, and the City of Bandung developed PUSICOV. DKI Jakarta took a different step by integrating services around Covid-19 with the digital platform that it already had, Jakarta Kini (JAKI).

The development of e-governance through digital technology was referring to the Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2003 concerning the National Policy and Strategy for the Development of E-Government (2003). Although the adoption of digital technology has great potential in improving public services, the widespread trend of making applications about Covid-19 did not appear to be accompanied by good coordination. Some of these apps have similar, potentially overlapping, features. For example, the Jogja Pass featured in the Yogyakarta Government's Cared+ application is a tracking and tracing application similar to PeduliLindungi. 10 Rumah Aman, BLC, and Cared+ applications function as self-screening applications , while also providing general data about the Covid-19 condition. Sawarna Bandung Regency and PUSICOV Bandung City have similar features, presenting statistical information about Covid-19 in their respective areas.

In addition to websites and mobile apps, the government also used social media platforms as information and communication channels about the pandemic. There are various official government accounts related to Covid-19. On Instagram alone, KCPEN and Kemenkominfo maintained @lawancovid19_id, @satgasperubahanperilaku, and @mulaidarikamu_id for campaign purposes. Each of these accounts produced similar content and information.

Information Flow About the Pandemic in Jakarta

Information dissemination by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government followed the principles set by the central government. The orientation towards stability and government credibility was also adopted by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government in disseminating information about the pandemic. In their public communication, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government adapted their communication strategies and message packaging according to the existing discourses in social media. This was revealed by an official of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government's Communications, Information and Statistics Agency (*Diskominfotik*):

So, there is an analysis team who collected issues. That's usually [the issues] that we report to the leadership. Later, based on the analysis, whether the tone is positive, negative, and so on, the leadership will finally decide on a policy about what information we will convey, including the communication models or communication strategies, whether we can convey enough with infographics or if we need to issue a press release. (Diskominfotik Officer, male)

In creating information, *Diskominfotik* consulted the relevant Regional Work Units (SKPD). In this consultation they verified and validated the information obtained as the raw material for public communication products. These products will later be distributed through channels like the mass media, webinars, or social media. In addition to using conventional and social media channels, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government also relied on messaging applications to reach the ward and neighborhood unit (two lowest levels of regional administration) levels, especially WhatsApp. There is a WhatsApp network, as I said earlier, in the neighborhood-ward levels, which is managed by the Government Bureau. Now, this Government Bureau became the coordinator of the regional administration, in terms of us using their WA group to deliver or disseminate the information that we have created. (Diskominfotik Officer, male)

Although the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government used various communication channels to reach the community, they are also aware that the information may not reach the ward and neighborhood unit levels. To anticipate this, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government made information in the form of, for example, infographics. These infographics were then given to the ward and neighborhood units to be distributed to the residents. The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government considered this type of information to be more accessible for the public.

Then the question is, can all people in Jakarta access the internet and so on? Not all. People who are on the outskirts, who are not—say—not yet digitally literate, they can only make phone calls. They don't know how to use SMS either. So, we have these infographics and we recommend that the regional officials, like the ward and neighborhood unit officials, print the infographic information themselves for distribution to the public. It may be difficult to print a lot. Maybe the sub-district usually gave one to the ward, who then distributed it to the neighborhood levels. (Diskominfotik Officer, male)

The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government also evaluated communications by asking for proof of the arrival of information to the public at the ward and neighborhood levels. One way is to ask for proof from the Government Bureau regarding the extent to which information is disseminated and understood by the public. So, we don't just give this [information] to the Government Bureau, and say "please spread this." That's not enough. We asked for the proof. Why? We also have to provide this proof to the leadership, in this case Mr. Governor. Has this information really reached the public? Also, has the information conveyed to the public by the community been understood, or not? Well, the way to see whether it is understood or not is from the responses and actions of those who previously did not understand, did not know. The person who didn't want the vaccine at first, ended up wanting the vaccine. That is the indicator to tell that the message arrived and has been well understood. (Diskominfotik Officer, male)



Muhammad Soufi Cahya Gemilang/Remotivi

The main alleyway to Neighborhood Unit 007/Ward 005, Cipinang Besar Utara. Located a bit far from the main street of Cipinang Besar Utara, these small alleys (with a passage for a maximum of two motorcycles) are the main access that connect this densely populated settlement to the other neighborhood units.

On-Site Obstacles

Sub-districts played an important role in implementing and supervising pandemic response policies. When they received the information from the Central Government and DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, they admitted that they had no difficulty understanding what they had to do. The utilization of WhatsApp group networks with the ward and neighborhood administration is also considered an effective strategy for conveying information.

We mapped at least three obstacles faced by sub-districts in carrying out their pandemic response duties. First, the sub-district complained about the habits of citizens who refused to obey health protocols. This happens both in high and low poverty-risk areas

The people sometimes still took off their masks, said it's difficult to breathe, or that they had problems [with masking up], whatever. That's one. Second, that they were eating or something when we caught them red-handed in patrols. We conducted those with related sectors, the municipal police (Satpol PP), Dishub (the Department of Transportation). We always held [patrols] day and night. (Tanah Tinggi Sub-district Official, female)

Well, [regarding health protocols for worship place] the mosque caretaker said, this communal worship does not exceed the limit and is carried out in line with health protocols. There are temperature checks, hand-washing, it won't take too much time, there is social distancing. We asked them to close down, but there were still worshipers coming in to pray there. (Krendang Sub-district Official, male) Second, the sub-district administration also has limited resources due to the large number of tasks that must be completed, the short time, and the work from home policy (WFH), which prevents sub-district offices from operating at full capacity. This, for example, was conveyed by an official from Krendang Sub-district:

Yes, indeed these instructions kept coming. First, the subdistrict itself had limited human resources due the WFH rules, which made us a little overwhelmed. The amount of activity is not reduced, but our human resources are reduced by WFH. We have nine personnel, divided by two. These are the difficulties we face in the field as we channel instructions from the Governor or the Regional Secretary to my community. So indeed, from our side there are difficulties personnel-wise because of the WFH. This stopped us from working optimally. (Krendang Subdistrict Official, male)

In addition to the personnel shortage, the minimal amount of government assistance is also an obstacle, especially in urban high poverty-risk areas. Sub-district officials assessed that the amount of aid did not match the number of residents in need. Sub-districts sometimes had to divide intended aid to the residents. This, for example, was stated by an official from the *Kelurahan* Koja:

Yes. Indeed, there are those who did not receive their share, "Why is that? That's my name!" But this is how we got them [the list of aid recipients] from the government. There are people who did not get aid, instead of letting them start a ruckus, sir, we told those who got their share to sincerely help those who didn't. So we divided them equally. (Koja Sub-district official, female)

Media Agenda Setting: Dominated by Jakarta and Health Issues

From the 445 online news media articles and 180 television news reports that we analyzed, we found that health issues became the main agenda of the media during the first half of 2021. In general, news about vaccination, BPJS health insurance, and healthcare infrastructure were reported by the five online media as much as 191 times, and 125 times on television.

News on vaccination, which appeared 90 times on television and 116 times in online media coverage, dominated the two platforms. On television, these generally discussed vaccination activities involving government officials, including *Polri* and TNI institutions. Other than that, television news also discussed government policies on the types of vaccines used, vaccine achievement targets, and penalties for vaccine refusal.

Media coverage of vaccination in online media closely resembled the news television, which discussed vaccination activities and government policies. However, online media coverage presented a more diverse range of sources and involved many officials at the local level.

It is necessary to place these findings under the context of our observation period. The prevalence of the vaccination topic in our findings are influenced by the data collection period chosen for this research, which was between January to June 2021. Early January 2021 was the moment that the government's vaccination program started (January 13, 2021). Since then, news about vaccine safety, access to vaccines, and government efforts to ensure vaccine availability has dominated the public sphere. Moreover, from January 11 to July 2021, the government implemented PPKM (Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities) quarantines in various regions in Indonesia. The peak of which occurred on July 3 to July 25 2021, when PPKM

emergency social restrictions were strictly applied in most parts of Indonesia due to the rapid spreading of the virus Covid-19 **after** *lebaran* (Eid holidays). After July 26, 2021, the government decreased the emergency level of PPKM from level 4 to level 3 as a reaction to the decline in Covid-19 cases. Along with that, the government's public communication began to shift towards a focus on economic recovery, marked by the President's speech on national economic recovery after the ratification of the 2022 State Revenue and Expenditure Budget Bill (APBN) on 30 September 2021.

This findings also suggest the prevalence of "statement journalism" in Indonesian media, in which journalists rely on the statement of public figures or officials, which meant that their agenda tend to mirror the government's agenda. This was found, among other things, in the research on vaccination coverage (Heychael, 2020) or the media coverage on the homelessness issue at the beginning of the year (Rangga Naviul Wafi, 2021).



