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President Joko Widodo's Leadership Style Model in Controlling COVID-19

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ABSTRACT Article Info:

During the current COVID-19 pandemic, many state leaders must make decisions quickly. Quick decision-making also has a positive impact on society and the country. Leadership style greatly influences a president in managing a pandemic. As head of state, the President can use his executive power to solve problems, especially pressing ones. This study aims to examine the model of the President's leadership style in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. In addition, this model will be the basis for forming a particular program that focuses on developing leadership competencies and being an evaluation in urgent situations. This type of research is qualitative. The data used in this study is a literature study that focuses on using secondary data in the form of forty news media articles taken from March 2, 2020, to October 2020. The analysis of news media data was managed using NVivo 12 Plus software through coding and cross-tabulation analysis. The results of this study are the model of President Joko Widodo's leadership style, applying various leadership styles in controlling the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. This study concludes that the leadership style is inefficient in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, even though President Joko Widodo has directly taken over the handling of the crisis.

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INTRODUCTION

The lifestyle of people around the world changed in early 2020. Indonesia calls for Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) after the entry of COVID-19 on March 2, 2020, as a social distancing effort. To improve control of the spread of COVID-19, the Indonesian government adopted regulation No. 21 of 2020 concerning Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) (Roziqin et al., 2021; Purnama & Susanna, 2020; Sihidi et al., 2022; Sihidi et al., 2022). A leader must have the social and interpersonal knowledge to engage

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people in building goals and the technical ability to realize specific, complex, and particular goals constructively. Full of trust and expertise, qualified leaders can be inspiring, visionary, and have subtle emotions (Leonard & Maulding Green, 2019). The President can use his executive power to help solve their problems as a leader, especially at a critical time when the President has used reorganization (Intyaswati, 2018).

The government has worked to minimize the impact on lives and livelihoods and can ensure the commitment of citizens. Critical leadership techniques include a government's willingness to be led by its competence, efforts to mobilize the public on the ground, and precautions to build the confidence in leadership needed for transformative collective action, such as pandemic demands (Wilson, 2020). Due to the existing hierarchical leadership structure, the focus on decision-making influenced the first phase of the epidemic. The emergency phase of the epidemic resulted in a leadership transition centered on reasoning and decision-making (Nyenswah et al., 2016).

Individuals who change people's paradigms, create visions, motivate followers with internal resources, instill the idea that everyone can contribute to shared goals, lead them, and directly influence the flow of events and outcomes (Bass & Bass, 2008). Those are related to leaders' and subordinates' nature, skills, and behavior to achieve efficiency (Ohemeng et al., 2018).

Transformational leadership has a good effect on employee intrapreneurial behavior and a significant and beneficial effect on employee performance. The type of leadership that stands out, integrating the spiritual essence of self-cooperation and intelligence, can be substantial (Anthony & Hermans, 2020). Positive changes in cognitive and affective beliefs occur due to transformational leadership (Chiang & Wang, 2012). As a result, transformational leaders are highly motivated to achieve and reorganize to build new economic and political systems.

However, transactional leadership can be detrimental. In addition, organizations have a role in mediating these effects (Pieterse et al., 2009; Moriano et al., 2011; Zacher & Rosing, 2015; Al Khajeh, 2018). Unlike the case (Italiani, 2013), transactional leadership positively affects employee performance. Transactional leaders may have hidden goals, such as power (Semenova & Winter, 2020). Transactional leadership damages mental trust (Chiang & Wang, 2012).

The ability to solve problems increases as the regional head's influence becomes more effective. In addition, the better the management, the more talents can solve problems, so the more significant the spirit of innovation that occurs. The more autonomy, significance, and diversity in one's profession, the stronger one's problem-solving talents. The mediating effect of organizational commitment between transformative leadership and performance (Chu & Lai, 2011).

The strong correlation between leadership style and quality work culture shows that most of the leader's transactional leadership style affects the quality work culture (Ali et al., 2015). Employee loyalty increases significantly when the transactional leadership style is used. The interaction between transactional and transformational leadership styles has a detrimental effect on commitment (Puni et al., 2020).

Change, collaboration, collegiality, power, and authority are all critical components of the leadership discourse that will result in a policy. Existing leadership research has largely overlooked the problems of leadership in hierarchies, policymaking,

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environments with a significant power distance, and collectivist cultural contexts (Ho & Tikly, 2012).

