

# PPKM BIO POLITICAL PRACTICES, VACCINATIONS, AND THE COVID-19 'PANDEMIC DICTATORSHIP': CASE STUDY OF SURABAYA AND GRESIK, EAST JAVA - INDONESIA

SITI AMINAH<sup>1\*</sup>, FEBBY RISTI WIDJAYANTO<sup>2</sup>, ROIKAN<sup>3</sup> and AMILIYA HESTI SUSANTI<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Departemen Ilmu Politik, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Airlangga, East Java, Indonesia

<sup>3,4</sup>CSWS FISIP UNAIR, East Java, Indonesia.

\*Corresponding author: siti.aminah@fisip.unair.ac.id<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

In Indonesia, the practice of the COVID-19 pandemic dictatorship is the key to enforcing health protocols, maintaining order, and strengthening the dominant norms of behavioral discipline for all populations. The practice in the form of PPKM bio politics and vaccination caused social unrest in East Java. Most individuals as citizens bear the socio-economic burden because the government strictly prohibits all forms of social interaction outside the home. The population has to lock themselves at home indefinitely. This has caused individuals and communities from lower social groups to reject PPKM's bio politics and vaccinations, which eventually led to a bio political crisis in East Java, especially Surabaya City and Gresik Regency. The population's response to the two-bio political policies was clashed with cultural factors, values/beliefs about death that were not determined by adherence to PPKM and vaccine acceptance, but by God. So that the public's refusal to not comply with health protocols, PPKM and vaccines is handled by the government with a judicial operation policy involving the TNI, police, and Satpol PP. PPKM bio politics as a disciplinary norm and monitoring population behavior, while mass vaccination is to build population immunity. The political relationship and the regulation of the health of the population's body are evident in the practice of bio politics during the implementation of the PPKM and vaccine policies. The operation of bio politics has two faces: as the government's responsibility for the recovery of the economic sector and economic recovery.

**Keywords:** Bio politics, Dictatorial Practices, Population Health, Body Discipline, East Java-Indonesia.

## INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government has officially announced that the PPKM will be extended for two weeks starting from 10-23 May 2022 for the Java-Bali and outside Java-Bali regions. This means, the pandemic dictatorship still applies to the population. Although the government has proven successful in minimizing the spread of COVID-19 in Indonesia through PPKM, the form of anticipation and vigilance to maintain the health of the population is a priority until now.

The severity of the COVID-19 crisis lies not only in its scope and rapid expansion worldwide, but also in the uncertainty in its ending. COVID-19 as a non-human actor that determines the life and death of a population (Čerkez & Gramc, 2021). The government is moving quickly to stop the spread of COVID-19 by means of self-isolation, PPKM, vaccination. With the COVID-19 pandemic, the relationship between population biology and politics is getting stronger. This virus has also dictated the political logic of the government and political elites in Indonesia to administer the body of the population. Consequently, citizens do not have the power to make and determine their own choices for their bodies/health. The life and death of the population becomes the power of the government/political elite/medical and paramedical personnel.

Foucault's conception, PPKM is a regulation on body politics, an action that directs people's behavior to be disciplined for the sake of health because the population's body is to function as an instrument of economic production, workforce, and significant subjects political interests (Richard, 2020). To establish immunization, the government also applies a vaccination policy to the population. This policy was also opposed by the population. The issue of immunity or immunization of the population's body is also bio political.

Based on the idea of bio politics put forward by Foucault and Esposito, PPKM is bio politics because PPKM contains restrictions on interaction. The government made political calls for the enforcement of health protocols. Behind this call, the government actually wants to relax restrictions on interaction in the community, but behind this call hides the possibility of the government running a government that gives priority to investment so that it can restore the health of the domestic economy which has not been hit by COVID-19. Behind the implementation of PPKM, what the state wants to protect is not only human life, but the economy (Neilson, 2021). So that the government also builds the immunity of the population with a modern bio political policy called the immunity paradigm. According to Esposito (2011), *immunitas*, merges with various fields outside of human biology, including law, politics, computer science, frontiers and so on, where each of these domains continually strives to immunize itself from external hazards (both actual and potential). By vaccinating people means intensifying and strengthening life through controlled intrusion of certain doses of pathogens to ward off further infection. With vaccination, the population's immune system becomes stronger and prevents pathogenicity with new immune defenses (Esposito 2006).

This article corroborates the explanation of Foucault, Esposito, and Agamben-inspired approaches to the government's political response to health and economic crises. PPKM and vaccination policies are bio political. The implementation of this policy was responded by the population as a repressive policy and rationalized death. Whereas this bio political policy is to contain the spread of the virus and reduce the number of infected populations. This led to strong resistance from the population from poor and underprivileged groups. What ideologies and political interests are hidden behind the Micro PPKM and the emergency prevailing in Java-Bali? Based on Foucault's study and the debates behind it, in this article we present cases that have emerged in the field in the implementation of PPKM. The government responded to social protests against PPKM Micro's bio politics and emergencies in repressive ways.

Immunity as a biological and political reality which in building the population's immunity and reducing the spread of COVID-19 involves the security forces (TNI and Police). Anyone who refuses PPKM and vaccination means death. The logic of immunity in its attempt to respond to the threat of disease that threatens the individual's body .

### **PPKM Bio Politics and Vaccination**

In Foucauldian's perspective, PPKM is to protect the body of the population affected by the pandemic crisis. So that the implementation of a very strict PPKM gets a tough challenge from the community. Studying the data and context in the field is not the case. In fact, it is not the population who wants a faster economic recovery, but rather the government that wants to accelerate the health of the economy. bio politics as a tool to end the COVID-19 pandemic. There is a lot of evidence of this, including: the government involves three pillars to oversee the PPKM policy, the vaccination program is carried out simultaneously and coordinated by the Neighborhood Units and the Community Units, the enthusiasm of community leaders to disseminate the deadly impact of COVID-19 and the need for vaccinations for children. population. Community support and participation to restore the health of the body and the economy of the community is very visible in the field.

The normalization process is a modernization process , says Foucault ( 1975). Normalization can be carried out in two forms: ( 1 ) . Normalization of the body to the production system ; ( 2 ) . Bio political normalization which refers to the normalization of the population. This bio political normalization is more relevant in explaining the PSBB and PPKM regulations made by the Indonesian government to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. After the COVID-19 outbreak has slowed , there is a new term that refers to the enactment of new norms that change the lifestyle of everyone in the world. In Indonesia, the new norms are popularly known as health protocols: wearing masks, using sanitizers, social distancing, online education , working from home (WFH), online business , working from home and so on. As the pandemic progresses, the process of population normalization through bio politics continues.

Implementation of PPKM bio politics and vaccination as a political policy that contains repression. The government and political elites have a strong desire to end the COVID-19 pandemic and the release of PPKM bio political policies shows the enthusiasm of the country's political rationality for economic recovery. PPKM and mass vaccination adopted by the Indonesian government as in other countries make policy instruments to restore population health for the survival of its citizens and not to increase the number of deaths. The COVID-19 pandemic has spawned a surge in the number of public policies with various designs and contents (Weible, et.al. 2020). The policies that have been implemented by the Indonesian government to respond to the large number of people who have died or been infected with COVID-19, namely: Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB), Transitional PSBB, Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM), Micro PPKM, and emergency PPKM. For the Java-Bali area until September 2021. The Indonesian government did not issue a lockdown regulation, because this has more negative impacts than positives. People are frustrated, commit suicide, and so on. The Indonesian government's choice focuses on regulations that limit the movement/interaction between people to break the chain

of spread of COVID-19. There are some people who obey PPKM because they are afraid of sanctions; there are people who do not comply with PPKM for economic reasons.

Tightening of activities in the context of the Implementation of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) in Java and Bali, including requiring people to work from home. The scope of the Emergency PPKM area itself is divided into 48 regencies/cities with a level 4 pandemic situation and 74 regencies/cities with a level 3 pandemic situation on the islands of Java and Bali. The legal basis for the PPKM policy (Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities) is the Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 1 Year 2021. The government first implemented Emergency PPKM on July 3, 2021 to July 20. After that, the extension under the name PPKM Level 4 was carried out three times (July 21-25 July 2021, 26 July-2 August 2021, and 3 August-9 August 2021). In the implementation of PPKM Level 4 and 3 which will be carried out on August 10-16 August 2021, there are 26 cities or regencies that have dropped from level 4 to level 3. This shows the improvement in regional conditions that have succeeded in reducing the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic.

