

Social Aid in Online News: Tracking the Issues of Resilient Society

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's Ministry of Finance stated that in a two-month period, the number of poor people grew by 1.1 to 3.78 million as an impact of Covid-19 pandemic, which is a threat to the resilient society in Indonesia. To deal with the problem, the Government issued Bantuan Sosial Covid-19 (Bansos Covid-19), a social aid programme for the population impacted by the pandemic. The implementation of Bansos Covid-19 and its effects are reported and discussed in several online news media in Indonesia. This study aims to present the issues of Bansos Covid-19 implementation as reported by the online news media from the perspective of the concept of resilient society suggested by Patel, Rogets, Amlot, and Rumin (2017). Using a content analysis method, this study analysed news items containing keywords Bantuan Sosial Covid-19 published between 1 April and 30 June 2020. Textual data analysis was conducted by using the N-Vivo program, software dna.20 - beta2.5, and visualisation of results with visone 2.18. This study found that there are some issues arising from the implementation of Bansos Covid-19, including the problems of data validity, the overlapping regulations, the distribution management, and the disposition of the program implementer. This study also identifies some positive effects including the support of the business sector and various community groups. This study concludes that the Bansos Covid-19 policy has potential to impact the elements of a resilient society.

Keywords: *Resilient society, Covid-19, online news, poor population, Indonesia.*

INTRODUCTION

This article builds on the threat of Covid-19 pandemic against resilient society. The Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Finance stated that Covid-19 increased the number of poor populations by 1.1 - 3.78 million in two months (Ridhoi, 2020). Less than two months following the first Covid-19 case in early March 2020, the Ministry of Labor recorded that 2.1 million people encountered job termination and layoff in 116,370 companies. In detail, the figure is divided into 1.3 million people encountering layoff in 43,690 companies, and 241.4 thousand people encountering job termination in 41,236 companies. In the informal sector, 538,385 people were dismissed from 31,444 companies or SMSE (Ridhoi, 2020).

Responding to such challenges, the government launched a social aid policy. Social aids were manifested into, among others, *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH or Indonesian Conditional Cash Transfer Program), food material social aid (food need), electricity tariff discount, pre-work card incentive, and smart Indonesia card. The social aids came from Central and Local Governments. The budget allocated to coronavirus epidemic management is around IDR 677.2 trillion. The government increased the social aid index and its recipient number (Kemenkeu, 2020; Sari, 2020).

Pros and cons of Covid-19 social aid appear in the media, which saw even the governmental officials comment on each other. For example, a complaint expressed by Governor of West Java, Ridwan Kamil, and the member of Committee IV of Local Representative Council (DPD) was commented on by Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani. Pros and cons lead to a complaint about problems related to data, form, and medium to distribute social aid (CNN Indonesia, 2020). Meanwhile, some practitioners comment on the social aid policy by recommending the government to prepare long term risk to help the people's resilience, due to the absence of knowledge on when this Covid-19 pandemic will end (Wiguna, 2020).

Social aid is intended to improve the poor and vulnerable society groups' resilience. The policy implementation in fact generates some problems within society. The Republic of Indonesia's Ombudsman (Sari, 2020) received some reports related to the distribution of social aid funds for those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, consisting of 817 complaints or 81.37% out of all public service complaints reported. The Covid-19 social aid-related problems which have been reported, among others, are: recipient data collection, data asynchrony, and worry with double (twice) distribution to one person.

The problem of biased or misleading social aid distribution is not new. The presence of online media and social media facilitates the public to acquire information on various social aid fraud cases and thereby gives an impression that more fraud cases occur. Information disseminated in various online media and social media is beneficial to the improvement of evidence-based policy quality (Mayne, Green, Guijt, Walsh, English & Cairney, 2018; Leavey, 2013; Singh, Dwivedi, Kahlon, Sawhney, Alalwan & Rana, 2020). It is also beneficial to improve the quality of policy communication performed by the government, thereby confirming and reducing biased information spreading within society. The research question to be answered in this article is: does the news coverage of Covid-19 social aid in online news potentially result in a resilient society? From the research question, this article aims to present the distribution of Covid-19 social aid policy towards Indonesian society's resilience recorded in online News Media in Indonesia in the period between April 1 and June 30, 2020.

LITERATURE REVIEW

a) Resilient Society

The result of the literature review shows that the resilience concept (Patel, Rogers, Amlôt, & Rubin, 2017) is generally defined as: (i) sustainable adaptation process, (ii) no simple negative effect, and (iii) positive attributes indicating survivability, or combination of the three. The term resilient community or resilient society is often used related to disaster situations. There are nine elements often attributed to the condition creating resilient community: (i) local knowledge, (ii) community networks and relationships, (iii) communication; (iv) health, (v) governance and leadership, (vi) resources, (vii) economic investment, (viii) preparedness, and (ix) mental outlook. Each of the elements is explained in the next section.