Muhammad Soufi Cahya Gemilang/Remotivi

Bassura Apartment as seen from a street-corner in Cipinang Besar Utara, East Jakarta.

Television and Online Media Reporting Patterns

We found that there were significant differences in reporting patterns between television and online media. One of the most striking is that there were only 52 news articles about the PPKM quarantine policies that were covered on television, compared to the 4971 news articles about PPKM in online media. However, these 52 news stories were eliminated in the sampling process using the constructed week approach.¹ Consequently, this study did not analyze television news about PPKM.

In the television, news on Covid-19 generally revolved around policy events or policy-related events. "Policy events" are moments when the government, both central and local, made press releases related to PPKM, vaccination implementation, etc. Meanwhile, "policy-related events" are the responses of the public or observers to said releases. Television news coverage generally focused on certain momentums or major events, like when the President Joko Widodo became the first recipient of the Covid-19 vaccine or when hospital capacities were exceeded due to the large number of Covid-19 patients. This is why, despite the fact that the PPKM quarantine was in effect for the majority of the year, news about it only appeared when there were major changes to the policy. Outside of such cases, the television did not give much coverage due to the limited amount of air-time.

¹ This approach was done by selecting a calendar day (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday). From each calendar day, we choose two different dates. As an illustration, we chose two Sundays with different dates, namely January 17 and April 18, and Mondays with May 3 and June 28. This was repeated for other calendar days. The purpose of selecting two calendar days with different dates is to ensure each calendar day is included in our analysis and represents the other date.

Compared to television news, online media took a different approach. The data showed that online media tend to approach news issues in a reactionary way because of the time pressure in publishing. Online media produced a lot of news from viral contents on social media, or produced a lot of news items from one event or topic by changing the angle of the news. For example, news about the announcement of quarantine extensions or public protests against quarantine implementation can be written into several news stories with different angles or using statements from different sources. As a result, it is not a surprise that the news coverage of the PPKM quarantine in online media ranked second after news on vaccination with 95 articles, only 21 articles fewer than the total of 116 articles on vaccination.

Similar to the PPKM quarantine, education issues, including educational assistance for schools, teachers, and students, have also received less attention from television. Between January to June 2021, tvOne and Metro TV each only reported on education assistance once, far less from the online media which produced thousands of news on education assistance within the same period.

To what extent did the national media focus on Jakarta?

Within the six months monitoring period, news from Jakarta dominated the coverage of both online media and television.

Regional Origin of News	Television	Online
Jakarta	41%	59,1%
Cities Other Than Jakarta	47%	18,2%
Jakarta and Other Cities	2%	0,4%
Not mentioned	10%	21,8%
Overseas	0%	0,4%
Total	100% (180)	100 (445)

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF TELEVISION AND ONLINE NEWS

News from Jakarta dominated the national media coverage, but it is more obvious in online media than television. In online media, there were almost 3 times more news about Jakarta than about other cities, on television news Jakarta and other cities are only 11 news apart.

In line with the general findings that health issues were dominant, health issues also dominated news from Jakarta. In television, the dominant topic was vaccination. While in online media there were two main topics: vaccination and the PPKM quarantines. As we explained earlier, in television, PPKM is generally only reported when the government announced a new policy, which prevented the topic from being captured by our sampling method.

Topics	Jakarta	Outside Jakarta	Jakarta and Other Cities	Not mentioned
Non-health	29,7%	28,2%	75%	35,3%
Health	70,3%	71,8%	25%	64,7%
Total	100% (74)	100% (85)	100% (4)	100% (17)

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF TELEVISION NEWS

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF ONLINE NEWS

Topics	Jakarta	Jakarta and Other Cities	Overseas	Apart from Jakarta	Not mentioned
Non- health	30,8%	100%	50%	29,6%	53,6%
Health	69,2%	-	50%	70,4%	46,4%
Total	100% (263)	100% (2)	100% (2)	100% (81)	100% (97)

Other than news frequency, this research also tried to measure the relevance of news from Jakarta to local needs of the people of Jakarta. We measured this by comparing the area of origin of the news with the dimensions of the news. We determined the dimensions of the news from the source persons quoted in the news. The choice of source person indicated the regional scope of the news. We split the categories of the source persons into national and local. News citing sources from local officials will almost certainly raise issues at a local level and vice versa. In other words, the more local a news story is, the more relevant it is to the audience that consumes it.

We found that, both on television and in online media, the majority of news sources are executive officials at the central level.

ONLINE MEDIA SOURCE PERSONS

Central government	39,3%
Non-Jakarta local government	11,3%
Ad hoc team formed by the government	7,1%
DKI Jakarta Provincial Government	5,7%
Police	4,6%
Health professionals/experts	5,7%
Non-ministerial state agencies	2,8%
Educator/education support staff	1,4%
Others	17,2%
No source person/unclear	4,8%
Total	100%

Total number of source persons 702

TELEVISION SOURCE PERSONS

Central government	28%
DKI Jakarta Provincial Government	6,8%
Non-Jakarta Regional Government	10,1%
Non-ministerial institutions	2,4%
Health professionals/experts	5,8%
Police	2,4%
No source person/unclear	32,4%
Locals	4,8%
Others	7,2%
Total	100%

Total number of source persons 207

As a result, as can be seen in the table below, the number of local news in Jakarta was still quite significant both on television (31.8%) and in online media (46%).

Origin of News	Interlocal	International	Local	National	Not mentioned
Jakarta	-	20%	31,8%	72,8%	42,9%
Jakarta and other cities	100%	-	-	-	2,4%
Overseas	-	40%	-	-	-
Outside of Jakarta	-	-	66,4%	2,1%	4,8%
Not mentioned	-	40%	1,8%	25,1%	50%
Total	1	5	110	287	42

ONLINE NEWS DIMENSION

TELEVISION NEWS DIMENSION

Origin of News	Interlocal	Local	National	Not mentioned
Jakarta	-	31%	46%	23%
Jakarta and other cities	-	-	50%	50%
Outside of Jakarta	11%	59%	13%	17%
Not mentioned	-	11.8%	76.5%	11.7%
Total	9	75	60	36

Our findings highlighted two things: the sheer number of news from Jakarta and that these news had a significant local dimension. This is unsurprising considering how centralized the media industry ecosystem of Indonesia is in Jakarta (Tirto.id, **2018**). The centralization of media offices and their supporting industries in Jakarta resulted in a focus on the city and its surroundings in the media coverage. This centralization of the media economy produced news that was made by, from and for the citizens of Jakarta.

The effect of this centralization is noticeably stronger in online media. This is indicated by the disparity in the number of news from Jakarta compared to news from outside Jakarta, which is much larger in online media than television (see table "Regional of Origin of Online News"). The pattern of online news production could have contributed to this disparity. The production of quick, daily news in large quantities created a focus on coverage that is Jakarta-centric. Economically, this practice makes sense, since covering news in Jakarta required lower production costs.

The Demand-Side of Information



The Demand-Side of Information

The Need of Information from Media: Economy as Dominant Factor

We asked the residents targeted in our study: what information did they need that they didn't get from the mass media? We used two data collection methods to answer that question: surveys and FGDs. In the survey, as explained in the methodology section, the "citizen" variable was classified based on two categories: economy and gender. After analysis, we found that gender had no significant impact on all aspects of information needs. For this reason, the presentation of the findings in this section will focus more on the variations of information needs based on sub-district economies as proxied in the variations between areas with low-risk and high-risk of poverty.

The two categories of information that the respondents needed most in the context of health were "PPKM" (quarantine) and "Covid-19 treatment". These findings are consistent, both for people in high and low poverty-risk areas.

Information topics	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Medicines	24,5%	23,3%
None	23,4%	13,2%
PPKM/quarantine	18,1%	14,0%
Vaccination	13,8%	14,0%
Testing and tracing	6,4%	10,9%
BPJS health insurance	4,3%	5,4%
Telemedicine	4,3%	10,1%
Others	2,2%	3,9%
Covid-19 prevention	1,1%	0%
Healthcare worker incentives	1,1%	3,1%
Healthcare facilities	1,1%	2,3%
Total	100	100

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It is interesting to observe the demand for information on medicines for Covid-19 treatment. This data showed that the citizens were mainly concerned about "cure" or "medication" rather than "prevention" of the disease. In the FGD session, we found that there were two key needs for medicine-related information: 1) the information about effective drugs to treat the symptoms of Covid-19 and 2) the information about accessing free medicines from the *Puskesmas* (Primary Health Care Center).