COVID-19 is enlarging the fabric of biological life and political life where the bodies of individuals and populations are more placed at the center of government strategies and interventions for the purpose of 'defending' society, as Foucault puts it ( 2003 ) which was disproved earlier. At the same time, pandemics such as COVID-19 also call into question the relationship between self and others, between the individual and the public, between closeness and distance. Social distancing and self-isolation measures have been adopted worldwide to contain the spread of the virus and reduce the number of infections. These steps certainly redefine sociality and responsibility (Ajana , 2021).

In bio politics there is a relationship between politics/state/government and the body of the population. Literature on bio politics emerged in the 1970s where Foucault in his History of Sexuality (1978) wrote about the right to death and power over individual lives. Foucault frames power in terms of power relations and the instruments necessary for the biologically regulating function of individuals. Foucault understands power as something that is imposed from the top down or something that is owned by a few individuals. Power is a strategy, a set of dispositions and techniques that emerges from a network of relationships. Therefore, power is not exclusively given a negative meaning or as a barrier to individual freedom, but power functions to shape things. With that power, the government makes rules/regulations that suspend individual and social freedom. Because the government's position is specifically responsible for securing the biological life of the population.

At the heart of this logic is the idea of immunity, which has emerged as one of the central themes in the medical and political debate about the coronavirus. Questions arise as to whether lockdowns or herd immunity are the best policy for dealing with the spread of COVID-19, whether scientists are getting any closer to developing an effective vaccine capable of safely provide immunity against these aggressive diseases. Although fundamentally different, these strategies have the same goal: immunization of the population either through exposure ( herd immunity through mass infection) or protection ( lockdown and social distancing ). The will of the population to acquire immunity or what we call " imunitarianism ", brings the biological

and political relationship closer because life itself becomes the main site for enacting defense and deterrence policies at the physical level while strengthening state control over the subject. (through surveillance and tracking of COVID-19 in the population ). Roberto Esposito in his book 'Immunity' (2011) focuses on examining immunity in terms of community and is organized around concepts derived from biology. Esposito provides a clear and convincing examination of the ways in which that immunity should function as a framework for modernity itself, across different domains, discourses, and spheres of life. The logic of immunity in this case must be lowered into policies to respond to the threat of disease that threatens the individual body , including the COVID-19 pandemic .

Biopolitics in Foucault 's view (1995) is a new kind of power -- the power to discipline the behavior of the population so that the body is healthy and not plagued by disease. According to him, lepers had to be disciplined through the ritual of ostracism, which to some extent provided the general model and form of the great excommunication and confinement of the subject , and then the plague was removed. This act of exclusion then gave rise to a disciplinary project . The power of discipline as a non-violent practice that governs the human body and behavior. Just like the COVID-19 pandemic , discipline through bio politics is to overcome and reduce people infected with COVID-19 and reduce the number of people who die. All government (state) regulations aimed at protecting the health, safety of the population (citizens) from life crises due to the pandemic (COVID-19), war, and natural disasters that cause the death of the population.

PPKM is a continuation of the PSBB regulation which is a policy and power to regulate the body of the population as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. PPKM to curb the circulation of the virus by limiting human movement and limiting human contact with other humans in public spaces. Therefore, PPKM's emphasis is on securing individuals from being infected by closing public places, including public service areas. This means not only the suspension of all forms of social and administrative services, including transport services, but also the strict implementation of social distancing norms ( Ghosh , 2021). PPKM and PSBB regulations are bio political. This regulation also includes a semi- lockdown policy , as a way to minimize contact between people within or between populations including restricting travel, closing schools, banning public gatherings, requiring workplace closures, all designed to slow the transmission of the virus ( Violato, violato, Violet, 2021). Economic and political activities are also locked out of this PPKM. While vaccination is the administration of vaccines in order to actively generate or increase a person's immunity against a disease, so that if one day he is exposed to the disease, he will not get sick or only experience mild illness and will not become a source of transmission. In Indonesia. COVID-19 vaccination services are carried out at Health Service Facilities owned by the Central Government, Provincial Governments, Regency/City Governments or owned by the public/private sector that meet the requirements, including: Puskesmas, Sub-Puskesmas , Clinics , Hospitals and/or Health Service Units at the Port Health Office (KKP) and other health facilities.

Tightening of bio political practices through PPKM to advocate a “zero . approach COVID-19". bio politics as the application of techniques that result in the life not death of citizens . bio politics



operates under the government's prerogative to determine who can stay alive and no one is allowed to die. Its application in this century has rationalized the strict regulation of the citizen body. Even the COVID-19 pandemic has become a totalitarian condition. The concept of bio politics was adopted by postmodernist scientists at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in the 1990s following Foucault's analysis of examining the power of state oversight on individual -population health and biological conditions . ( Laurette T Liesen , Mary Barbara Walsh , 2016). Sarasin (2020) understand the concept bio politics which Foucault formulated as a critical analysis of the pandemic condition that can be handled by the application of disciplinary power over the individual body. This later became the culmination of the modern political conception of power which was formed from the biological aspect of the individual/population. The government started implementing and imposing a pandemic dictatorship on all populations on the advice of doctors for reasons of health, survival and life expectancy.

Implementation of PPKM in Surabaya and Gresik, as was the case in the city of Vincennes, France in the 17th century. Access to the Surabaya City (Waru Roundabout) and entry and exit access to the Gresik Regency toll road is completely closed and fully guarded by armed security forces. Individual citizens are totally subject to state power without bargaining. Countries and individuals are both in a state of emergency due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Therefore, a normalization policy is needed.



**Figure 1: Fully armed police officers are tasked with guarding access to the city of Surabaya**

Both PSBB and PPKM are soft lockdown strategies, providing room for the liberal economic sector to run. The government did not take a total lockdown policy. Rather, it is a semi-lockdown with the consideration of carrying out economic activities at the community level so that it is not completely paralyzed. The total lockdown policy affects contact between people within or between populations including restricting travel, closing schools, banning public gatherings, requiring workplace closures, all designed to slow the transmission of the virus. ( Violato, violato, Violato, 2021) Amid the rapid global spread of COVID-19, many governments have imposed countrywide lockdowns, with possible severe welfare consequences. In this regard, South Africa is an extreme case suffering from low levels of welfare, but at the same time imposing very strict lockdown regulations. In this study, we analyzed the causal effect of locking and, consequently, the determinants of happiness. Loss of comfort and happiness causes stress, depression and reduced immunity and eventually death

(Greyling, 2007). Rossouw, Adhikari 2 022). Although PSBB and PPKM are not lockdown policies, they have caused the paralysis of the community's economic sector and weak purchasing power. This means that PPKM and PSBB are semi-lockdown biopolitics.

The central government issues policies on PPKM and vaccinations. Regarding PPKM, the central government through the Ministry of Home Affairs issued Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 01 of 2022 concerning the Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities Level 3, Level 2, and Level 1 Corona Virus Disease 2019 in the Java and Bali Regions. Meanwhile, regarding vaccination, it is stated in Presidential Regulation Number 14 of 2021 concerning Vaccine Procurement and Vaccination Implementation, regarding the sanctions contained in article 13a paragraph 4. It is written that any person who has been designated as a target for COVID-19 vaccine recipients who do not participate in vaccination may be subject to administrative sanctions in the form of: delay or termination of the provision of social security or social assistance; postponement or termination of government administration services; and/or fines. This Presidential Regulation will later become the legal umbrella for local governments in making regional regulations (perda) regarding COVID-19 vaccination.

The implementation of PPKMbio politics and vaccination runs within Yustisi's operating mechanism. Population behavior discipline techniques to comply with health protocols and disseminate vaccines to the population. The justification operation runs three times a day. The implementation of the Judiciary Operation consists of Joint Officers of the Three Pillars, namely: TNI, Polri, and Satpol PP / Civil Service Police). The COVID-19 situation assessment data released by the Ministry of Health per September 4, 2021, the City of Surabaya has succeeded in controlling the pandemic as seen from the positivity rate (the ratio of the number of COVID-19 cases to the number of tests, the lower the number, the smaller and the transmission rate. That means it is successful pandemic control.