The first element, local knowledge, states that a resilient community is related to community's knowledge on the characteristics of disaster or the preparedness for dealing with disaster. For example, in the Covid-19 case, it is knowledge on disease source, transmission, and ways of preventing the disease. This local knowledge reinforcement is constructed through three elements: (i) public education through formal education channel and public literacy through media; (ii) disaster preparedness skill training; and (iii) reinforcing community independency or

self-help to strengthen its community (Guo, Zhang, Zhang & Zheng, 2018).

The second element, community networks and relationships, refers to the community relation, the development of link between community members based on social relation and/or between communities. The strength of a relation or community network is affected by the value bond or identity considered as important by the community. This bond or link is usually called social capital, functioning to unify movement and to bridge and connect the scattered powers, thereby creating a whole support (Cox & Hamlen, 2015; Khazami, Nefz, Jaouadi, & Crociata, 2020; Makridis & Wu, 2021).

The third element, communication, refers to how to deliver a message effectively to the community, thereby generating knowledge, attitude, and action to strengthen a resilient community collectively (Spialek, Czapinski & Houston, 2016; Ferreira, & Pantidi, 2018; Choudhury, Haque, Nishat & Byrne, 2021). Effective communication is the establishment of appropriate communication infrastructure that can be coordinated in the condition prior to and following a disaster. Networks should have varying modes and contents, e.g. news media combination, social media, electronic media, and printed media. Information sources should be valid, reliable, and accurate (Ho & Cho, 2017; de Vries, 2020).

Community and media approaches to resilient communities highlight the content of communication during a disaster crisis period, which requires to consider the following: (i) the strategic communication processes, (ii) community relationships, (iii) community attributes, and (iv) community systems and resources (Spialek, Czapinski & Houston, 2016; Ferreira & Pantidi, 2018; Choudhury, Haque, Nishat & Byrne, 2021). The four elements of community and media in the practical domain can be seen from the content of information disseminated to society, the media used, the figure communicating, and the spread of news replication communicated. Viewed from the content aspect, priority is given to recent and accurate information on the threat of disaster occurring, its risk impact, and aid needing to be and is being attempted. From the communicator aspect, an information spokesperson during a crisis period should be credible, e.g. having skill compatible with information content, or having law legality.

The way of delivering messages in communication media should consider norms and beliefs in which the people trust, and diverse backgrounds of the message receiver's community, thereby facilitating it to understand the message, and to meet the community's information needs (Sutton, Renshaw & Butts, 2020; Wong, Ho, Olusanya, Antonini & Lyness, 2020; Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask & Ecker, 2021). From the communication media aspect, to help strengthen resilient communities, communication coordination is required among institutions, organisations, and members of community, and so is the adequate communication infrastructure (Houston, Spialek, Cox, Greenwood & First, 2015).

The fourth element, health, refers to healthcare service before and after a disaster in order to strengthen the resilience of a community, related to its physical and mental health (Makwana, 2019; Djalante, Lassa, Setiamarga, Sudjatma, Indrawan, Haryanto, Mahfud, Sinapoy, ..., & Warsilah, 2020; Haldane, de Foo, Abdalla, Jung, Tan, Wu, ..., & Quigley, 2021). Adequate healthcare infrastructure and responsive healthcare providers to accommodate disaster victims will improve the resilience of the community. Social aid to improve the community's ability to get adequate healthcare service is also an important component to improve the resilience of the community from a health aspect (Bauer, Stevens, Purtscheller, Knapp, Fonagy, Evans-Lacko &

Paul, 2021; Jewett, Mah, Howell & Larsen, 2021). In addition, social aid is also required to cope with problems related to public mental health such as stress, trauma, anxiety, and depression due to the disaster. So, the reinforcement of physical and non-physical health is the component of resilient community reinforcement (Cox & Hamlen, 2015).

The fifth element, governance and leadership, is anything done to prepare infrastructure facilitating the public to understand and access information management and disaster-induced crisis management policy (Zamisa & Mutereko, 2019; Hizbaron, Ruslanjari & Mardiatno, 2021). Some studies explain the importance of leadership aspects to unify some powers in the community moving together and complementing each other. The uniqueness of local leaders' understanding and the community aspiration, and the connection between them in a broader network through all communication media will reinforce the resilient community (Pfefferbaum Pfefferbaum, Van Horn, Klomp, Norris & Reissman, 2013; Abramson, Grattan, Mayer, Colten, Arosemena, Bedimo-Run, & Lichtveld, 2015; Shu, & Wang, 2021; Haslam, Steffens, Reicher, & Bentley, 2021).