What Covid medicines should you take, where can you get it. The information [about medication] to be communicated to the public should be official, you know, the legitimate, patented medications. (Student, female, low poverty-risk, South Tanjung Duren) I think [the medicine is] for people who are self-isolating, I also don't know because I haven't seen anyone from the Puskesmas (Primary Health Care Center) delivering medicine to the self-isolating people's home. (Private employee, male, high poverty-risk area, Krendang)

In the economic context, the two issues that surfaced were information about "pre-employment cards" and "Direct Cash Assistance".

Information topics	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Direct Cash Assistance	41%	29%
Pre-employment cards	19%	23%
Don't know	15%	9%
Employee wage subsidy	6%	7%
Business-hour limitation	5%	9%
Micro, small, and medium enterprises	4%	2%
Electricity tariff incentive	3%	7%
Other social assistances	3%	9%
Others	2%	5%
Total	100	100

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR ECONOMIC INFORMATION, BASED ON SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

There are two ways to interpret these findings. First, that the pandemic has affected high and low poverty-risk people equally. Although information on government assistance is more demanded by those under high poverty-risk, similar information is also demanded by those in low poverty-risk areas. Second, this data can also be read as methodologically biased. With the difficulty in conducting field research in low poverty-risk areas, we had to change a number of sample regions to more closely reflect the poverty-risk status in the index.

Based on the findings of the focus group discussion, the most in-demand information about Direct Cash Assistance are about the procedures to claim the assistance and who is entitled to receive it. Respondents admitted that the information related to this is often confusing. Several respondents questioned the frequency of aid distribution. Others questioned whether beneficiaries should have been vaccinated or not.

Yes, it is challenging that the timing of [cash assistance] distribution doesn't fit [our needs]. At first, it was right because it is distributed monthly. But now, two months of assistance is distributed at once every two months. (Merchant, female, high poverty-risk area, Central Jakarta)

Most of the native [long-time] residents of neighborhood unit 7 didn't even get it, like my parents didn't get it. But, newly registered residents, like those with the new registered KK (family card), who just registered at the beginning of Covid, got it. (Private employee, male, high poverty-risk area, East Jakarta)

Meanwhile, related to the PPKM quarantines, respondents questioned the unclear information on business practices during the PPKM. Generally, the information demand on the PPKM had an economic context. People felt that the confusion around the PPKM practices made it difficult for them to run their businesses, as revealed from a quote in the FGD session below. For example, if the operating hours are limited ... it will be a problem for merchants, who lost profit. Then yes, it affected their revenues, right? (Neighborhood administration chief, Male, high poverty-risk area, East Jakarta)

In the field of education, as revealed in the survey, the information demanded by the high and low poverty-risk people are the information on "face-to-face study plans" and "internet quota benefits for online learning".

Information topics	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Internet quota benefits for online learning	36%	27%
Face-to-face study plans	33%	47%
Exam policies	15%	0%
None	7%	22%
School fee benefits	3%	2%
Gadget lending	3%	0%
School registration	0%	2%
Total	100	100

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR EDUCATION-RELATED INFORMATION, BASED ON SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Similar to the health and economic sectors, the need for information in the educational sector is generally related to the citizen's confusion about procedures to access social assistance. As revealed in the statement of an FGD participant:

I used to get [internet quota benefits for online learning], but now I don't get it anymore. I don't know [the reason] either. [...] Now I pay for the internet quota on my own. It may not be a big deal when you have money, but otherwise it is a problem. (Neighborhood administration chief Male, Low poverty risk Area, East Jakarta)

As for the "face-to-face study plans", people generally asked about when face-to-face school activities will return. This is related to the lack of internet infrastructure to support online educational activities.

Parents also complained. When will this pandemic end? We don't want to be like this. I'm tired, [the kids are] learning online everyday. Even if you get the internet quota benefits too, when the connection speed is slow, it's difficult. (Family Welfare Movement cadre, Female, high poverty-risk areas, West Jakarta)

These findings indicated that the citizens demanded economy-related information the most, as the economic aspect is demanded in all three sectors (education, health, and the economy) we were trying to explore. The economic side of healthcare and education were more in-demand than the other sides. For example, when talking about the PPKM quarantine, people generally demanded to get more information about business and work regulation. On healthcare issues, they tend to seek information about free medicines. On education issues, they seek information about internet quota benefits for online learning.

This finding confirmed a survey by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) which concluded that there was a shift in people's expectations from health needs to economic needs (Media Indonesia, 2021). LSI said that in September 2020, the majority of the public expected the government to prioritize the health aspects (60.5%) of pandemic response and only 36% of respondents prioritized the economy. However, in the last survey conducted in June 2021, the number of respondents who wanted the government to prioritize the health aspects the economy rose to 50.7%. In the same research, LSI assessed that the economic pressures caused by

the PPKM quarantines were driving this shift in public priorities.

Unfortunately, we cannot compare this finding about the people's demand for economic information with the previous findings of our media analysis, which showed that the media was pushing healthcare issues in their agenda, due to the difference in the data collection period. The media analysis gathered its data in the first half of 2021 (January-June 2021), while the field data collection for the respondent's information demand was carried out from June to August 2021. This prevented the research from making a valid comparison between information supply and demand in the same time frame.

However, one aspect that can be discussed about the supply and demand of information is related to the scale of the news. The majority of media reports raised macro issues related to the pandemic, but very few raised the technical and local aspects of government policies. This is indicated by the large amount of space given by the media to sources from the central government, especially the ministers and the president.

Meanwhile, online media (5.7%) and television (6.8%) only provided minimal space for DKI Jakarta Provincial Government sources, who were more likely to discuss local and specific aspects of the pandemic in DKI Jakarta. This is unfortunate, since the citizens of Jakarta still need specific information, such as procedures to access social assistance. Then, they would try to access this information from the local-level (ward and neighborhood level communication) channels, as we will discuss in the next section.

Information Needs: What's Missing from Media was Found in at Community-Level Communication Channels

We found two interesting things when we asked the respondents about the information they needed and didn't get from communication channels at the neighborhood level. First, there were differences in the answers compared to the same question about the mass media. This change can be seen from the absence of several dominant issues related to the health and economic aspects that were prevalent in what people demanded from mass media. This indicated that some of the information people were looking for in the mass media can be found at the community level.

Second, there were differences in the expectations of respondents from communication channels at the neighborhood level with the mass media. This was apparent from the emergence of information needs that were not stated by the respondents in questions about the mass media, but mentioned by respondents in the category of information needs at the neighborhood-level channel.

Information topics	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Vaccination	32%	27%
Testing and tracing	25%	16%
Telemedicine	13%	10%
Medicines	12%	18%
PPKM/quarantine	8%	16%
BPJS health insurance	7%	4%
Healthcare facilities	2%	2%
Healthcare worker incentives	2%	0%
Others	0%	8%
Total	100	100

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR HEALTH-RELATED INFORMATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Information topics	Male	Female
Medicines	21,8%	25,1%
PPKM/quarantine	18,3%	13,5%
None	16,3%	19%
Vaccination	13,6%	14,4%
Telemedicine	10%	5,4%
Testing and tracing	8,2%	10%
BPJS health insurance	7,3%	2,7%
Healthcare worker incentives	1,8%	2,7%
Others	1,8%	4,5%
Covid-19 prevention	0,9%	0%
Healthcare facilities	0%	2,7%
Total	100% (110)	100% (111)

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR HEALTH-RELATED INFORMATION IN NEIGHBORHOO	D-
LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BASED ON GENDER	

Unlike the demand for information in the mass media, the need for information about restrictions on community activities, or the quarantine, is no longer dominant in neighborhood-level communication channels. On the other hand, there is a shift of needs between people in high and low poverty-risk areas in the context of the information needs on the spreading of Covid-19 (testing and tracing). In the mass media, the demand for information about testing and tracing among respondents in high poverty-risk areas. At the neighborhood level, the demand for information add tracing actually increased to 25% in high poverty-risk areas and 16% in low poverty-risk areas.

Gender-based differences in the demand for health-related information were also discovered in this research. Male respondents demanded information on telemedicine services more than female respondents. Both male and female respondents, on the other hand, demanded more information about medicines.

In the economic field, information needs that are no longer dominant in communication channels at the neighborhood level, compared to the mass media, are information on pre-employment cards. Subdistrict economy and gender variables had no effect on the need for economic information.

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR ECONOMY-RELATED INFORMATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

Direct Cash A=ssistance	40,58%
None	16,67%
Other social assistances	16,67%
Pre-employment cards	6,52%
Electricity tariff incentive	4,35%
Rules for restrictions on shopping center operations	2,90%
Micro, small, and medium businesses	2,90%
Don't know	0,72%

* Respondents seeking economic information on the neighborhood channel: 109 people

** Respondents can choose more than one answer

On the other hand, information about Direct Cash Assistance has consistently been the most sought-after information, both from the mass media and the neighborhood level communication channels. In the in-depth interview and FGD sessions, the need for information on the Direct Cash Assistance generally linked to the confusion about the data of beneficiaries. Respondents complained about unclear
procedures that caused them to lose their rights or opportunity to access the assistance.