The control of the pandemic in Surabaya shows a good trend (testing, tracing), which is 1.61 percent. This figure is far from the WHO standard which sets the figure of 5 percent. As for the vaccine, it is taken through an approach with community leaders. Even the government tightening the population entry requirements to a number of public places such as malls, offices, hospitals to a number of other facilities. Even mall managers and local governments make rules for entering malls during PPKM Java-Bali, children aged 6-12 years must show proof of vaccine and be accompanied by parents. This policy is stated in the regulations of the Mayor of Surabaya and the Regent of Gresik. This policy is in effect to date. Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 13 of 2022 concerning the Third Amendment to Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 67 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Health Protocols in the Context of Prevention and Breaking the Chain of Spread of COVID-19 in the City of Surabaya. Meanwhile in Gresik, the Gresik Regent's regulation Number 22 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for the Transition Period Towards a New Normal Order in the Conditions of the 2019 Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) Pandemic in Gresik Regency.



Figure 2

Source: Map of the distribution of COVID-19 zone data in regencies/cities of East Java Province as of August 17, 2021. (Diskominfo of East Java)

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

Considering the problems and objectives of this research, it is to analyze PPKM policies during the COVID-19 Pandemic from a bio political perspective. Therefore, all existing methods were considered, namely: using the Positivism and Poststructuralism methods, dialectics was more or less relevant in explaining the implementation of the PPKM policy that was applied during the COVID-19 pandemic in two regions that had almost similar characteristics, namely the City of Surabaya and Gresik Regency. Data collection time including observations starts from the implementation of the first PPKM until the extension of the Micro PPKM which lasts until August 2021. Field observations take place during the validity period of the PPKM and the cities of Surabaya and Gresik when they are in PPKM level 1 (red zone).

This research focuses on three activities, namely: (1) conducting a literature review, various publications through online media and data from the East Java and national COVID-19 clusters. The method used is digital data and primary data obtained from the field to explore the latest research (Flick, 2018). This research takes the form of case studies in two regions that represent red zone areas in the size of the COVID-19 pandemic. The location selection was carried out through online literature tracking based on data from the East Java COVID-19 cluster. The city of Surabaya and Gresik regency as industrial areas and as areas where most of the population protested against the implementation of PPKMbio politics and vaccinations. Observation to see the behavior of people who are ignorant and obedient to health protocols during PPKM. In these two industrial areas, there were rejections and protests against the implementation of the Micro PPKMI and vaccination policies. The data obtained from observation is the application of sanctions given by the government to violators of PPKM Micro. Stall owners and shop visitors who receive sanctions from joint officers from the City Government. Online resources through the use of the internet as a basis for secondary data collection to build a sound and integrated analytical framework and to master key concepts



of bio politics and the COVID-19 pandemic. This literature review is to study documents (Government Regulations, Presidential Regulations, Mayor Regulations, Regent Regulations, Minister of Home Affairs Instructions, COVID-19 Task Force data at the center and regions) issued by the central and regional governments relating to COVID-19 pandemic data. (2) develop an operational framework to study bio politics from a Foucauldian perspective and to define methods of data analysis; (3) collect data with two methods, namely: (1) in-depth interviews with several informants to obtain qualitative data.

In-depth interviews with policy makers were to obtain explanations and empirical evidence of what they had done, not just provide verbal explanations (Green & Thorogood, 2009). Although there is a bias in the opinions they convey, all information from informants is selected, sorted, and categorized according to the questions posed to the informants. Bernard (2000) provides an explanation of the importance of paying attention to the accuracy of information from informants as a source of research data that is worthy of analysis.

The scope of the structured interview guide in this study depends on how much data is known about COVID-19, vaccinations, health protocols, self-isolation. The topics for this interview guide are carried out through a literature review, also compiled from field observations. In-depth interviews were conducted to strengthen the analysis of the community's understanding of PPKM biopolitics. There were several informants who were not willing to be interviewed and then recorded. There was an initial agreement between the researcher and the prospective informants. Interview data presented in direct and indirect quotations pay attention to the behavior and quality of the interview (Kvale, 2007). This was considered by the research team as a way to select interview data. There were 15 informants for this research, including: the head of the COVID-19 task force in Surabaya and Gresik, the head of BPBD, Surabaya, the cluster leader at the RT level, the community, shop owners, shop visitors, Satpol PP officers, community social action actors at the grassroots level, as well as community representatives in each of the selected areas. (2) Field observations in Surabaya and Gresik. Observations were made to see the implementation of biopolitics, in particular the operation of the three pillars of monitoring community behavior during the PPKM period, monitoring of road space access and toll gate access to and Surabaya – Gresik, supervision of public spaces.

Field observations were also carried out on the blocking methods and techniques made by the community/community at the RT and RW levels, both in the form of road closures, installation of banners/billboards, inspection of vaccine cards, in public spaces where people congregate. Sanctions are in the form of confiscation of ID cards and cash fines up to the closing of the shop. The places observed were food stalls and coffee shops, social service centers, traditional markets, public spaces such as parks, ports, bus terminals, and train stations. In carrying out structured and semi-structured interviews, digital recording devices and video recordings were used. These tools capture complete verbal recordings of interview sessions, with the ability to then synchronize specific handwritten notes with the corresponding points in the audio recording. This recording greatly improves the quality of the data collected and is a requirement for analytical approaches that require verbatim data for comprehensive text analysis.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PPKM Bio Politics in Surabaya and Gresik

The city of Surabaya and Gresik Regency were included in the PPKM level 1 category, although in the end the two regions managed to drop to level 2 and fall into the orange zone category. In Surabaya and Gresik Regency, PPKM Mikro is effective from June 22, 2021. The tight supervision over the body of the population due to the pandemic has made most of the population panic and even become frustrated. Because they are considered unable to continue to earn a living to meet the needs of daily life. The supervisory mechanism for disciplining behavior in enforcing PPKM bio politics has an impact on this Emergency PPKM, which is felt by the poor and marginalized. Residents who violate the PPKM are a vulnerable socio-economic group who want to work to earn money to make a living. PPKM violations committed by these residents became scapegoats for violating the rules.

The success of Surabaya and Gresik in reducing the spread of COVID-19 is not solely due to the population's compliance with PPKM, but also due to the accommodation of community aspirations by the Surabaya City Government and Gresik Regency Government to obtain compensation and social assistance for socio-economically vulnerable residents. This success is also due to the implementation of the justice operation. The implication of a tight bio politics mechanism has led to a very strong movement of people's rejection in Surabaya City and Gresik Regency towards the implementation of biopolitics. When the PSBB was enforced, the population did not respond strongly. However, when the Micro PPKM and emergency measures were imposed in the Java-Bali region, residents in these two areas immediately protested and strongly rejected the PSBB, especially the operation to justify the health protocol.

### Micro PPKM: Body Discipline Resistance

Overcoming community resistance to PPKM policies and COVID-19 vaccinations have influenced the dynamics of conformism and new social norms, so the alternative to involving the security forces is the right choice. The cases found in the field show that the community's rejection of PPKM is not because of economic problems, the government must check whether the social assistance program provided has touched some of the people who reject the PPKM. The community's refusal may have certain political reasons, because the government has not provided social assistance. The refusal of PPKM is actually a welfare agenda as well as controlling COVID (informant #1 NGO figure, 6 June 2021).

The current Micro PPKM places the human body as the object of regulation by controlling the body through 'keeping a distance', which then escalates to confinement at home with little interaction in public places. Its implementation became blurred when the government enforced PPKM strictly in the form of Micro and Emergency PPKM, even in a very repressive manner. Micro PPKM is a continuation of the PPKM policy that has been implemented by the government. Micro PPKM is implemented by targeting smaller areas, such as the Rukun Tetangga (RT) and Rukun Warga (RW) areas. In PPKM Mikro, the areas are divided into four colored zones, namely green, yellow, orange, and red. Micro PPKM is effective from 9 February 2021 to 25 July 2021. Fifth is Emergency PPKM is a policy of limiting community

activities issued by the government due to the worsening condition of the spread of COVID-19. Emergency PPKM is in effect from 3 July 2021 to 25 July 2021.