The sixth element, resource, is the availability of anything needed to live normally (Panzeri, Bertamini, Butter, Levita, Gibson-Miller & Vidotto, 2021; Su, Tra, Huynh, Nguyen & O'Mahony, 2021). Resources can be tangible and intangible. The tangible resource includes food, clothing, residence, water, and transportation. Intangible resources cover connection and relation to other groups that can help give jobs, increase income, and give information access and the like. Resource availability, adequacy, and accessibility obviously affect the resilience of community (Zakour & Gillespie, 2013; Panzeri, Bertamini, Butter, Levita, Gibson-Miller & Vidotto, 2021).

The seventh element, economic investment, represents a post-disaster economic recovery attempt and for sustainable community resilience in order to mitigate the risk of disaster (Djalante et al., 2020; Haldane et al., 2021; Varona & Gonzales, 2021). The management of a post-disaster economic situation can involve: (i) distributing financial resources, (ii) reinforcing cost-efficient economic activity, (iii) developing post-disaster economic infrastructure; and (iv) improving economic resource diversity (Djalante et al., 2020; Haldane et al., 2021; Varona & Gonzales, 2021). So, generally the focus of community resilience, viewed from economic element, should focus on post-disaster specific need, accomplished directly through cash transfer distribution, *sembako* (food material) aid, or specific stimulant to revitalise job market or to stimulate economic growth (Zakour & Gillespie, 2013; Djalante et al., 2020; Haldane et al., 2021; Varona & Gonzales, 2021).

The eighth element, preparedness, is an attempt or strategy to anticipate the disaster risk (Anggaryani, 2021; Tasantab, Gajendran, Owi & Raju, 2021). Previous studies in the context of natural disaster recommend the preparedness planning to be conducted by involving the community's stakeholders. Then, practice is conducted by focusing on risk management to reduce severity of disaster victims. Preparedness also involves sustainable recovery attempts by the community and those to reduce the potential loss to the community. Disaster risk mitigation preparedness is an important element to improve the resilient community (de Bruijn, Buurman, Mens, Dahm & Klijn, 2017).

The ninth element, mental outlook, includes attitude, feeling and view on dealing with uncertainty usually occurring following a disaster or when thinking of post-disaster future wellbeing (Roy, Tripathy, Kar, Sharma, Verma & Kaushal, 2020; Sheek-Hussein, Abu-Zidan & Stip,

2021). Disaster, including pandemic time, generates many uncertainties. This uncertainty generates collective anxiety among those affected by the disaster. It also generates worry about the long-term effect on the public in general (Roy, Tripathy, Kar, Sharma, Verma, & Kaushal, 2020; Sheek-Hussein, Abu-Zidan & Stip, 2021). Therefore, the mental outlook of a community is important to create hope, willingness, and capability of community members to keep going forward in dealing with uncertainty. In addition to hope, a community's abilities of adapting or reconciling to uncertainty are elements composing a resilient community (Jurcik, Jarvis, Doric, Krasavtseva, Yaltonskaya, Ogiwara, Sasaki, Dubois & Grigoryan, 2020; Brown, 2020). Adaptability is the ability and willingness to change after the disaster incidence and to accept all at once that anything will be different. So "the acceptance to uncertainty and change" is a mental outlook contributing to a resilient community (Fan, 2015; Jurcik, Jarvis, Doric, Krasavtseva, Yaltonskaya, Ogiwara, Sasaki, Dubois & Grigoryan, 2020; Brown, 2020).

During Covid-19 pandemic time, government policy provided social aid to help improve the resilience of the community, particularly the poor and vulnerable group. In this article, the nine elements of resilient community aforementioned are used to indicate whether the Indonesian government's policy of giving social aid during Covid-19 strengthens or attenuates the elements of resilience.

b) Online News, Crisis Communication, and Resilient Society

About 64% of the 272.1 million population are internet users in Indonesia as of January 2020 with social media penetration of 59% (APJII, 2021). News and information are accessible from various platforms. Previous studies (Azlan, Hamzah, Sern, Ayub & Mohamad, 2020; Xiea, Zangb & Ponzoac, 2020) found that the media's report can change people's knowledge on Covid-19 disease and thus, change public attitude and behaviour. Even in China's case, media's news coverage and public behaviour contribute to the government's policy to control the spread of the disease (Weible, Nohrstedt, Cairney, Carter, Crow, Durnová, Heikkila, Ingold, McConnell & Stone, 2020). Therefore, the government and the practitioners expressing their opinion in the media are recommended to focus on anything supporting human behaviour rather than worsening the condition.

Another study found that media's news coverage contributes to the improvement of mental stress during Covid-19 (Riehm, Hologue, Kalb, Bennett, Kapteyn, Jiang, Veldhuis, Johnson, Fallin, Kreuter, Stuart & Thrul, 2020). Meanwhile, another study found that online news is also entrapped into provocative news coverage, carrying its agenda setting for rating purposes, and thereby the media's credibility is questioned. For that reason, the media are recommended to take a neutral stance rather than anti or pro government, but it should tell what actually occurs within society (Fu & Zhu, 2020). From previous studies, online news has both positive and negative potencies to society and government, as it can create certain perceptions and behaviours.