In the field of education, the two categories of information that were most in-demand are the same as the mass media: "digital learning benefits" and "face-to-face study plans". However, the number is much reduced. In the context of the mass media, as many as 43 citizens said that they do not find information about face-to-face learning plans in the media, only 10 complained in the context of neighborhood level channels. Likewise, the number of people demanding information about "digital learning assistance" decreased from 35 to 15.

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR EDUCATION-RELATED INFORMATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Information topics	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Digital learning benefits	39%	32%
Free WiFi	26%	5%
School fee benefits	13%	5%
Face-to-face learning plans	9%	42%
School registration	9%	5%
Gadget lending	4%	0%
Exam policies	0%	11%
Others	0%	0%
Total	100	100

The survey results also found variations in educational information needs between male and female respondents. Information about "faceto-face study plans" and "digital learning benefits" were mostly sought by female respondents. Meanwhile, information on national exam policies during the pandemic is more needed by male respondents.

Information topics	Male	Female
Exam policies	24%	0%
Free WiFi	20%	9,52%
Face-to-face study plans	16%	47,62%
Digital learning benefits for students and teachers	16%	42,86%
School fee benefits	4%	9,52%
School registration	4%	4,76%
Others	4%	0%
Total	25	21

UNFULFILLED DEMAND FOR ECONOMY-RELATED INFORMATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BY GENDER

The data above showed that the more local the source of information, the more capable it is of meeting the needs of the respondents. In the FGD session, two things were revealed that were relevant to the fulfillment of information needs. First, the two-way communication process that occured at the community level helped respondents access specific information as needed and confirming things that were not understood in the process. Second, the neighborhood (and also the ward) administration as the head of the community played an important role in determining the flow of information. The more successful the neighborhood unit is in being an "information channel", the less uncertainty people will have about various things related to the pandemic. On the other hand, if the neighborhood administration in the area is non-communicative, the need for information is unattended.

Incidentally, in Tebet where I live, the ward chief is a bit active. It just so happens that now the ward is active. It cannot be generalized with other wards, though, only in the ward where I live. (Housewife, female, low povertyrisk area, South Jakarta)

I got the information from the neighborhood/ward because coincidentally, like Mrs. Wiwik just now, I got a message from the WhatsApp group from the chief. Since the beginning of Covid he has informed us about restrictions of access, about PSBB quarantine. Also health protocols like wearing masks, washing hands, and blocking roads. (Social worker, female, low poverty-risk area, South Jakarta)

Our interviews also revealed that even the lowest levels of government officials communicated with each other through WhatsApp groups before passing on information to the public. The ward and neighborhood chiefs received official information from the sub-district, which was then distributed to residents via WhatsApp groups.

Maybe from the sub-district first, from the sub-district chief to the ward, then to neighborhoods. Later the letter was notified to the sub-district administration, photographed, and sent to the sub-district. The news went through a relay. From the RW, we will photograph the message and send it to the neighborhood unit. From the neighborhood unit to the residents. We all use groups here, we have our group. From ward to the neighborhood there are [WhatsApp] groups, any news, we go through groups. (Neighborhood administration chief, female, low poverty-risk, West Jakarta) The large role of the neighborhood units as a communication actor at the community level also led to variations in the level of demand to exist between each neighborhood unit. The difference in the level of demand for "testing and tracing" information between the people in high and low poverty-risk areas might also be related with the variation in the role of the neighborhood units. In the FGD session, some neighborhood units were assessed by the respondents as having credibility issues, as can be seen from the quote below:

Well, in the sub-district, there might be smart-asses, pretending to know some informations and spreading hearsays. [...] Well, misinformation might start there ... even though the original information is accurate, it is accurate from the top chain. It's just that when the information was released prematurely by some people who want to get an increased rating. I think. (Private employee, male, high poverty-risk area, East Jakarta)

Media Access: Dominated by Social Media, Television, and Neighborhood Communication Channels

Social media, news portals, and neighborhood-level communication channels have become the favorite medium for respondents to access pandemic-related information. This finding is consistent in both categories of respondents based on economy and gender. This finding confirmed previous studies showing that internet and social media use during the pandemic has increased by up to 40% from before the pandemic. The implementation of the "work and study from home" policy could also explain this trend.

MEDIA OF CHOICE FOR INFORMATION ABOUT COVID-19		
Social media	45%	
Television	31,5%	
News portal	14,5%	
Messaging applications	6%	
Government sites	1,5%	
Google	1,5%	
Total	100%	

The three most used social media platforms are Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. This order is different from the Hootsuite report (2021), which found that YouTube ranks first as the most accessed social media in Indonesia. It might also be influenced by the age bias of the respondents in this research, the majority of whom are 31-45 years old. Since 2018, as eMarketer (2018) reported, there has been a trend where younger users (0-24 years old) are starting to leave Facebook.

Facebook	62,35%
Instagram	52,35%
YouTube	44,71%
Tiktok	17,65%
Twitter	16,47%
Snack Video	1,18%
Quora	0,59%

SOCIAL MEDIA FOLLOWED FOR PANDEMIC INFORMATION

* Respondents can choose more than one answer

Meanwhile, in the context of television, tvOne is the most accessed television for pandemic information. This finding is in line with Katadata's (2020) report that tvOne is the most popular television in Indonesia. Between news portals, Detik.com and Kompas.com are the two most accessed. This is unsurprising, considering that in various studies on online media access, these two media often appear. Remotivi's (2021) research on religious information and Reuters Institute's (2021) research on digital news consumption also had similar findings.

tvOne	53,50%
RCTI	32,48%
Metro TV	26,75%
Indosiar	22,29%
SCTV	21,02%
Kompas TV	14,65%

THE SIX MOST ACCESSED TELEVISION STATIONS FOR PANDEMIC-RELATED INFORMATION

* Respondents can choose more than one answer

THE THREE MOST ACCESSED ONLINE NEWS PORTALS FOR PANDEMIC-RELATED INFORMATION

Detik	60,94%
Kompas	54,69%
Tribun	17,19%

* Respondents can choose more than one answer

To provide a more detailed picture of media access, this study also asked about the respondents' access to neighborhood level communication channels. Which we defined as the communication channels, both online and offline, where the actors are a limited community at the neighborhood level. For example, WA groups, written leaflets from neighborhood officials, as well as direct interaction between residents within neighborhood boundaries. In the survey, 88% of citizens admitted to accessing neighborhood level communication channels.

DO YOU ACCESS COMMUNICATION		
CHANNELS AT THE NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL?		
Yes	88%	
No	12%	
Total	100%	

Direct interaction and messaging applications were the most widely used methods of communication at this level. This finding is consistent across sub-district economy and gender variables.

Direct interaction	81,25%	
Messaging applications	60,80%	
Offline announcement	35,80%	
Outdoor media	1,14%	

NEIGUBODIJOOD I EVEL COMMUNICATION MEDIJIM

* Respondents can choose more than one answer

We can find variations between the number of people in high and low poverty-risk who used messaging applications to access information at the neighborhood level. People from low poverty-risk areas (60.9%) apparently utilized messaging apps much more than those in high poverty-risk areas (39.1%).

Communication medium	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Direct interaction	51,6%	43,8%
Offline announcement	24,6%	16,4%
Messaging applications	23,8%	38,3%
Outdoor media	0%	1,5%
Total	151	146

NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL-COMMUNICATION MEDIUM, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Other than WhatsApp groups, direct interaction was considered an effective method of communication, since it allows faster feedback. Direct interaction is carried out through contact with government officials or through informal forums and social gatherings. In one of the high poverty-risk neighborhood units in East Jakarta, face-to-face social gatherings were held regularly once a month. In these gender-exclusive gatherings, where the female and male residents were separated into different groups, information from the government was usually disseminated. The chief of the neighborhood administration mediated the meeting at the male social gathering, while *Dasa Wisma* and PKK (both female local organizations) cadres mediated the female social gathering.

In some other areas, direct interactions were carried out in free time, like in the afternoon and the evening when residents gather. The denser population of residents living in high poverty-risk areas made it easier for residents to meet and exchange or verify information. Oh, you have to [interact directly], because here we have to list all the residents, their name, age, and so on. Later on we will filter out which ones were elderly, then we have to approach them. If not, they might not know whether they are elderly or not. We're the ones who know. (PKK cadre, female, high poverty-risk area, West Jakarta)

Because the neighborhood is densely populated, we often [tell information] face-to-face. Whether someone came after they went shopping or something else. Because the environment is densely populated here, yes, there were many who came to ask directly. (RT chief, male, high poverty-risk area, East Jakarta)

Sharing information

Generally, the majority of respondents shared their information with friends and family. Respondents from high poverty-risk areas tend to share information with the nearest community (in the market, in the neighborhood, etc.), while respondents from low poverty-risk areas were more likely to share information with the wider public on social media. The gender variable did not produce a significant variation.