The tightening of PPKM operations is not well understood by the public. Interviews with informants (interview with informant #12, Surabaya) and (interview with informant #14 Gresik) show that the condition of people who do not understand PPKM and PPKM is understood by people from the lower and underprivileged groups as the end of life. This is really a heavy blow psychologically and economically for the community. Some traditional and modern markets are not operating. It is as if the government is taking action against the community, which only requires people to lock themselves at home without any form of socio-economic assistance. The outbreak of COVID-19 and the very repressive state reaction is proof that the health of the population to be safe and not threatened by COVID-19 is through strict supervision and restriction of social interaction.

PPKM is a new regulatory force that has a positive influence on life, which seeks to manage, optimize and multiply, subjecting to precise controls and comprehensive regulations'. There are several semi-lockdown policies, namely: first, the government imposed a Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) policy as the first restriction issued by the government . Then continue with the PPKM policy. This policy was first implemented in Jakarta on April 10, 2020 and has undergone several extensions and this policy ends on July 2, 2020. Apart from Jakarta, many regions have also implemented PSBB. Second, the Transitional PSBB . The policy issued to respond to the decline in economic activity that occurred during the PSBB. This policy was chosen by the government to prevent economic conditions from getting more recent and the government to create a new normal or commonly known as the new normal . The Transitional PSBB policy was first implemented in Jakarta in June 2020. A further sign that the logic of discipline informs some anti-coronavirus measures is the rhetoric used by some politicians and paramedics and non-paramedics who suggest that tightened quarantine measures will depend on how well the public adheres to the measures already in place. The idea, sometimes explicitly formulated, is that all citizen activities are under the control of the security forces. This is a classic example of the government's efforts to restore public health to a new normal. The security apparatus involved in the judicial operation has resulted in a very limited distribution of disciplinary action in Gresik and Surabaya. This is consistent with Foucault's (2008) characterization of the "security apparatus" as the basic safeguard of the self-regulation process. For example, politicians and epidemiologists who asked government authorities at the central level to really seriously address all fields directly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, including in the field of education by urging local governments to stop face-to-face learning.

Society has repeatedly resisted tougher rules of control, on the one hand, by appealing to the natural behavior of the subjects themselves and, on the other, by highlighting the importance of maintaining as much of a "normal life" as possible (more on this below). The bio political imperative for the protection of human life is being reaffirmed, through extraordinarily interventionist means of discipline and sovereign power (partial quarantine, self-quarantine, and quarantine in hospitals) that result in partial (and strain-ridden) restrictions on the social -

economic freedoms enjoyed by 21st century neoliberal subjects, and in a fairly comprehensive reprieve from democratic involvement in political decision-making. Not only was the PPKM opposed by the population, the vaccination policy was also rejected. Vaccination is to create immunizations which in Esposito's concept is called life protection. In order to protect the lives of populations, political actors must make "inclusive exclusions" of some life-threatening threats. In Gresik and Surabaya, as elsewhere, shortly after the implementation of the PPKM restrictions, calls began to emerge to relax these restrictions for the sake of economic health.

With the snares of sanctions that burden the community, this has caused the people, both in Surabaya and Gresik to accept the vaccine program as well. What people are afraid of is not COVID-19, but sanctions. There were informants who voiced their fear of being vaccinated. L cultural background influences his attitude towards refusing vaccines. Fueling modern skepticism about ever-evolving vaccine schedules and the rationale behind new vaccine mandates. To be able to escape confinement at home, the main alternative is to get vaccinated. But the people actually rejected it, when at the beginning of the implementation of this vaccination. The government then took another way to get people to be vaccinated, namely by providing administrative sanctions and receiving vaccines as a condition for carrying out activities in public spaces and this is a way to get easy mobility in the midst of a pandemic. Everyone who has been designated as the target recipient of the Covid-19 Vaccine who does not follow the Covid-19 Vaccination may be subject to administrative sanctions. This is regulated in Presidential Regulation Number 14 of 2021 concerning Amendments to Presidential Regulation Number 99 of 2020 concerning Vaccine Procurement and Vaccination Implementation in the Context of Combating the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) Pandemic Article 13 a paragraph (4). Article 13A in full states: (1) The Ministry of Health shall collect data and determine the target recipients of the Covid-19 Vaccine. (2) Everyone who has been designated as the target recipient of the COVID-19 Vaccine based on the data collection as referred to in paragraph (1) is required to take part in the COVID-19 Vaccination. (3) Exempted from the obligation as referred to in paragraph (2) for the target recipient of the COVID-19 Vaccine who does not meet the criteria for the recipient of the COVID-19 Vaccine in accordance with the indications of the available COVID-19 Vaccine. (4) Everyone who has been designated as the target recipient of the COVID-19 Vaccine who does not participate in the COVID-19 Vaccination as referred to in paragraph (2) may be subject to administrative sanctions, in the form of: (a). postponement or termination of the provision of social security or social assistance; (b) suspension or cessation of government administration services; and/or (c). Fine. (5) The administrative sanctions as referred to in paragraph (4) shall be imposed by the ministry, institution, regional government, or agency in accordance with their respective authorities.

In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is not an option for the public to continue to refuse this vaccination program. There are certain vaccines because they are produced in certain countries, which are considered haram if mixed with blood. So people make a choice of vaccines that are not haram. People from all walks of life and economic backgrounds who care about the freedom, dignity and health of everyone are willing to accept any vaccine. But there are those who refuse to be vaccinated for fear of the side effects. Based on data compiled by

the Ministry of Health, the total injection of the first dose has reached 177,577,002 injections or 85.26%, while the second dose is 120,985,959 injections or about 58.09% and the third dose is 1,676,424 injections or 0.80%.

There are data from in-depth interviews with several informants whose answers are refusing the vaccine, which can be categorized into four. First, refuse because they are not sure about the safety or effectiveness of the Covid-19 vaccine. Second, refused for reasons of worrying side effects after the vaccine. Third, the informant believes that there are alternatives to vaccines to end the pandemic. Fourth, consideration of belief in religion which is associated with haram reasons. Since the Indonesian government has promoted the Covid-19 vaccination program, which began in mid-January 2021. Vaccination was initiated by President Joko Widodo on January 13, 2021, followed by state officials and community leaders. Then proceed with priority groups such as health workers, members of the TNI/Polri, the elderly, public servants, and others.

With PPKM and vaccination received critical attention in Gresik and Surabaya. The government's policy to stay at home was protested because it was not followed by social protection or security. With protests against the implementation of the PPKM policy, the Gresik and Surabaya governments finally made a cash social assistance policy to support the lives of residents directly affected by COVID-19. On the one hand, the government's interests seem to be fused with human interests in restoring a good quality of life. Indeed, from a human interest point of view, some health experts have argued that policies of confining oneself at home or avoiding crowds may have less toll than allowing the population to interact freely. Government intervention, especially the security forces who set up several command posts in public places, is an intervention that shows that the long-term economic benefits of keeping the number of deaths to a minimum through restrictive measures will outweigh the short-term.

The Transitional PSBB was marked by various easing of community activities and places of worship, office activities, and shopping centers were re-opened. The Transitional PSBB only lasts until September 2020 because in that month, the conditions for the spread of COVID-19 got worse and made the government re-implement the PSBB strictly. In October, the government again implemented the Transitional PSBB because conditions were considered to be improving and this policy lasted until January 17, 2021. Enforcement of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM). Third, PPKM is a policy of limiting community activities that was again issued by the government to respond to the situation of the spread of COVID-19, which at that time was getting worse. PPKM is implemented in many regions and is valid from January 11, 2021 to February 8, 2021.

The implementation of PPKM in Surabaya has succeeded in reducing the surge in people infected with COVID-19. The participation of the Lurah and Camat to anticipate the surge in COVID-19 cases was instructed by the mayor of Surabaya. This has an impact on Surabaya's exit from the red zone and into the green zone. The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) released data on Tuesday, April 26, 2022, the number of people who were positively infected with the corona virus in the city of Surabaya had reached 116,038. Furthermore, 2,936



people died from COVID-19, and 47 were active positive (treated), and 113,055 people were declared cured.