In the context of policy communication, online news is a means of delivering a message to influence public perception and trust. The lower public trust in government leads to the decreased support of citizens, which is in turn harmful to the successful implementation of policy. Previous studies on policy communication, (Spialek, Czapinski & Houston, 2016; Ferreira & Pantidi, 2018; Choudhury, Haque, Nishat & Byrne, 2021) found that policy communication via

new and conventional media plays a strategic part in changing public attitudes. The communication process intended involves: (i) giving the public the information on policy; (ii) persuading the public through policy narration campaign, and (iii) portraying public response indicating the change of public attitude or behaviour (de Vries, 2020). In relation to the elements of resilient society, the nine elements of resilience as mentioned in the previous section or all the elements are connected by communication process. Figure 1 explains the position of the communication constructs as the connector between elements.

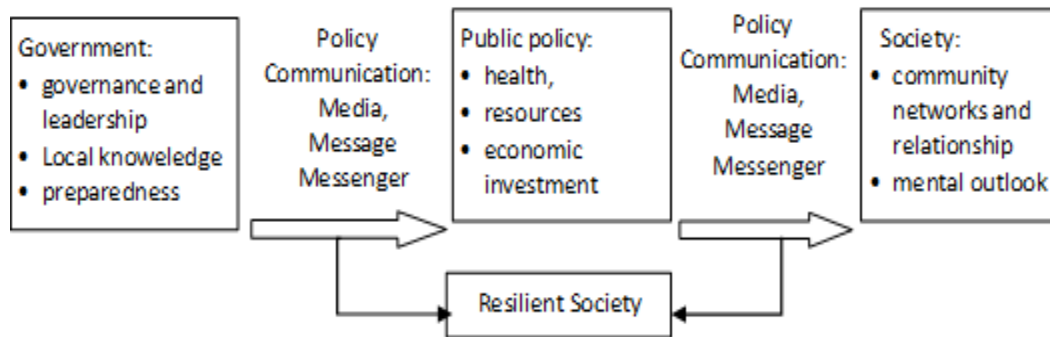


Figure 1: Communication Element as the connector of Resilient Society elements

Figure 1 explains that public communication plays a strategic part in narrating the government's policy message to the public to strengthen the society's resilience. In the 4.0 era, online news plays a strategic role in the disaster crisis period, as the disseminator of accessible information that can be traced for its content credibility (Azlan, Hamzah, Sern, Ayub & Mohamad, 2020; Xiea, Zangb & Ponzoac, 2020).

The next problem is how to mitigate the negative risk of disproportional media news coverage. Digital era results in the prevalence of low-quality information from online media (Buchanan, 2020). The effect of online information on the public is affected by the economic and political environment and media quality (Robison & Mullinix, 2015; Shin & Thorson, 2017). Previous studies on resilience in disinformation era found biased information due to "biased confirmation" and "motivated reason", leading people to trust information compatible to their own worldview (Robison & Mullinix, 2015; Shin & Thorson, 2017; Humprecht, Esser & Aelst, 2020; de Vries, 2020). A previous comparative study found that people existing in a high mass media information service environment tend to have high resilience against wrong information, as they can compare and confirm data and information from various sources.

The society with high resilience against information encirclement will be able to sort media broadcasting invalid and inaccurate information. Thus, it will affect the trust in media. If the public does not trust media, the trust in the government is also at stake. It is because the government needs the media to communicate policy and to persuade the public to support it. It becomes a challenge to the policy communication performed by the government (Humprecht, Esser & Aelst, 2020; Prior, Sood & Khanna, 2015; Shehata & Stromback, 2018).

Information written in online media is influenced by the author's framework of understanding and the prevailing media policies in the country. Likewise, the reader's response to the information content is also influenced by the framework of his knowledge and experience.

(Damstra, Vliegthart, Boomgaarden, Glüer, Lindgren, Strömbäck & Tsfati, 2021). This condition is interpreted as the probability of an issue reported potentially containing bias including the coverage of Covid-19 social aid. Therefore, this article will analyse the news coverage on the Covid-19 social aid across news media over time, to identify the varying issues communicated by online news portals.

METHODOLOGY

Data of the research were taken from online news portals in Indonesia in the period between April 1 and June 30, 2020. 108 news were obtained from 67 news media sources. The research approach employed was a descriptive qualitative one. The data were analysed with Discourse Analysis Network (DNA).

Discourse Analysis Network (DNA) procedure was conducted as follows. Firstly, the data were collected by using keywords “*bantuan sosial covid19*” (Covid19 social aid) in google search engine, and then transferred to a worksheet. Secondly, the coding of news was conducted either from direct quote category performed by a figure or official or from indirect quote performed by media. All postings uploaded by BNPB (Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management) were copied into New NVivo QSR International and dna.20 - beta2.5 software, and the result was visualised using visone 2.18. Furthermore, nodes, which classifies data into several categories, were created according to the elements of resilient society. The nodes are: i) local knowledge, (ii) community networks and relationships, (iii) communication; (iv) health, (v) governance and leadership, (vi) resources, (vii) economic investment, (viii) preparedness, and (ix) mental outlook.