WHO DO TOO SHARE IN ORMATION WITH:	
Friends/family	79,5%
Neighborhood	8%
Many people on social media	7%
No one	4%
Colleagues	1,5%
Total	200

WHO DO YOU SHARE INFORMATION WITH?

Who do you share information with?	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Friends/family	78%	81%
Neighborhood	11%	5%
No one	5%	3%
Many people on social media	4%	10%
Colleagues	2%	1%
Total	100	100

INFORMATION SHARING PATTERN, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

* Respondents can choose more than one answer

Generally, the majority of the respondents tend not to share information about Covid-19 on social media. When they did, respondents from high poverty-risk areas tended to share information via Facebook, while respondents from low poverty-risk areas preferred to share information via Instagram. The gender variable did not produce a significant variation.

Not sharing information via social media	60%
Facebook	18,5%
Instagram	15%
WhatsApp	4%
YouTube	1%
Twitter	1%
Tiktok	0,5%
Total	200

THROUGH WHAT SOCIAL MEDIA DO YOU SHARE INFORMATION?

Through what social media do you share information?	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk	
Not sharing information via social media	64%	56%	
Facebook	24%	13%	
Instagram	9%	21%	
WhatsApp	2%	6%	
Tiktok	1%	0%	
Twitter	0%	2%	
YouTube	0%	2%	
Total	100	100	

INFORMATION SHARING PATTERN, BY SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM AND SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

People in high poverty-risk areas tend to share information with the residents of their fellow neighborhood unit through direct interaction, and less often through group chats . Meanwhile, low poverty-risk areas tend not to share information with neighborhood residents, and they tend to not interact directly when they do. Residents in low poverty-risk areas also tend to share more through group chats.

In the gender variable, male respondents are less inclined to share information to fellow neighborhood residents. They also tend to share information less frequently through group chats than female residents, but both male and female prefer to share information through direct interaction than other channels.

COMMUNICATION CHANNELS			
Direct interaction	45,5%		
Not sharing information	30%		
Group chat	23%		
Personal chat	1%		
Not accessing	0,5%		
Total	100%		

INFORMATION SHARING PATTERN IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL

INFORMATION SHARING PATTERN IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Communication medium	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Direct interaction	60%	31%
Not sharing information	23%	37%
Group chat	16%	30%
Personal chat	1%	1%
Not accessing	0%	1%
Total	100	100

Communication medium	Male	Female	Refused to answer
Direct interaction	21%	24%	0,5%
Not sharing information	18,5%	11,5%	-
Group chat	9%	14%	-
Personal chat	0,5%	0,5%	-
Not accessing	0,5%	-	-
Total	99	100	1

INFORMATION SHARING PATTERN IN NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, BY GENDER

Trust Level in the Media Platforms

General Trust in the Media

This study found a standard view existing in the people, that mainstream media can be trusted more than social media. The survey results found that those who believe in mainstream media are more dominant than those who trust social media. This view is consistent in all data variables. This finding is in line with Edelman's (CBSnews.com, 2018) research, which found that 60% of respondents from the United States, Canada, and the UK considered social media as a space where hoaxes and disinformation are spread.

In line with Edelman's research, the respondent's low level of trust was influenced by the abundance of hoaxes and the lack of information filtering on social media. This can be identified from the reasons given by in the respondents' answer, which included "invalid or non-official sources of information" (private employees, male, low poverty-risk area, West Jakarta) or "sometimes there are hoaxes, untrue news shared on Facebook" (private employee, female, East Jakarta).

Most trusted media	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Mainstream media	45%	35%
Social media	23%	23%
Trust all	9%	12%
RT communication channel	21%	18%
Don't know	2%	12%
Total	100	100

THE MOST TRUSTED PLATFORM, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Most trusted media	Male	Female
Mainstream media	38,38%	41%
Social media	22,22%	24%
Trust all	10,10%	11%
RT communication channel	19,19%	20%
Don't know	10,10%	4%
Total	100%	100%

THE MOST TRUSTED PLATFORM, BY GENDER

However, this general distrust of social media as a platform doesn't necessarily mean that they distrust its users and the certain actors using it, as the use of social media to access information is still significant. In this study, social media was still the second most trusted media platform behind the mainstream media.

In accessing information on social media, respondents tend to access information from known sources, as expressed by one respondent about his trust on social media: "On Instagram, many Covid survivors shared information about tests, their medications, their symptoms," (housewive, female, high poverty-risk area, West Jakarta). Other than that, social media trust is also determined by "closeness" (family or trusted neighbors).

The least trusted media	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Social media	39%	34%
RT communication channel	20%	19%
Don't know	19%	26%
Trust all	13%	10%
Mainstream media	9%	11%
Total	100	100

THE LEAST TRUSTED PLATFORM, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

THE LEAST TRUSTED PLATFORM, BY GENDER					
The least trusted media	Male	Female	Refused to answer		
Social media	33,3%	39%	100%		
Don't know	27,3%	18%	0%		
RT communication channel	16,2%	23%	0%		
Trust all	13,1%	10%	0%		
Mainstream media	10,1%	10%	0%		
Total	99	100	1		

Two factors that were repeated quite often by respondents to support their trust in the mainstream media were the presence of a gatekeeper and the availability of direct visual process (television only). Related to the second factor, respondents generally talk about television as a medium that allows the viewers to confirm events with their own eyes. In an open answer to our survey, a respondent said: "...because we hear and see the news ourselves," (housewive, female, high povertyrisk areas, East Jakarta). Other reasons that also surfaced were "... because it has clear and valid sources," (freelancer, male, low povertyrisk area, West Jakarta) and "... because it is the most valid path which went through a screening and editing process, so it is not arbitrary," (private employee, male, low poverty-risk, West Jakarta).

In general, this research founded the factors determining the respondents' trust in the type of media: the availability of gatekeepers and the credibility of information (presence of official sources or first-hand witnesses). Those trusting and not trusting social media also used the same parameter. Those who don't trust social media tend to see it as a big platform which contains a lot of non-credible information, while those who do trust it tend to put their trust in specific accounts or users of social media.

When evaluating information from the neighborhood level channels, respondents also utilized the similar parameters. Any lack of trust on the neighborhood level channels are generally caused by the lack of informant credibility. Information senders often referred to fellow respondents in the same group, although it is not uncommon for them to refer to local officials. One respondent said that "the information in the neighborhood WhatsApp group was written without clear references, and mentioning the name of an unclear doctor" (teacher, female, low poverty-risk area, West Jakarta). Credibility is also the reason for trust, as stated by this respondent: "...because the information is passed on from the government above, either from the ward or the sub-district," (private employee, male, high poverty-risk area, West Jakarta).

The unique parameter of trust that showed up only in the neighborhood level channel is "proximity". An example of this appeared in the statement of this respondent:

Since it is close to my home, when someone was evacuated (people exposed to Covid-19) I could directly confirm it. (Private employee, female, high poverty-risk areas, West Jakarta) Proximity could also be defined as "emotional" closeness, instead of physical closeness, as can be seen from the following statement:

I trust my mother more, because Mama is active in the neighborhood community and she likes to look for information about the pandemic. Mama knows better. (Private employee, female, low poverty-risk, East Jakarta)

Trust in the Neighborhood Unit Communication Channels

To further understand the communication patterns of respondents at the neighborhood level, we asked the respondents about the form of communication they trusted the most. We found out that for most of them the answer is direct (face-to-face) interaction.

RT Communication Channel	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk
Direct interaction	50%	36%
WhatsApp group	13%	36%
Offline announcement	12%	7%
No access to the RT level	10%	6%
Don't know	9%	9%
Trust all	5%	3%
Applications (JAKI, CARIK, dll)	1%	3%
Total	100	100

TRUSTED RT COMMUNICATION CHANNEL, BY SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

In the FGD session, it was revealed that direct interaction was necessary for the respondents to access some specific local information, like government assistance procedures or opening and closing of areas in accordance with PPKM quarantine policies.

For some information like about social assistance, about regulations, closing street portals, closing down mosques temporarily or all other kinds of things, it was done like that [through direct communication]. Because they [neighborhood unit] had a direct role, and only they can be trusted for closing portals and places of worship, because a lot are already closed. (Entrepreneur, male, low poverty-risk area, Central Jakarta)

This finding could be linked to two other things in this report. First, lack of local and technical information supplied by the media. Second, poor access and awareness to official government websites and applications like JAKI, CARIK, etc. Both of these things encouraged people to use a more "direct" communication model to access or validate information.