An interesting field finding from the PPKM implementation in Surabaya is the residents' rejection of the actions of the security forces in charge of disciplining the behavior of residents who are considered to have violated the PPKM. The incident took place in the Bulak Banteng-Kenjeran area, where a number of residents and shop owners refused to be dispersed and put in order by the police and the TNI. Chaos between residents and officers occurred on Saturday 10 July 2021 at around 22.00 WIB. At that time, the three pillars of the Kenjeran sub-district carried out an operation to take action against violators of the Emergency PPKM. However, because they did not accept the action, a number of residents fought back. Residents threw stones at cars and officers. The action then sparked other residents to fight. Residents then evict officers to leave the area. When they were about to take action against a shop that violated their opening operating hours, the shop owner turned out to be against it, there was an argument and then an argument with the officers. Because of this reason, then the crowd began to gather and throw stones at the officers. The owner of the warkop did not accept it because the shop would be prosecuted and forced to close by the officers. So that conflict cannot be avoided and then invites other residents to come out and gather against the officers/officers. More and more local residents joined in and carried out violence by throwing stones at officers and damaging patrol cars. Officers guarding the isolation post carry out a selective policy. That is, to sort between non-essential essential and non-critical critical. Residents who do not have urgent interests are expected to stay at home. This is part of breaking the chain of the spread of COVID-19. Head of Traffic at the implementation of the 8 July 2021 partition.

**Figure 3: Street scene during Emergency PPKM in Surabaya/ Photo: Faiq Azmi**



### **Rejection of PPKM versus Enforcement of Biopolitics**

The Regent of Gresik, revealed that the implementation of the Micro and Emergency PPKM has caused tourist attractions, squares, parks and others to be closed. The tightening of health protocols in all places continues to be enforced with the support of the 0817 Gresik Kodim and the Polres and orders the Health Office to boost and accelerate vaccination during this micro emergency PPKM period. Emergency PPKM as a product of central government policy, its

implementation in the regions is also accompanied by innovation and facilities. The aim is to provide social assistance targeted at residents in self-isolation (Isoman) and residents affected by COVID-19.

Gresik Regency Government also made a regulation in the form of a circular regarding the implementation of Emergency PPKM in Gresik, for coffee buyers to be prohibited from hanging out in Warkop. Referring to the regulation, coffee shoppers in a coffee shop (Warkop) are also prohibited from enjoying coffee in the shop, but must be wrapped and taken home. The Gresik Regent issued a Circular (SE), which regulates the limitation of wedding reception guests; the maximum number that can be present at the location is 30 people. The peculiarity of PPKM in Gresik is that the Regency Government launched a movement to support the implementation of emergency community activity restrictions (PPKM), which was named "Gresik Jaman Now ". It is an acronym for "Don't go anywhere Nang Omah Wae or don't go anywhere at home ". The launch of this movement was followed by the affixing of stickers on official cars. The goal is to raise awareness and remind the public of the importance of moving at home and avoiding activities outside the home. When doing activities outside the home, people are required to wear two-layer masks. The Gresik Regency Government imposes sanctions on people who violate the Prokes. These policies are the implementation of emergency PPKM in accordance with Inmendagri No. 15 of 2021 concerning Emergency PPKM in the Java-Bali Region.

The implementation of bio politics in Gresik can be seen from the closure of two main roads. The closure is done to reduce the mobility of residents. The two roads that were closed were Jalan Veteran, which is the main access in and out of Gresik-Surabaya and Jalan Wahid Hasyim which is in the middle of the city. According to the Head of the Gresik Police through the Head of Traffic, the Gresik Police said that the closure of two roads in Gresik during the Emergency PPKM was implemented as an effort to prevent the spread of COVID-19 in the Gresik area. The closing activity of Veteran and Wahid Hasyim Roads in the context of emergency PPKM, namely controlling the mobility of people who will enter Gresik City. For Veterans Road, the closure will take effect from today. The closure will take place from 11.00 WIB to 14.00 WIB. The closure was carried out from the fourth intersection of Nippon Paint to the fourth intersection of Sentolang. Meanwhile, Jalan Wahid Hasyim, which is in the Gresik Square area, will be closed from 16.00 WIB to 08.00 WIB.

In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, PPKM and PSBB are an effort by the state to rationalize problems caused by government practices to be responsible for dealing with life and life problems (health, birth, life expectancy) and the death of individual citizens due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Through PPKM and PSBB, population health is within the framework of political rationality, so there are many political policies/legal products that complement each other and strictly control the individual bodies of the population. The presence of three pillars, namely the TNI, POLRI and Satpol PP oversees the behavior of the community to comply with health protocols as the best and rational way to reduce the number of individuals infected with COVID-19 .

The operation of the three pillars of the security forces that apply repressive methods is proof that the state's power to control the behavior and interactions of citizens is absolutely absolute. Individual citizens who violate the health protocol are given sanctions that contain elements of violence or militarism and social sanctions. Examples of sanctions given by judicial officers include push-ups, cleaning toilets, sweeping roads, fines money, confiscation of identity cards (KTP) and so on. The practice of bio politics through PPKM and PSBB shows that the government is very authoritarian and even dictatorial to save the lives of residents and citizens.

Foucault introduced the idea of governmentality to understand the important changes in the exercise of power over the population. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the rationality of the government's actions to curb the actions/behavior of individuals/populations is felt. PPKM as legitimacy in scientific truth, where public health is a priority. government \_ view population health as the basis for protect and improve productive economy state power. Health becomes a political issue demanding political control. The government bears the cost of treating people infected with COVID-19. Therefore, in Foucault's terms: "The power apparatus is involved in handling the body so that it is not infected with COVID-19. Regional governments are obliged to provide health services to residents. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the citizen's body is a bio political reality that is managed through standardization of knowledge (observations, treatment and treatment, which later became the administration of body health.) The government always publishes the number of people infected, dead, and alive through bio political institutions called task forces (Satgas) located at the center and in the regions.

The President reminded the importance of vaccination to achieve community immunity or herd immunity. He also appealed to the public to be vaccinated as soon as there is an opportunity for mutual safety. "A vaccine is the best effort currently available. Community immunity is important to overcome the pandemic k. The city of Surabaya has reactivated the Tangguh Wani Jogo Suroboyo Village, so that it is more effective to prevent COVID-19. So, let's be disciplined together in carrying out health protocols. (In-depth interview # 7, community leader in Gresik)

PPKM is not only a bio political policy, but also a political economy. The central government provides sanctions for local governments that fail to reduce the rate of spread of the COVID-19 pandemic or who fail to implement PPKM. The implementation of Emergency PPKM is also followed by various socio-economic innovation policies to avoid the death of the economic sector. Threats and sanctions from the central government if the spread of COVID-19 increases in an area, regional heads are threatened with being temporarily dismissed. Governors, regents and mayors who do not implement the provisions on the definition of community activity during the Emergency PPKM period are subject to administrative sanctions in the form of written warnings twice in a row until temporary dismissal as stipulated in Article 68 paragraphs 1 and 2 of Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government. Even the supervision of social interactions and daily life of individual behavior is closely monitored, including the imposition of curfews. Starting from the implementation of PPKM which stopped the movement and socio-economic activities of the individual, the violence in the implementation and supervision of individuals became increasingly harsh. The power of the state in all lines of institutions in

society has stopped the daily activities of the people, both in Surabaya City and Gresik Regency.

Public understanding of PPKM and PSBB regulations which are considered by the community as policies that reduce freedom in earning a living. Surabaya has implemented the instructions of the Minister of Home Affairs. This is because Perwali Number 67 of 2020 is not much different from the contents of the Minister of Home Affairs' instructions regarding the implementation of activity restrictions to control COVID-19. However, there are several things that need to be added to conform to the instructions of the Minister of Home Affairs. Residents have been able to enter the real new normal. Economic activities will continue and health protocols have been tightened and the public has been vaccinated. (In-depth interview with informant #8 academics, Surabaya)

The main problem is the lack of understanding about the purpose of PPKM and vaccinations causing population compliance leading to an attitude of rejection of PPKM and vaccination. This then led to clashes with the security forces in charge of the justice operation. What's interesting about this research is that residents from the lower middle class and from low socioeconomic status understand and respond to PSBB and PPKM regulations, not as a strategy to reduce COVID-19 infection and the population's death rate. On the other hand, people from the lower middle class prefer to make peace with the COVID-19 pandemic. The peak of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis was from June to August 2021. Within those three months, the number of people infected with COVID-19 and died increased. At the same time, the action against the judicial operation involving the three pillars was actually carried out in the city of Surabaya.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Mendagri) issued the Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs (Inmendagri) Number 14 of 2021 on June 21, 2021. The Minister of Home Affairs is related to the extension and tightening of the implementation of restrictions on micro-scale community activities (PPKM). This Ministry of Home Affairs is a follow-up to the direction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia who instructed that the micro-based PPKM policy be extended and further optimize the command posts (Posko) for handling COVID-19 at the village and sub-district levels. This rule as the government's response due to the increasing death rate and increasing number of infected people, the government issued micro, emergency, and level 1-4 PPKM. People's activities were strictly restricted, and people were even prohibited from leaving their homes. Most community activities including schools and businesses run online. Starting from the implementation of the emergency PPKM policy, the community preferred not to comply with the prokes. The socio-economic conditions of the community are getting worse, many have lost their livelihoods, they are unemployed and have no income, so this causes them to be desperate to sell and work as they are in order to continue their lives.