The content interpretations were classified into resilience element themes, conducted through identifying both implicit and explicit meanings in the news media narrations when writing news about “Covid19 social aid” or Covid-19 social aid”. The inclusion criteria to identify the elements of resilient society in this study refers to the ones in Patel, Rogers, Amlôt and Rubin’s (2017) study. The operation of inclusion criteria for content analysis on “Covid19 social aid” news in Indonesian news media in the period of April 1 –June 30, 2020 is as follows.

- a. The knowledge element theme is characterised with content presupposing the presence of knowledge and strategy of managing Covid-19 effect corresponding to local wisdom, related to disease source, transmission, and how to prevent Covid-19, and collective attempt to support the society resilience;
- b. The theme of community networks and relationship elements is characterised with the content interpreted as unifying movement and bridging and connecting the power of various elements in the society, thereby creating a whole support to the prevention of Covid-19 transmission, and the mitigation of Covid-19 effect risk;
- c. The communication element theme is characterised with the content, meaning the dissemination of recent and accurate information to the members of community about the threat of Covid-19 disaster occurring, its risk effect, and aid needed and attempted to mitigate the risk;
- d. The health element theme is characterised with content, meaning the availability and adequacy of health infrastructure and healthcare service to deal with the victims of Covid-19;

- e. Governance and leadership element theme is characterised with content, meaning an attempt or policy taken by local leader or president to strengthen the society to mitigate the risk of Covid-19 effect;
- f. Resource element theme, characterised with content, meaning the availability, adequacy, and accessibility of resources like food, self-isolation facility, income, job, cross-region transportation, the preparedness of public service facilities in Covid-19 pandemic period, affecting the resilience of society;
- g. Economic investment element theme, characterised with content, meaning the management of economic situation post disaster either directly through distributing cash transfer, sembako aid, or specific stimulant to revitalise job market, or to stimulate economic growth;
- h. Preparedness element theme, characterised with content, meaning a planned attempt to recover the society sustainably and to prevent the Covid19-induced potential loss from affecting the society;
- i. Mental outlook element theme, characterised with content, meaning to give hope and the society's abilities of adapting or reconciling to uncertainties due to Covid-19, and accepting that anything will be different in post-Covid-19 new normal era.

The thematised data was processed using New Nvivo software to obtain word Cloud in order to attain the trending issue related to "Covid-19 aid" in news media. The result was also processed to visualise the percentage representation of each element of Indonesian resilient society in dealing with Covid-19 pandemic narrated in the news portals. Description of the appearance of resilience society issue was equipped with the actor network, discoursing the issue with dna.20 - beta2.5 software help, and visualisation result using visone 2.18.

This data displayed was designed to answer the research question "does the news coverage of covid-19 social aid in online news potentially result in a resilient society?" In other words, data analysis was organised to indicate whether or not the implementation of Covid-19 social aid policy potentially affects the resilient society in the terms of local knowledge, community networks and relationships, communication, health, governance and leadership, resources, economic investment, preparedness, and mental outlook.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The result of crawling data processed using New Nvivo shows the word cloud of the content of news media coverage about Covid-19 social aid. This word cloud is used to represent the trending issue discussed in Indonesian online media. The result is presented in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Keywords of online news content on Covid-19 Social Aid

From the word cloud shown in Figure 2, the narrations recorded include: interaction between governments (*pemerintah, negara, kabupaten, provinsi, Dinas, kecamatan, kelurahan, kementerian*) and society (*masyarakat, warga, kepala keluarga, kota, desa*) related to social aid program (*program, bantuan sosial, Bansos*) for those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic (*terdampak, covid, pandemi, corona*). Social aid can be food material and cash packages (*paket, sembako, tunai, ribu, subsidi, kartu, non tunai*) periodically (word: *bulan*). The issue appearing related to the mechanism of distribution is data incompleteness or overlapping data of recipients (word: *pendataan*). As a result, some community groups actually deserving of the aid did not receive it, while some other groups received it twice. It results in restlessness within society (wordcloud: *disalurkan, tidak menerima, belum, mendapatkan*).

From the wordcloud of Covid-19 social aid issue, the connected discourse network between actor/organisation and the concept of resilient society element was then traced. This network tracing was intended to understand the interrelationship between Covid-19 social aid problems and discourses arising in online media news coverage. Discourse interpretation was conducted by using the resilient society framework as formulated by Patel, Rogers, Amlôt and Rubin (2017). The focus of the study includes direct statements from news sources coded following the DNA category: person, organisation, concept, agree/disagree. Data studied were accumulated from 108 news, 173 statements, 82 persons and 63 organisations.