Although internet penetration in Indonesia, as of 2020, has reached 73.3% (Kominfo, 2020) and Jakarta is one of the cities with the broadest internet penetration, Indonesia in general still maintains a culture of oral communication (Farida RWD, Nanda Julian Utama, Rosmaida Sinaga, 2018).

Oral communication requires a physical presence because the meaning is formed not only by words but also intonation and nonverbal gestures (Heryanto, **2015**). In this case, proximity became an important factor, both physically and emotionally, as it impacted the understanding and trust in the communication process. As stated by one of the respondents on why he trusted direct interaction, "direct interaction can help us judge whether the person speaking is lying, joking, or serious," (private employee, male, low poverty-risk area, Central Jakarta). Interesting to note that the people in high poverty-risk areas overwhelmingly trusted "direct interaction" the most. People in low poverty-risk areas, meanwhile, trusted "direct interaction" and "RT WhatsApp groups" equally. A study conducted by Jaeho Cho (2003) found that economic status impacted the level of digital literacy. The middle and upper-middle economic groups have the adequate educational background to access the internet and are also more motivated to use the internet to meet their needs.

The data suggest that the subgroup including those who are young and high in socioeconomic status are most likely to use the Internet to strategically satisfy their motivations and to gain the desired gratifications. (Jaeho Cho, 2003)

In this research, the motivations include ease-of-access and health. A respondent from the low poverty-risk economic area mentioned that he trusted message groups because "only WhatsApp groups are easily accessible," (private employee, male, low poverty-risk area, West Jakarta). Other than that, respondents also preferred WhatsApp groups because it allowed them to communicate without violating health protocols (meeting face to face).

Impact

Perception of Transparency and Government Performance

In general, most respondents think that the government is transparent on education, healthcare, and economic issues. This positive perception is mainly focused on government communication related to the health sector with 86.5% of respondents considering the government to be transparent or quite transparent. The highest negative perception of government transparency is related to the economic issues where 37.5% of respondents viewed the government as not transparent or not transparent enough. Female respondents tend to have a worse perception of government transparency than male respondents. Subdistrict economy variables had no effect on perceptions of openness.

Interestingly, this perception of government transparency is not shaped by how accountable or open the government is to the public on pandemic related information. In the FGD, we asked the participants about the government's pandemic response budget management. The answers that emerged from the participants revolved around the nominal amount of assistance given to each citizen from the government assistance programs. Thus, transparency is understood by research subjects as how easily they understand and can access government assistance policies in each field.

Perception	Education	Health	Economy
Transparent	25%	50%	21%
Quite transparent	44,5%	36,5%	41,5%
Not transparent enough	23,5%	11,5%	27%
Not transparent	7%	2%	10,5%
Total respondents	200	200	200

PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT TRANSPARENCY

PERCEPTIONS OF TRANSPARENCY OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE, BY GENDER

Perception	Educ	ation	Health		Economy	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Transparent	28,28%	22%	53,54%	46%	24,24%	17%
Quite transparent	48,48%	41%	36,36%	37%	44,44%	39%
Not transparent enough	19,19%	28%	10,10%	13%	25,25%	29%
Not transparent	4,04%	9%	0%	4%	6,06%	15%
Total respondents	99	100	99	100	99	100

On the other hand, despite the government's intensive focus on economic recovery, most of the respondents considered the government to be not successful enough or unsuccessful in this regard (68%). In health issues, the majority of respondents rated the government's performance as very or quite successful (60.5%). Respondents' perceptions of the government's performance in education were evenly divided (50% of respondents rated it very and quite successful, 50% rated it not successful enough and not successful). Respondents who live in high poverty-risk areas and male respondents tend to rate the government's performance in the field of education negatively.

The quality of policy implementation in the education sector varied from place to place. Some neighborhood administrations stated that they had no problems, while others experienced them. This problem mainly occured in cases where aid distribution was not well targeted or doesn't have a clear mechanism. In the high poverty-risk areas of West Jakarta, for example, access to free internet assistance from JakWIFI was one of the examples highlighted by the FGD participants. Of all the participants, only one person had access to it because the transmitter was positioned too far away from the residents' houses. The placement of the transmitter in the middle of the road with a narrow access range forced residents to install WiFi routers independently in their respective homes. Other than that, the assistance provided by educational institutions also had no clear mechanism. As a result, residents chose not to rely on assistance.

So far, I don't know about that [free internet assistance]. My university only listed and asked for the data [of students who need assistance]. But, because the quota [of the beneficiaries] are few, it became a race for students, a kind of first come first serve competition. Until now, there has been no further information since the data of potential beneficiaries were asked for May or June if I'm not mistaken. It's unclear. Apparently the information from the internet is also uncertain, so it is useless to ask for it. (Student, female, low poverty-risk area, West Jakarta)

Perception	Education	Health	Economy
Very successful	10,5%	9,5%	5%
Quite successful	39,5%	51%	27%
Not successful enough	41%	32,5%	51,5%
Not successful	9%	7%	16,5%
Total respondents	200	200	200

PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE IN EDUCATION

	Sub-district economy		Gender	
Perception	High poverty-risk	Low poverty-risk	Male	Female
Very successful	13%	8%	11,11%	9%
Quite successful	32%	47%	35,35%	44%
Not successful enough	42%	40%	45,45%	37%
Not successful	13%	5%	8%	9%
Total respondents	100	100	99	100

The Leading Authority

The central government has a major influence in the behavior of the citizens. In the survey, 40% of respondents stated that the recommendations of the central government were the most followed recommendations in daily life in the pandemic situation. DKI Jakarta Provincial Government is in third place (15%) after ward/neighborhood (22%). This pattern of compliance with the authority's recommendations applied to all respondent variables, both sub-district economy and gender.

Central government	40%
Ward/neighborhood	22%
DKI Jakarta Provincial Government	15%
Health professionals/expert	11%
Religious leaders	3,5%
Family	2,5%
Others	6%
Total	200

WHICH SIDE'S ADVICE ABOUT THE PANDEMIC DO YOU FOLLOW?

This high level of compliance with the central government happened because of the assumption that the command structure of the pandemic response is hierarchical. In almost every FGD session, participants assumed that the chain of command flowed from top to bottom. The central government decided the policy and the levels below it passed on the policy to the community level. Therefore, compliance to the central government is strong: participants choose to follow the highest command. Interestingly, respondents complied to the neighborhood/ward chiefs more than they did to the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. This showed that respondents preferred to rely on local authorities of their community, rather than the provincial government, to fulfill their more practical information needs related to the pandemic.

This compliance to the central government has its own problems. The FGD participants also realized that there was often chaos in the information chain and regulations from the central government. This chaos took three forms. First, the overlapping authority of each level of government. FGD participants underlined the poor coordination between the various levels of government, which confused the citizens in implementing policies. This is illustrated in the following quote:

Suppose I want to go to the store to buy something. The central government said, "Oh, it's okay, the store has been opened." But when I got there, it wasn't. It was written theret that this information was obtained from the local government. So sometimes it's this distribution of information that sometimes confuses me too, in my opinion. The central government said A, but apparently it was the local government that had to be followed. (Student, female, low poverty-risk, North Jakarta)

The second form is the contradicting policies. This occured when a policy had an impact that conflicted with the other recommendations or policies. In implementing the vaccination obligation, for example, health facilities became severely crowded with vaccinating residents, which ended up conflicting with quarantine policies. One participant highlighted:

I was more afraid of, like, yesterday during vaccination a lot of people were queuing up. People should do social distancing but because there are so many... [they couldn't]. (Student, female, low poverty-risk, West Jakarta) The third form is the lack of circulation of authoritative information answering the confusion of the citizens. The unanswered questions and doubts of the citizens have led to speculations, and made the citizens reluctant in implementing policies that are useful for their livelihoods. This is illustrated by participants who were reluctant to be vaccinated:

Someone died right away after the vaccination, fever for 2-3 days immediately, and then died. Well, until now no one knows why. That was terrifying; that someone died just after getting a vaccine shot. But because we were instructed to take vaccines by the ojol (online motorcycle taxi) company like that, like it or not, we had to follow. (Online motorcycle taxi driver driver, male, high povertyrisk, East Jakarta)

This lack of quality information which could answer people's anxiety created a gap of information. This gap was often filled by figures who are "critical" of Covid-19 like Mardigu Wowiek, dr. Lois, or Flat Earth 101, who circulated various conspiracy theories. In our survey, 13% of respondents admitted to following the recommendations of these figures.

"CRITICAL" OF COVID-19?		
No	87%	
Yes	13%	
Total respondents	200	

DO YOU FOLLOW THE ADVICE OF FIGURES WHO ARE "CRITICAL" OF COVID-19?