The results of direct observations in Gresik Regency show that some residents reject PPKM and the vaccination program. This has caused a riot with the authorities. This refusal was made due to the government's continuous extension of the PPKM, which resulted in their lack of certainty in getting the money. The Association of Citizens Groups consisting of: the Gresik

People's Alliance (ARG) PMII, Gresik Progressive Youth (PPG) and the Sitting District Education Gubuk (GPK) held a demonstration in the Gresik Regency Government Office yard, on August 13, 2021. The masses demanded the central government to disband PPKM Levels 1 to 4 are considered to have failed to provide rights for the community. Dozens of demonstrators demanded the termination of PPKM Levels 1 to 4, and urged the provision of basic people's needs in accordance with Article 55 of the Health Quarantine Law Number 6 of 2018. They also demanded that the government provide guarantees of free and proper health services to all people. "We also demand free COVID-19 tests, and provide free vaccinations without discrimination to all people. The demands became wider because the masses also demanded the central government to provide full guarantees of protection and incentives to all health workers. The collective protest action pointed to subsidies for agricultural production facilities, namely fertilizers, seeds, and medicines, as well as reasonable prices for agricultural and mass production. They also asked the central government and the Gresik regional government to stop laying off workers and provide guarantees for 100 percent of workers' wages. Workers who lost their jobs.

### **Lack of Public Understanding of Prokes**

In Surabaya and Gresik, the research team found several warungs that were open until midnight, especially coffee shops. When the research team toured Surabaya and Gresik, officers from the Satpol PP found several coffee and food stalls that were still open after 20.00 WIB. The Satpol PP officer explained the threat from COVID-19 to the shop owner and several visitors. But there are also shop owners who still find it difficult to accept warnings from Satpol PP officers. The acknowledgment from the shop owner is that the shop has been closed for a long time and there is no clarity about their fate. The Satpol PP officers also asked that visitors who violate the health protocols (prokes) be asked for ID cards and some were fined up to five hundred thousand rupiah.

The attitude of rejecting PPKM and vaccination in Surabaya and Gresik in the bipolar analysis has placed the state as a mechanistic, functionalist, determinist, and monolithic actor. Meanwhile, COVID-19 is an actor who has succeeded in dictating the political and economic logic of the government. This shows that the COVID-19 pandemic in the 21st century marks the relevance of Foucault's analysis which places bio politics as emerging from and complementing the two modalities of power, sovereignty and discipline. Sovereignty which ultimately refers to the power to take the lives of the population, while discipline in the form of power operations is directed at the implementation of body discipline (adhering to health protocols), and finally bio politics concerns the management of the population body with strict supervision.

“... This condition can be seen from the opinion of community leaders who are residents of Surabaya when asked for comments about micro PPKM. He said that recently many people have started to ignore health protocols so that PPKM needs to be implemented. PPKM must be closely monitored because many people in public places do not comply with Prokes, do not use masks, do not wash their hands. In fact, there are still many people who hang out in coffee shops until late at night. People still underestimate the COVID-19



pandemic. People don't seem to want to limit their activities...” (in-depth interview with informant #5 Gresik Satpol PP officer)

**Figure 4: Keputih Cemetery, District, Sukolilo, Surabaya**



Source: Aminah, Koesbardiati, Soesilowati, 2020

“...Complaints from the urban poor were also conveyed by an informant. People are looking for work, all activities outside are hampered. The opinion of this informant differs from that of a trader in one of the Surabaya malls. He said the PPKM should be relaxed, especially regarding the rules for operating hours for shopping centers which are limited to 19.00 WIB. If possible, not at 19.00 WIB. If possible, like before until 21.00 WIB. According to him, restrictions on operating hours for business places such as shopping centers will not have much impact on suppressing the spread of the COVID-19 virus. In the new normal, people are used to wearing masks and washing their hands. So the solution is not to reduce the operating hours of the shopping center, because it is more difficult for traders to bear the loss because there are no buyers...” (in-depth interview with informant #6 Head of the Cluster at the RT level, Krembangan District, Surabaya).

There was a riot in Surabaya when the Micro PPKM was implemented, partly against the enforcement of restrictions on emergency community activities. The chaos occurred during the policing operation in the Emergency PPKM. The incident began when officers from the local police and sub-district carried out a three-pillar operation. Meanwhile, the Tanjung Perak Port Surabaya Police Chief said the incident began when officers from the local police and sub-district carried out a three-pillar operation. So when controlling the shop, the owner actually challenged the officers, then the masses came to attack the officers. Even so, his party will continue to provide emergency PPKM socialization in the local sub-district. This incident does not dampen the importance of continuous monitoring and outreach to the community so that the community remains in a healthy condition and is not exposed to COVID-19. In contrast to the City of Surabaya, from the beginning the government of the Surabaya City Government rejected the implementation of the PPKM made by the central government. PPKM takes effect from 7 January 2021. According to the Coordinator of the Expert Team and Spokesperson for the COVID-19 Handling Task Force, in principle, policies are made to speed up the end of the pandemic. Policies are designed to balance the health sector and the economy. Areas restricted to activities are red zones, as well as areas with the highest cases. People from

the area clearly see that the level of emergency that must be limited. The head of the COVID-19 Task Force said PPKM in several areas in Java and Bali could reduce the spike in COVID-19 transmission by more than 20%. In mid-September 2020, from 67,000 active cases (COVID-19), it can be reduced to 54,000 for approximately 1.5 months. On that basis there is a decline of around 20% and it is expected that by the end of 2021 there will be a massive percentage decline. The Surabaya City Government has deployed personnel from various regional apparatus organizations (OPD) to secure the Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) on January 11-25, 2021. Deputy Deputy Secretary IV of the Surabaya City COVID-19 Handling Acceleration Task Force asked Surabaya residents not to worry about the implementation of this policy. According to him, the regulation is not much different from the Mayor's Regulation (Perwali) Number 67 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Health Protocols in the Context of Prevention and Breaking the Chain of Spread of COVID-19 which is already in effect in Surabaya . Operational hours of shopping centers or malls are only until 7 pm. Students return to learning remotely or online, the capacity of the restaurant is only 25% for dine-in or eating on site.

**Figure 5: Banner in a corner of a village in Surabaya**



Source: Aminah, Koesbardiati, Soesilowati, 2020.

The government calls PPKM a policy that must be carried out by all regional governments, including the City of Surabaya. The community has anticipated responding to PPKM's bio politics with a collective protest action carried out by the Surabaya Millennial Activist Youth (PMAS) on July 12, 2021 . One of the demands of PMAS is the cancellation of the implementation of PPKM. The PMMAS activists, consisting of students and some other elements of traders in Surabaya, sent a letter to the Surabaya Police Station on July 8, 2021 and the action did not get permission from the police. So the action turned into an audience—delivering the people's economic aspirations with the Surabaya City Government at City Hall. The permit for protest action was not issued because the protest was a crowd which was strictly

prohibited during the Emergency PPKM period. The reason the government and police stated that this Emergency PPKM was focused on protecting the health of the people of Surabaya City from COVID-19. Another concern from the police is that there is a high chance that the protests will become a new cluster.