For the actor mapping purpose, the person's organisation (actor) is simplified into 7 categories: (i) government pillar (National Government, local Government, national institution, politician); (ii) society pillar (national commission, civil society group), and; (iii) Business Organisation. National government includes actors coming from presidential and ministerial institutions. National institutions include non-ministerial state institutions such as the Bank of Indonesia and Police. Public Local Government includes provincial government and regency/city government. National commissions in this study are the Corruption Eradication Commission, Ombudsman, and Information Commission. Civil society includes politicians, media workers NGO, academicians, students, and other general societies. Business organisations include Government-owned business or private company.

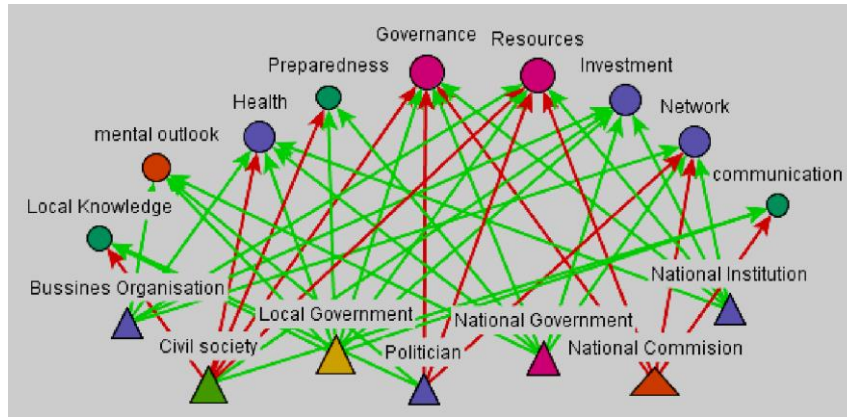


Figure 3: Discourse network of resilient community elements in the online news about Covid19 Social Aid

Figure 3 explains the results of data processing using Discourse Network Analysis technique, the relation between resiliency element concept and organisation of statement source, using a two-mode scheme. The symbol \bigcirc represents the element of resilience, while symbol Δ represents organisation. Resilience element is used to classify the implicit messages in “Covid19 Social Aid” news coverage, including (i) local knowledge, (ii) community networks and relationships, (iii) communication; (iv) health, (v) governance and leadership, (vi) resources, (vii) economic investment, (viii) preparedness, and (ix) mental outlook. The green arrow indicates the resilience element in positive meaning (agree) from the statement of the actor from their respective organisation. The red arrow indicates the statement of organisation (actor) which attenuates the resilience element (disagree). The message of disagreement can be read from the statement revealing the presence of moral hazard behaviour, distrust in other actors, pessimism, doubting “Covid19 Social Aid” system, or statements presupposing less support to the sustainable resilience of society.

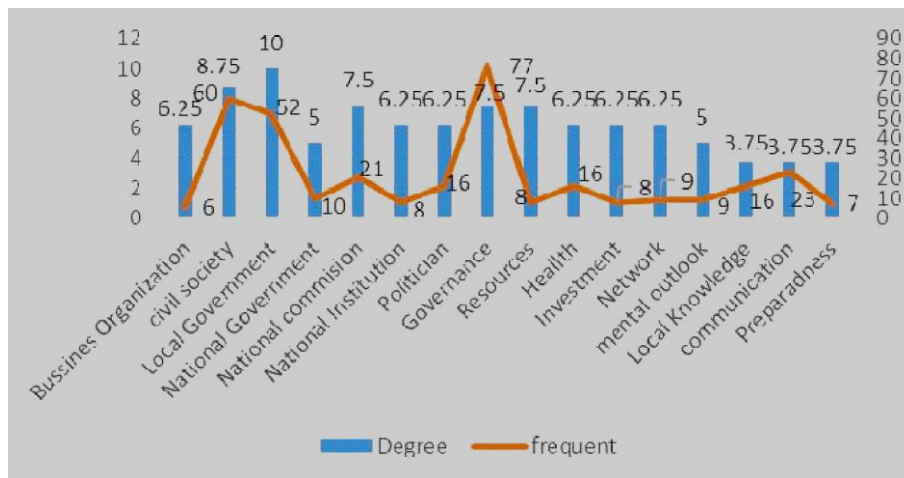


Figure 4: Degree of relation between the resilient community elements

Furthermore, the result of data analysis on “Covid19 social aid” as recorded by online news media is presented in the following plots: (i) the presence of resilience element in the news coverage on “Covid19 social aid” (agree statement); (ii) the excess of “Covid19 social aid”

potentially attenuating the resilient community. The result of the analysis is used to draw a conclusion in relation to whether or not the news coverage on “Covid19 social aid” in online news potentially supports a resilient society.