COVID-19; BASED ON THE SOB-DISTRI	
High poverty-risk	61,5%
Low poverty-risk	38,4%
Total respondents	26

COMPLIANCE WITH FIGURES WHO ARE "CRITICAL" OF COVID-19, BASED ON THE SUB-DISTRICT ECONOMY

Although relatively small, this occurrence was problematic since it has resulted in the rejection of vaccinations and application of health protocols.

I don't want a vaccine. I don't know where to start, but I'm basically a conspiracy theorist, so I really don't believe in things like that [vaccines]. Frankly, this [pandemic] is by design, including the vaccine, I think it's all a business scam. (Student, male, high poverty-risk area, Central Jakarta)

It's the news on TV; when the total case is soaring, it was fabricated. I knew about that from the TV and from local neighbors. When some residents get infected, I don't fear them at all. Actually when someone gets infected, I interact and talk to him. (Online motorcycle taxi driver, male, high poverty-risk area, Central Jakarta)

Conveying Their Needs to the Government

When asked whether respondents had ever conveyed their needs to the government (either central, regional, or local), only 34% answered "yes". There is no significant variation in gender and sub-district economic variables.

THE GOVERNMENT:	
No	66%
Yes	34%
Total respondents	200

HAVE YOU EVER CONVEYED YOUR NEEDS TO THE GOVERNMENT?

Respondents did not convey the need to the government for a number of reasons. Most respondents mentioned that they do not have a need or that their needs have been met (42.94%). Some respondents do have needs, but have no idea on how to convey it (23.48%), not sure that they will receive a response (10.61%), or wanted to avoid a bad experience (4.55%).

Although the percentage is small, the reason some of them wanted to "avoid experiencing bad things" is related to the government's repressive actions in responding to citizens' criticism. A respondent, for example, stated that she was "afraid to speak out because she was afraid of being caught by the police when she said the wrong thing" (sales promotion girl, female, low poverty-risk areas, Central Jakarta). There are those who commented, "The problem is that I can't convey it. They are the top brass. I can't talk to them carelessly " (online motorcycle taxi driver, male, high poverty-risk area, South Jakarta). Meanwhile, gender and sub-district economy variables did not produce a significant variation in the findings.

No need/already fulfilled	43,94%
Don't know how	23,48%
Not sure if they would get a response	10,61%
No special reason	5,30%
Fear of experiencing bad things	4,55%
Busy	3,79%
Never thought about it	3,03%
Others	3,03%
Don't want to answer	2,27%
Respondents who never conveyed their needs	132

REASONS FOR NOT CONVEYING THEIR NEED TO THE GOVERNMENT

When juxtaposed with the level of compliance with central government, these findings indicated that the communication pattern around the pandemic response is one-way and top-down in nature. Mechanisms intended to involve public participation in the formulation and implementation of policies are not working well. This resulted in the poorly targeted formulation and implementation of policies. One of the example is shown in this statement:

The residents who are considered to be well off are usually not included in the data. People say, "Wow, it looks like you don't need this [help]." But who knows what he needs or not? The officer should come and ask how much your income is, all kinds of things. So, from there, you can find out if this person deserves [aid] or not. But right now it was all about the status. Whether someone is a civil servant or not. Because some people didn't get it, the neighborhood administration tweaked *it. So the total number [of financial aid] is divided, so that everybody got something.* (Unemployed, male, high poverty risk, East Jakarta)

Adoption of Government's Digital Platforms as Information Source

Both the central government and the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government utilized various digital platforms (websites and applications) to spread information about the pandemic. However, only 1.5% of respondents use them to get information about the pandemic (see chapter "Media Access") and 3% trust these platforms (see chapter "Trust in Media Platforms").

It is important to note that the field research was carried out from May to August 2021 (i.e., before the PeduliLindung application was launched). This finding could've changed if it incorporated government policies that required citizens to use the PeduliLindungi application when traveling, downloading vaccine certificates, and entering places of businesses.

The low rate of use of and trust in this application is consistent with the low number of downloads of government-made applications on the Google Store. From the applications that we have monitored, both from the central and local governments, only PeduliLindung made by the Ministry of Communication and Information and JAKI made by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government have more than one million downloads.

Interestingly, JAKI, which was created for the residents of Jakarta and has features that are useful for accessing assistance (for vaccine registration and checking beneficiary data), was ignored by the citizens. One possible cause is the lack of good promotion. This can be seen, for example, from the low utilization-level of "JAKI" in the distribution system of assistance and vaccines at the sub-district, the ward, and the neighborhood levels in the communities we studied. Other than poor promotion, JAKI is also hindered by coordination problems between DKI Jakarta Provincial Government agencies. In July 2021, for example, the user of the account @Niiken_Purnama reported her bad experience with JAKI via Twitter: "Reported people gathering in front of my house without masks to the neighborhood administration and it was useless. Finally reported via JAKI @DKIJakarta, the *Satpol PP* (municipal police) was sent [to disperse them] but they mentioned my name. It's crazy, I even got bullied, the system is really bad" (Kompas. com, 2021).

Generally, the performance of these digital platforms cannot be separated from this coordination problem. Digital platforms for vaccine registration, for example, did not provide certainty and convenience in vaccine scheduling (VoAIndonesia.com, 2021). In terms of vaccine services for the elderly, the online system provided by the Ministry of Health was a confusing and ineffective mechanism (Detik.com, 2021).

Government	Application	Initiator	Downloads
Central government	PeduliLindungi	Kemkominfo	10M+
	10 Rumah Aman	KSP	100K+
	Bersatu Lawan COVID-19	KCPEN	100K+
	SIRANAP RS	Kemenkes	50K+
Local government	JAKI	Pemprov DKI Jakarta	1M+
	PIKOBAR	Pemprov Jawa Barat	500K+
	PUSICOV	Kota Bandung	5K+
	Cared+	Pemprov DI Yogyakarta	1K+
	PaPa Sulbar	Pemprov Sulawesi Barat	1K+
	Sawarna	Kabupaten Bandung	1K+

NUMBER OF OFFICIAL PANDEMIC APP DOWNLOADS

* Data taken from Google Store calculations on October 10, 2021

When asked the reason for trusting a social media platform in the survey column, there were 8.5% of respondents who stated "the existence of a verified government account " as the main reason. This is especially true for respondents who choose Instagram as a trusted social media platform. This means that social media, particularly Instagram, appears to be a slightly more effective digital platform for governments to reach citizens than mobile apps.

The main obstacle to government communication through social media is the spread of communication platforms across various accounts (see chapter "Fragmented Digital Solutions"). Therefore, residents followed different government accounts, from the Ministry of Health, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, to the accounts of officials such as President Joko Widodo or Minister Luhut. Interestingly, none of the respondents mentioned a special official account for Covid-19 such as @lawancovid_id or the collaboration between KCPEN's campaign with the Ministry of Communication and Information, @mulaidarikamu_id.

Recommendation &


Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

Based on our findings, we found three gaps between the supply and demand of citizens' information. These gaps occur in the three sectors of citizens' basic needs: health, education, and the economy. The first gap is the lack of practical information during the pandemic. The second gap is the difficulties faced by the residents in getting this practical information even though they have looked for it in the neighborhoodlevel communication channel. The third gap exists between high and low poverty-risk areas.

Perception of Performance and Transparency

- Citizens' perceptions of the government's performance and transparency in handling the pandemic in the economic and education sectors are poor.
- Citizens perceived "transparency" as more about the government's clarity in explaining policies, instead of accountability in general.
- The poor perception of government performance and transparency was caused by the difficulties the citizens experienced in accessing information about the government's pandemic response policies, including about government's social assistance, quarantine restrictions, business restrictions, or about the return of face-toface education.

Gaps between Government Institutions

- In some cases, the information provided by the central government actually created difficulties at the sub-district level, especially information about policy implementation. Some sub-district administrations specifically complained that there were too many regulations related to the pandemic response, which ended up confusing them.
- There are inconsistencies between policies and public communications, causing confusion among citizens. One example is the different rules for business operations released by the central government and the DKI Jakarta provincial government.

Ineffective Digital Solutions

- The development of the government's "digital solutions" was not based on the needs and problems faced by the citizens. In the central government, this is apparent from the development processes which were initiated by agencies in collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Information. Another indication is the low level of trust in government applications (3%) and low number of application downloads (besides PeduliLindungi, no central government application has reached one million downloads on the Google Store).
- The DKI Jakarta provincial government is integrating digital solutions related to the pandemic with existing applications (JAKI). The features of this application have the potential to provide the citizens with in-demand information about government policies, including the list of government assistance recipients or registering vaccinations. Unfortunately, the low rate of trust (3%) or usage (1.5%) of government applications indicated that the effort failed to make an impact. It could have been caused by poor promotion,

poor utilization at the sub-district, neighborhood, and ward levels, as well as weak coordination within the government.