“...The implementation of the Micro PPKM has paid off. According to the Head of BPBD (Surabaya Regional Disaster Management Agency) stated that Surabaya is the only one big city in Indonesia, which is included in the Implementation of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) level 1, effective from March 22 to April 4, 2022. The only big city in Indonesia that has entered level 1. According to BPBD Surabaya officials, this is all due to the cooperation and discipline of Surabaya residents and all parties, the City of Surabaya has PPKM level 1. This is based on the Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs (Inmendagri) Number 18 of 2022 concerning the Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) Level 4, Level 3, Level 2, and Level 1 in the Java and Bali regions. Although Surabaya level 1 and health protocols in various fields are relaxed, Ridwan hopes that the residents of Surabaya City will continue to maintain the health protocols as recommended by the Mayor of Surabaya who is very aggressive in socializing the health program, both through social media and on loudspeakers on the streets...” (Interview depth #8 Head of BPBD, Surabaya).

The President asked all elements of regional leadership to strengthen their commitment to sharpening the implementation of Micro PPKM. Here the role of the regional head is the Governor, Regent, and Mayor to strengthen their commitment, sharpen the implementation of Micro PPKM through optimizing the COVID-19 posts that have been formed in each village or sub-district area. A number of rules in the micro-scale PPKM policy will be tightened in the red zone following the spike in COVID-19 cases in Indonesia in recent times. Chairperson of the Committee for Handling COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC-PEN) Airlangga Hartarto said that micro PPKM with the tightening of regulations will take effect from June 22 to July 5, 2021. In the regulation, the emphasis is on strengthening micro PPKM in various activities, where these activities are carried out in predetermined zoning, thus regulating community activities in 11 sectors.

Residents' rejection of PPKM bio politics because only with PPKM the transmission of the virus and COVID-19 can be overcome. COVID-19 has affected geographies and segments of the population unequally through a constellation of social conditions. There is a large part of the vulnerable population (marginalized – socio-economically vulnerable), who have been burdened by social injustices. They accept the conditions of termination of employment (PHK) which then has an impact on their daily survival. They lose their source of income, have no money, while they still need to maintain and care for their health in order to maintain their immunity. The government in addition to implementing PPKM also rationalizes limited social programs and very large central government support. There are several social assistance programs as compensation for PPKM's bio political policies.

In this context, the implementation of PPKM is as an 'exceptional situation' to normalize all domination practices, strengthen sovereignty by designing social/economic life such as massive health camps. Everywhere was found health operation posts guarded by security personnel and police. So that it can

be said that PPKM was originally a policy of isolating individuals from other individuals to maintain 'social distance' then it became a policy of disciplinary behavior of the population followed by sanctions. So that PPKM becomes a new form of control, between economic, political, and social health. PPKM in turn turns into regulations and influences the politics of population health in public spaces. This was stated by the shop owner's informant:

“...This has led to strong protests against government officials (police, civil service units and the TNI as well as apparatus from related agencies, such as the transportation service, health office, social service) who are tasked with overseeing the enforcement of health protocols in the field. Public resistance or rejection is not against its supervision or health protocols. What is being fought is their own life, because those who refuse and protest against the implementation of PPKM are victims of layoffs, have no income, do not work, people who work and income is uncertain...” (In-depth interview with informant #10 stall owner, Gresik)

and Micro PPKM, in Gresik there were many violations from the local community. Public places are still crowded with crowds of residents. Even though it's already forbidden, so Joint officers from the TNI and Polri carried out the enforcement by force. One of them is at the Warkop Jalan Dokter Sutomo. Those who violate it will be immediately punished. Officers give sanctions in the form of push ups. Sanctions were also imposed on a number of traders who were desperate to operate in violation of the curfew limit, which was at 20.00 WIB, according to the Regent's Regulation (in-depth interview # Kapolres Gresik). On the third day of the Emergency PPKM implementation (5 July 2021) there were more than 500 violators and were given sanctions for not complying with the provisions of the emergency PPKM. The head of the Gresik Civil Service Police Unit (Pol PP) said that entering the third day, persuasive actions by enlightening the public had reached 500. Sanctions are given according to district regulations. (in-depth interview # 12 Head of Satpol PP Gresik)

Some informants argue that social interaction restrictions are 'physical distance' restrictions that are necessary for health. There are public places that must be guarded by security forces so as not to cause crowds. Because people have been confined to their homes for a long time and haven't done any activities, people's behavior should be tightly controlled. With strict supervision of public places

PPKM is the state's bio political logic, which is embodied in the regulation of the control system without interference. Individual/population interactions are closely monitored. Social interactions between individuals can cause transmission and threaten the lives of other individuals. Penalties will be given to those who violate them. Following the logic of Foucault and Agamben, PPKM is a political rationality for quarantine and social distancing from COVID-19. Individuals/populations are subject to quarantine and 'must be at home. This is also a kind of social isolation at the physical level but reunification at the command level of the state and nation which is supervised through various digital technologies is used to monitor the condition of the COVID-19 pandemic. Individuals must be willing to give up their freedom and individual citizens are required to be tough to adapt in order to be able to carry on and continue their life accompanied by intensive support and supervision by the police and military officers in the environment where they live. The implementation of monitoring individual

behavior during the pandemic through the Yustisi Operation which is routinely held three times a week. The disciplinary character of some of these actions is also quite clear, especially in the case of (total or partial) quarantine (Foucault 1977). Disciplinary power essentially functions on the basis of an awareness of its own visibility to the authorities. The Indonesian government has not imposed the type of total lockdown that would take the form of a strict curfew at home with no exceptions ( for an overview, see Hale et al. 2020). The government takes full individual freedom not to leave the house and congregate in public spaces/places. Strict control and supervision of the movement of all people throughout the territory of Indonesia are subject to strict disciplinary mechanisms. The application of discipline is through the apparatus of order and the military. Foucault relates this disciplinary mechanism to the ideal prison design proposed by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham who is known as the ' round prison ' ( panopticon ). Panopticon ideas are no longer confined to prisons. This can be seen in existing institutions in the community: schools, colleges, hospitals , and even other public places such as food stalls, coffee shops, malls, plazas, hotels, airports, train stations and so on . In these places, there are interactions between individuals and during the COVID-19 pandemic, interactions between individuals must be based on health protocols.

## CONCLUSION

Protesters protesting/against PPKM acknowledge the severity of the virus . Their anger, mostly related to the state of the economy. PPKM has caused the loss of personal freedom to earn a living and earn money to continue his life. They can't negotiate with anyone. The government requires local governments to make humanitarian policy innovations that support the implementation of biopolitics, through providing assistance to citizens. So that residents can continue their lives and the cash social assistance policy is an affirmative policy of the Surabaya and Gresik governments so that residents can continue their lives. However, PPKM's bio politics did not turn the government into a regime of oppression. PPKM bio politics is a humanitarian policy to overcome a crisis that has caused panic in the community. All citizens are willing to let go His freedom includes his rights. Restrictions on interaction and monitoring of citizens' behavior by security forces to carry out health protocols are a form of body administration and citizen panoptism. This has a positive impact on the survival of the population who are willing to accept PPKM and vaccination in the name of the desire for safety accompanied by the provision of social assistance. Micro PPKM and mass vaccination are the realization of bio political innovations to raise knowledge and awareness of the population about preventive strategies for individual self-defense. PPKM is also a bio political strategy to regulate the mobility of the virus, the impact of which has resulted in the compliance of all members of the population to care and monitor . PPKM which has shown a human face from COVID-19. The PPKM policy as a bio political option implemented by the central and local governments should begin to be advocated for by the public. This is important to reduce public resistance to state authority/power . Thus, it is necessary to take innovative policies that prioritize and more parties are involved in finding solutions on their own but that support bio politics . So that the practice of bio politics turned into the practice of government dictatorial power . In the COVID -19 pandemic situation, the practice of PPKM and vaccination is a humanitarian rationality that runs based on the logic of health politics. The population



health crisis is a state political crisis, so that the population's contra attitude towards PPKMbio politics and vaccination cannot be separated from a state of panic in living life in the new normal era.