Figure 4 shows that governance and leadership elements occupy the highest degree (7.5%), meaning that online media mostly report the attempts taken by the President, Minister, Governor, and Mayor/Regent in the attempt of helping the people pass through the Covid-19 disaster. The attempts intended in this case study are: (i) attempt of collecting data about the people eligible to receive aid, (ii) giving information about the aid giving procedure, the development of policy related to aid giving procedure in order to keep complying with health protocol, and national and local leaders’ creativities to refocus the budget on economic and public health recovery. Governance and leadership elements govern the coordination between government and society, professional and business worlds to provide product, service and resilient community empowerment.

The element of governance and leadership has the highest degree of relation, as it is connected to all actors from 7 organizational groups, with either “agree” or “disagree” statements. The example of the “agree” statement is as follows: “What we do today is intended to ensure the presence of the state in managing Covid-19. It should be done quickly. If double data are found, it will be revised later in the second stage. We should never debate about the data, so the aid will just come when Covid-19 has ended,” said JPB. The example of a “disagree” statement are as follows: “Potential vulnerability in the organisation of social aid by either central or local government is related to recipient data collection, data clarification and validation, object expenditure, aid distribution, and supervision,” said IM.

Resource element occupies the degree of 7.5, as high as governance and leadership elements. It is because, resource element is inherent to the governance element, from policy development and aid procurement to its distribution. Online media’s news coverage on “Covid19 social aid” reveals the size of resources needed for the people vulnerable to pandemic. The availability of social aid and origin of aid source is discussed in this theme. There is an assumption that the larger the availability of resources, the stronger is the potential society’s resilience. In this case study, the resources found are *sembako* (basic food material), cash transfer, pre-work card, job aid, village labor-intensive program by remaining to implement health protocol. The “disagree” statement in the resources element is the same as that found in governance and leadership elements. The “disagree” statement arises from the actors of national commission organisation, politician, and civil society. The “disagree” statement for the governance and leadership element is related to the problem of recipient data collection for Covid-19 social aid that has not been an appropriate target, data validity, and worry about moral hazard committed by the actors involved in the aid procurement and distribution processes.

The example of “agree” statement is as follows: “There is PKH (*Program Keluarga Harapan* or Indonesian Conditional Cash Transfer Program), *Kartu Sembako* (food material card), *Bantuan Sosial Tunai* (cash transfer), BPNT (*Bantuan Pangan Non Tunai* or non-food cash transfer), and *BLT Desa* (Village Cash Transfer), and many more. Thus, these are expected to reach about 55% of our populations, either the poor one or those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic,” said PJ. The examples of a “disagree” statement are as follows: “The result of survey shows that the aid is considered as not appropriate target because it can be found that some

citizens deserving the aid have not received it yet (60%) and social aid is given to those not deserving (29%),” said A.

There are 3 elements identified in one block, with a degree of 6.25: health, investment, and network elements. The data reflected that the health and economic investment aspect gets equal attention from government and society networks. A post-pandemic resilient community is inseparable from health and economic aspects. The issue arising from the health element is related to health protocol enforcement, people’s behaviour not complying fully with health protocol, and refocusing the budget on the fulfilment of healthcare service needs.

Meanwhile, the health element problem comes from “disagree” statement, people’s incompliance with health protocol. Economic issues indicating the resilient attempt can be seen from the words strengthening purchasing power, consuming ability, and capability of establishing business following job termination. In the economic element, the “disagree” statement does not arise, meaning that there is no problem found harmful to the resilient society in the Covid-19 social aid process.

Network element reveals the parties’ support to providing Covid19 Social Aid, securing the distribution of aid, and enforcing the people’s compliance with health protocol. The problem arising from the “disagree” statement is the presence of moral hazard committed by the one affiliated with a government organisation or member of society, the conflict of interest, taking personal benefit, and incompliance with the norm specified.

The examples of an “agree” statement are related to the meaning of health and economic resilience, and networking attempt to optimise social aid benefits: “I saw that everything runs smoothly, the queue is good with good social distancing, everyone wears mask, and money is given after the hand has been sanitised. This presence of social aid can strengthen and reinforce people’s purchasing power, so that domestic consumption will return to normal later,” said PJ.

In health and investment elements, the “disagree” statement is found, reflecting the problem related to Covid-19 social aid process. The examples of disagree statement are related to the meaning of health resilience, economic resilience, and networking: Rusli Habibie explained, “Since coronavirus pandemic affected the world, including Indonesia and Gorontalo, the government has taken some measures, either based on local wisdom or based on central regulations. All health, education, and personnel protocols have been implemented. However, without people’s compliance and awareness, the government’s hard work is meaningless. Moreover, health facility is still limited in Gorontalo.”

Third degree, with a proportion of 5% is occupied by mental outlook. The online news coverage on Covid-19 social aid results in support to the people’s mentality, including gratitude, hope, and spirit to adapt to the changing situation due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The examples of an “agree” statement in relation with mental outlook are as follows: “We should keep observing the latest situation of this case, and adapt readily to the change occurring,” said the HoG.