 Compared to mobile applications, Instagram appeared to be a more effective platform for the government to reach citizens. 8.5% of respondents who utilizes social media as a trusted information source stated that they "especially trusted the government's verified accounts on Instagram." However, the respondents only mentioned official accounts of the ministry, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, or individuals like the President Joko Widodo or Luhut Binsar Panjaitan. Respondents did not mention official government accounts created specifically for pandemic related campaigns, such as the official KCPEN account or the @mulaidarikamu_id campaign.

Media Agenda Did Not Meet the Citizens' Expectations

- This study found that the media centralization in Jakarta has flooded the media landscape with topics originating from Jakarta. Compared to other areas, news originating from Jakarta also has a more dominant local reporting dimension. In other words, the national media really "serves" the citizens of Jakarta.
- The effect of centralization is noticeably stronger in online media. This is indicated by the big portion taken by online news from Jakarta compared to other places, which is even larger than in television (see table "Regional of Origin for Online News"). This inequality could have been influenced by the production pattern of online media which had a stronger time-pressure, focus on larger volumes of news item, and pressure for cheaper production cost, which has given rise to a Jakarta-centric reporting focus.
- The most often raised topic in the media in the first semester of 2021 (January-June) is vaccination. Similar to the general finding that health issues dominated the media agenda, the topic of health

also dominated the news from Jakarta. Vaccination is also the most raised topic on television. In online media, both vaccines and PPKM quarantine became the dominant topics.

• Our findings show that the supply of information from the media during the pandemic does not correspond to the information demand of the citizens. As revealed in our surveys and FGD, the information most needed by the respondents are related to economic issues, such as social assistance. Even when respondents need health or education-related information, economic necessities appear to be the reason underlying citizen's demand for information. For instance, their demand for information about PPKM (social restriction measure) stems from the need to navigate the way to work and make a living amid the social restrictions. It is likewise for the information on medication. One of the most frequent complaints by the citizens is the difficulties to access free medications from the Primary Health Care Center. In the education sector, we also found that citizens often complained about how little information was available to access the free internet quota for online learning. It indicates that the need for economic assistance, in the form of free access, underlies the information demand related to health or educational activities.

Practical Information Needs in Three Sectors

 Citizens found it difficult to understand how to access government assistance. Our data showed that the mass media is filled with information about health. However, at the neighborhood level, citizens still needed information about restrictions on community activities, vaccinations, and access to medicines. Our FGD revealed that citizens also wanted to get drug-related information about the Covid-19 virus.

- In the economic sector, citizens still need practical information related to pre-employment cards and Direct Cash Assistance. Our FGD revealed that the participants complained about the uncertainty around the information about government assistance. They felt that there was a lack of clarity and certainty about the timing of aid distribution, which affected how they plan to fulfill their daily needs.
- In the education sector, "face-to-face learning plans" and "credit quota benefits for online learning" are two issues demanded by many citizens. The community demanded clear information about when face-to-face school activities will return. Our FGD outlined the concerns of parents who are struggling to help their children in the online learning process. The online learning policy also raised the citizens' demand for information on how to access internet quota assistance for their children's online learning.

Gaps between Regions and Gender at the Neighborhood-Level Communication Channels

- Respondents in high poverty-risk areas were not demanding information about PPKM quarantine, while respondents in low poverty-risk areas were demanding it.
- Respondents in high poverty-risk areas demanded more information about testing and tracing than respondents in low poverty-risk areas.
- In the education sector, more respondents in high poverty-risk areas are demanding information about free wifi compared to respondents in low poverty-risk areas. Meanwhile, respondents in low poverty-risk areas actually need more information about the return of face-to-face learning.

 The differences caused by the gender variable are most striking in the education sector. Male respondents needed more information about free wifi access than female respondents. Male respondents are also much more in need of information from channels at the neighborhood level regarding school exam policies. Meanwhile, female residents demanded more information about the credit quota benefits and face-to-face learning plans.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study, we propose the following recommendations:

General Recommendations

- Provide more information that directly answer citizens' questions. Questions like, "why did some people die after vaccination?" or "why did Covid-19 affect different types of people?" might seem trivial. However, if not answered, it will raise doubts and provide room for the development of conspiracy theories about Covid-19. To mitigate this, the media, government, and civil society need to actively produce information answering the citizens' questions about Covid-19 and ensure that the information is spread across various channels, from conventional media, social media, to messaging applications.
- Evaluation of media and information literacy efforts. Since 2014, hoaxes and misinformation had begun to surface as an issue, and the digital literacy movement had been promoted by the government, the education sector, and civil society. Today, seven years later, hoaxes and misinformation are still creating the same problems. In addition to increasing digital literacy efforts, the literacy movement needs to evaluate their activities thoroughly and map out successes, obstacles, potentials, and strategies for future movements.

Central government

• **Develop a crisis communication protocol**. Since the beginning of the pandemic, various government officials have issued statements trivializing the pandemic and dismissing the concern of the affected

people. A crisis communication protocol will ensure that, if Indonesia experiences another crisis in the future, the government officials can communicate uniformly, effectively, and empathetically.

- Accelerate the integration of pandemic data and population data management systems. The regional and central data management of positive Covid-19 cases are still not integrated. Only Central Java has been integrated as of August 2021. This reduced the accuracy of the Covid-19 case data due to the differences between the central government and the regions. Additionally, the process of pandemic aid distribution relied heavily on the existing population data, which resulted in poor distribution.
- Develop digital solutions based on the problems and needs of citizens, not government agencies. Applications such as United Against COVID19 made by KCPEN and 10 Safe Houses made by KSP did not answer the needs of citizens in accessing information and policies, resulting in a low level of awareness and use.
- Coordinate rules so they do not collide with each other. We found that the lower levels of government apparatus, like the sub-districts, had difficulties in applying clashing regulations. Including the business closing hours policy issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs which clashed with the rules issued by the DKI Jakarta provincial government. This contradiction caused confusion for officials in the field. Therefore, the government should coordinate the regulations between government institutions to avoid overlapping and multiple interpretations of regulations.

DKI Jakarta Provincial Government

• Strengthen citizens' adoption of digital service. Although it has the potential to respond to the information needs of the citizens and help them access government programs, the JAKI platform has had a minimal impact in the pandemic. The DKI Jakarta provincial government should utilize the government networks, from the subdistrict level to the neighborhood unit level, to encourage the usage of available digital solutions for the citizens' needs.

- Strengthen the infrastructure and manpower of digital platform management. DKI Jakarta's digital platforms still have work to do, both from the technological side (features, systems, database interconnections) and from the institutional side (management, coordination between agencies). Without strengthening these two aspects, these digital platforms may only become a source of confusion for citizens.
- Strengthen the capacity for distributing information to the subdistrict, the neighborhood, and the ward levels. Sub-districts, neighborhoods, and wards are institutions that play a big role in directly conveying information and policies to residents. Unfortunately, in our research, sub-districts, neighborhoods and wards have unequal capacities for this work. Our research found that the sub-districts demanded clearer rules from the central government and additional resources to implement their tasks. Meanwhile, neighborhood and ward administrations need media literacy, pandemic literacy, and policy literacy education, which is very important especially in areas with a low information literacy rate.

Media

• The media should direct their agenda to answer the practical needs of citizens. Our research findings revealed that information about practical needs, like how to access government assistance, is a major concern for citizens. The media can help convey these issues to the government. Television and online media should also

produce more news informing the citizens on practical matters, like accessing government assistance, as well as explaining the context in which these needs arise.

Civil Society

- Civil society initiatives in the field of information and social assistance, such as "Bagi Rata" and "Warga Bantu Warga," need to be strengthened. This study found that the various assistance programs were not well known by the residents of Jakarta. Therefore, we consider that an effort is needed to expand the beneficiaries of these programs. One way to do that is by initiating cooperation with the state institutions in each respective sector.
- It is necessary to increase public awareness and participation on the issue of state accountability in managing the pandemic response budget. This study found that citizens understood transparency as "the government's clarity in explaining policies". Little attention was paid to public accountability and government performance in general. Therefore, further intervention is needed to increase citizen awareness and participation in supervising the implementation of government programs related to the pandemic.

Advanced Study

 The scope of this research is limited to an analysis of the gap between supply and demand for information on government policies in Jakarta. The portrait of the gap captured by this study cannot describe the pandemic information ecosystem as a whole. Some other studies are needed, for example:

- A more comprehensive study of the information and communication systems between government agencies.
 Further study is also required to evaluate the development and management of government digital solutions.
- 2. Similar studies in a wider scope. Recommendations from this study may not be applicable outside of Jakarta. To develop a national crisis communication strategy, further research that takes the demographic and cultural diversity of the nation into account needs to be carried out. That way, we will be able to develop a more comprehensive crisis communication strategy.



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