### Bibliography

- ❖ Ajana, Btihaj. (2021). Immunitarianism : Defense and Security in the Politics of COVID -19 . History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences (HPLS) 43:25 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40656-021-00384-9>
- ❖ Aminah, Siti., Koesbardiati, Toetik., Soesilowati, Sartika. (2020). Implementation of Community Action in Overcoming the COVID-19 Pandemic: Case Studies in Surabaya City, Malang City, and Tulungagung Regency, Surabaya : LPPM, Airlangga University (unpublished).
- ❖ Bernard , HR ( 2000 ). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage .
- ❖ Bird, G. , & Short, J. ( 2013 ). Community , Immunity ,bio politics . In Greg Bird and Jon Short (Eds.), Roberto E sposito, Community, and the P roper, Special I ssue : Angelaki ( vol. 18, no. 3, 2013, pp. 83 – 90 ). (source internet. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725X.2013.834661> , accessed January 31, 2022).
- ❖ Erkez, Toni & Martin Gramc. (2021). Towardsbio politics beyond Life and Death: The Virus, Life, and Death . (source internet. <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/filozofski-vestnik/article/view/10492/version/9877> . DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/fv.42.1.09> , accessed 2 January 2022).
- ❖ Chong, A. ( 2020 ). Governance for a global pandemic . East Asia Forum: Economics, Politics and Public Policy in East Asia and the Pacific , 26 March . (internet source. [https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/03/26/governance-for-global-pandemic s /](https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/03/26/governance-for-global-pandemic-s/) , accessed 31 January 2022).
- ❖ David , Nelson . (2021). Reversing the catastrophe of neoliberal-led global capitalism in the time of coronavirus: Towards a democratic socialist alternative . Capital & Class 2021, Vol. 45(2) 191–213 © The Author(s) 2021 Article reuse guidelines: [sagepub.com/journals-permissions](https://sagepub.com/journals-permissions) DOI: 10.1177/0309816821997114 [journals.sagepub.com/home/cnc](https://journals.sagepub.com/home/cnc)
- ❖ Esposito, Roberto . (2011). Immunity: The Protection and Negation of Life . Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.
- ❖ Esposito, Roberto and Timothy Campbell Source: Diacritics, Summer, 2006, Vol. 36, No. 2, "Bios," Immunity, Life: The Thought of Roberto Esposito (Summer, 2006), pp. 23-48 Published by: The Johns Hopkins University Press Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20204124>
- ❖ Flick, Uwe. (2018). An introduction to qualitative research (6th ed. ). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- ❖ Foucault , Michael . (1978) The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction (trans . By R Hurley).New York: Random House
- ❖ Foucault, Michel . (1991). Governmentality. In B. Burchell, G. Gordon, & B. Miller (Eds.), The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality . Chicago: Chicago University Press
- ❖ Foucault, Michel . (1995). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison . New York: Vintage
- ❖ Foucault Michel. (2003) Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976 (trans .by D. Macey) . New York: Picador
- ❖ Foucault, M. ( 2008 ). The birth of biopolitics. Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979 . Trans Graham Burcell , edited by Arnold Davidson . Palgrave Macmillan .
- ❖ Forkot Gresik Holds Action to Reject Extension of Emergency PPKM, <https://surabayapagi.com/read/forkot-gresik-gelar-aksi-tolak-perpanjang-ppkm-darurat> , Tuesday : 20 July 2021 : 16:56:23

- ❖ Ghosh , Avilasha (2021). Rethinking bio politics and Governance in India during the COVID-19 Pandemic, October. *The Indian journal of public administration: quarterly journal of the Indian Institute of Public Administration* 67(3):001955612110457, DOI: 10.1177/00195561211045799 (internet source: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/00195561211045799> , accessed 3 January 2022).
- ❖ Green , J. , & Thorogood , N. ( 2009 ). *Qualitative methods for health research ( 2nd ed. )*. Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage .
- ❖ Greyling, Talita., Stephanie Rossouw , Tamanna Adhikari . (2021). The good, the bad and the ugly of lockdowns during COVID-19 . January 22. (Internet source <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0245546> , accessed March 15, 2022).
- ❖ Hale T, Webster S, Petherick A, Phillips T and Kira B. (2020) . “Coronavirus Government Response Tracker.” Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford <https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker> ( accessed June 17, 2021 ) .
- ❖ Horton, Richard. (2020). Offline: COVID-19 A Crisis of Power (internet source. [www.thelancet.com](http://www.thelancet.com) . Vol 396 , October 31 . DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)32262-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)32262-5) , accessed 24 Februar1 2021 ) .
- ❖ Johnson , JC , & Weller , SC ( 2001 ). Elicitation techniques for interviewing. In Gubrium , J. , & Holstein , J. (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 491 – 514 ). Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage..
- ❖ Kaya, Ozlem Duva. (2021). The bio politics of the COVID-19 Crisis and a New Form of the State of Exception in Simon Grima, Osman Sirkeci, Kamuran Elbeyoglu (eds.). *A New Social Street Economy: An Effect of The COVID-19 Pandemic* , Volume 107 (internet source: <https://www.emerald.com/insight/publication/doi/10.1108/S1569-37592021107> , accessed 3 January 2022).
- ❖ Kvale, S teinar . (2007). *Doing interviews* . Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- ❖ Liesen , Laurette T. and Mary Barbara Walsh . (2016). The competing meanings of “biopolitics” in political science: Biological and postmodern approaches to politics . *Research Articles in Politics and the Life Sciences* , Volume 31 , Issues 1-2 , Spring/Fall 2012, pp. 2 – 15. (Internet source. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.2990/31\\_1-2\\_2](https://doi.org/10.2990/31_1-2_2) , accessed July 8, 2021).
- ❖ Sarasin, Philipp. (2020). Understanding the Coronavirus Pandemic with Foucault?, *Foucault Blog* , March 31. (Internet source, DOI: 10.13095/uzh.fsw.fb.254 , accessed January 3, 2022).
- ❖ Sturges , JE , & Hanrahan , KJ ( 2004 ). Comparing telephone and face-to-face qualitative interviewing: A research note. *Qualitative Research* , 4 ( 1 ) , 107 – 118 .
- ❖ Surabaya Rejects PPKM, Government Calls It Mandatory , <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com> . , accessed July 24, 2021)
- ❖ Tasnim , Nishat. (2021). A Foucauldian Perspective on COVID-19 Response. *International Journal of Law and Political Studies (IJLPS)*. ISSN: 2709-0914 (internet source. DOI: 10.32996/ijlps Website: <https://al-kindipublisher.com/index.php/ijlps> , accessed 16 March 2021).
- ❖ Violato, Claudio., Emilio Mauro Violato, Efrema Mauro Violeta . (2021). Impact of the stringency of lockdown measures on COVID-19: A theoretical model of a pandemic
- ❖ October 5, (internet source, <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0258205> , <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0258205> , accessed January 24 2022)
- ❖ Weible , Christopher M. , Daniel Nohrstedt , Paul Cairney , David P. Carter , Desera A. Crow , Anna P. Durnova , Tanya Heikkila , Karin Ingold , Allan McConnell , and Diane Stone . (2020). COVID-19 and the policy sciences: initial reactions and perspectives , *Policy Sci. Apr 18* : 1–17. doi: 10.1007/s11077-020-09381-4 [ accessed February 5, 2022 from the internet <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7165254/> ]

- ❖ <https://national.kompas.com/read/2022/03/01/08493061/aturan-enter-mal-selama-ppkm-jawa-bali-anak-usia-6-12-tahun-obligatory-show> , accessed 5 March 2022).
- ❖ Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 13 of 2022 concerning the Third Amendment to Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 67 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Health Protocols in the Context of Prevention and Breaking the Chain of Spread of COVID-19 in the City of Surabaya ( [https://jdih.surabaya.go.id/pdfdoc/4077\\_PERWALI\\_13-2022.pdf](https://jdih.surabaya.go.id/pdfdoc/4077_PERWALI_13-2022.pdf) ).
- ❖ Gresik Regent Regulation Number 22 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for the Transition Period Towards a New Normal Order in the Condition of the 2019 Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) Pandemic in Gresik Regency ( <https://disperindag.jatimprov.go.id/common/uploaded/file-download/product-law-c327c7f9e7d5bad1b55dd451d8a7bb16/1591926884Sbifk.pdf>)
- ❖ <https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/36256/ppkm-jawa-bali-diperpanjang-to-16-agustus-2021/0/berita> . PPKM Java-Bali Extended until August 16 , 2022 1 ( accessed January 5, 2022)