On the fourth degree, there are three elements with equal proportion with a score of 3.5: communication, local knowledge, and preparedness. Communication element is actually the high news coverage frequency, but the “disagree” proportion is also high, so that overall, the degree is small. Communication element is interpreted as the news coverage on the Covid-19 social aid containing components of literacy, education, and persuasion to the people to support the successful social aid program to improve the resilient society during pandemic. The problem of

communication found is related to less coordination and rigid bureaucracy, so that current information and decision making are inhibited in the context of a disaster crisis. Consequently, it results in an impression that one party waits for another, blaming each other for the mistake and being less harmonious policy between policy actors. The example of an “agree” statement in communication element in this study is as follows: “The criteria of recipients are poor family not receiving *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH), not obtaining *Kartu Sembako* and *Kartu Prakerja* (Pre-work Card),” Minister of Financial Affairs wrote in her official page (GridHITS.id). The examples of a “disagree” statement related to communication are as follows: “The problem is that we cannot give, (while) we have allocated a budget (for) 85,000 family heads. But we cannot give it because provincial and central governments have not given yet.” (Bisnis.com)

Local knowledge element features the news containing initiation or innovation conducted by many actors to improve social aid quantity and quality, thereby reinforcing the resilient community. However, this study indicates the phenomenon attenuating the resilience of community due to the Covid19 social aid process. The harmful factors include moral hazard, social capital attenuation, and broken community harmonisation due to the excess of social aid politicisation.

The examples of news containing an “agree” statement related to local knowledge element are as follows: RH explained, “since coronavirus pandemic affected the world, including Indonesia and Gorontalo, the government has taken some measures, either based on local wisdom or based on central regulations.”

The example of news containing a “disagree” statement related to local knowledge element is as follows: “Covid-19 social aid should not be politicised. The phenomenon of politicisation makes the people independent instead of being dependent on the government’s aid only. Social care value is getting eroded. People do not care about others, creating political jealousy, and fragmentation based on the social aid distribution,” said BS.

Preparedness element in this study refers to the meaning of preparedness of the plan to manage the Covid-19 pandemic effect through social aid, thereby supporting the sustainable resilience of the community. Apart from having a positive value, the element of disaster preparedness also has a potential effect that weakens community resilience. For example: the more massive the preparedness effort, the more panic can be created. The more social assistance for preparedness, there will be excess corruption.

The example of an “agree” statement concerning preparedness is as follows: “Big data developed by Bogor City Government are perfect. Through these data, there will be no aid recipient duplication, and people are given space to fill in their data on SALUR application if they feel that they deserve to receive social aid, but have not received it yet,” said A. Meanwhile, the example of a “disagree” statement about preparedness is as follows: “Recently media release as if corruption, social aid fraud and other deviations occur, even though it has complied with the rule subjected to the Covid-19 regulation.

Figure 4 on the analysis on organisational aspect shows that the groups voicing “disagree” statements most frequently are Civil Society Organisation, politicians, and National Commission, such as Corruption Eradication Commission, Public Information Commission, and Ombudsman. These organisations voice anything putatively problematic in the Covid-19 social aid process, thereby potentially attenuating the resilient community. It is compatible with the duty and

function of the four institutions holding controlling and supervising functions.

Meanwhile, the organisation most widely communicating the messages related to the element of resilient community is Local Government, and the one that does so most rarely is national government. It is because Local Government plays a strategic role in bridging the implementation of Covid-19 social aid. Local Government also bridges the community problem to the policy makers in national government.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the elements of resilient society appearing in the news coverage on “Covid-19 social aid” on online news include (i) local knowledge, (ii) community networks and relationships, (iii) communication; (iv) health, (v) governance and leadership, (vi) resources, (vii) economic investment, (viii) preparedness, and (ix) mental outlook. Therefore, Covid-19 social aid policy is required to strengthen the people’s resilience to adapt to Covid-19 effects, physically, economically, and socially.

Nevertheless, this study also finds that in the Covid-19 social aid process there are some problems i.e. (1) problems of aid recipient data; (2) problem of social aid politicisation; (3) collusion and corruption; (4) problem of misinformation and therefore they should be corrected. Generally, the threat against resilience is the people’s increased dependence on government and decreased independence, resulting in conflict within the society due to envy and suspicion. In addition, social aid problems can lower the people’s trust in government.

In conclusion, the news coverage on “Covid-19 social aid” on online news potentially support the resilient society, but still needs improvement in the following points: (1) data organisation, (2) the clarity of information communication cross-government level (central and local), cross-sector (between ministries, institutions, offices); cross-community group; (3) information transparency, complaint and supervision channel. Further research are recommended to complement this study’s limitation by conducting research from social media sources like Twitter, Instagram, Facebook. They are also recommended to increase time duration and study material.

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