The association between leadership style and job satisfaction is complemented and moderated by the corporate environment and work style. The most effective leadership is in line with the workforce's company culture and work preferences (Moslehpour et al., 2018). Exemplify an interpersonal leadership style marked by adaptability, compromise, and a focus on teamwork. Biden is a leader who respects boundaries, is receptive to information, and is primarily motivated by relationships — promoting a convivial and accommodative leadership style emphasizing reconciling disagreements and fostering consensus (Griebie & Immelman, 2021).

A small construction company in Puebla has a good and significant correlation between effectiveness and democratic leadership (Mendez et al., 2013). President Donald J. Trump's primary personality-based leadership strength is a political ability to connect with critical constituencies, rally public support, and retain followers and self-confidence in adversity (Immelman, 2017). It can utilize the participative leadership style to motivate employees (Akpoviroro et al., 2018). Consensus on important causal beliefs for organizational adaptation and success developed over time (Carrington et al., 2019). Motivation has the most significant impact on employee performance. In contrast, the democratic leadership style has the most negligible impact on employee performance (Rifaldi et al., 2019). Democratic leadership techniques will increase evaluations (Caillier, 2020).

The roots of authoritarian leadership are entrenched in community colleges, and purposeful action is required to effect lasting change in leadership development (Eddy & Khwaja, 2019). In authoritarian regimes, bureaucratic control is founded on centralized power in general and the provision of deliberate friction to obstruct autonomous action (Chan & Fan, 2020). Authoritarianism benefits from developing ideology ideas that run counter to the more extensive interests of the politically powerful (Di Lonardo et al., 2020).

In comparison to serving leadership approaches, authentic leadership is a strong predictor of commitment and success in the country's educational environment. Religion is an external locus of control and moderator of the study. It is highly associated with leadership style and commitment. It is well established that honest leadership positively affects employees (Abbas et al., 2020). A leader is elected and follows a laissez-faire pattern but has abandoned his duties. This type of leadership has disastrous effects.

Leadership style significantly influences decision-making, directly impacting foreign policy behavior (Kaarbo, 1997). Changes in leadership style exemplify the puzzle (James, 2004). The relationship between crisis characteristics and decision-making styles is somewhat mediated by transformational and transactional leadership styles (Alkharabsheh et al., 2014). The desire for power, belief in one's ability to control events, and especially distrust may all be significant (Shannon, 2007).

Decision makers' situational and leadership styles influence how much they reject untenable political choices and how much they depend on the views of their constituents when making policy (Keller & Yang, 2008). Domain-specific knowledge and soft skills are deficiencies in formal leadership training. Poor cultural preconditions contribute to explicit knowledge gaps that hinder skill-based intuitive decision-making (Hanif et al.,

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2020). His leadership demonstrated that Bush would take a hands-off approach to crisis management, delegate operations to staff, and assume total responsibility without regard for political consequences (Boin et al., 2010).

Leadership in New Zealand during the COVID-19 pandemic was constructed not only discursively. But also collaboratively and cooperatively by many actors (Hafner & Sun, 2021). Health-oriented leadership is critical for followers affected by crises, and leaders must display it in both minor- and large-scale emergencies. Health orientation does not affect goal attainment. Instead, it has a beneficial effect on performance (Klebe et al., 2021).

Safety-specific transformational leadership improves psychological well-being among health care professionals, and perceived risk mediates and strengthens the relationship between safety-specific transformational leadership and perceived risk (Irshad et al., 2021). Consistency in transformational leadership is still lacking. Transformational leadership has no direct correlation with crisis management success. Leaders must inspire and encourage their organizations during crises while adhering to strict rules and schedules. It requires a leader with a leadership style that goes beyond transformative leadership (Dwiedienawati et al., 2021).

President Trump and Governors DeSantis, DeWine, Ducey, and Ivey are particularly vulnerable to the political consequences of their COVID-19 management, as stakeholders may perceive them to be negligent in responding to issues and ineffective in implementing policies. Governors Cuomo, Newsom, and Whitmer may be trying to avoid collapse because of their direct approach to obtaining information. Some may perceive themselves as competent and compliant with threats (although some may perceive their efforts as excessive) (Watkins & Clevenger, 2021).

Currently, there are headlines in the mass media about the Golkar party appreciating the leadership of Joko Widodo and the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet, which have shown success in responding to the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic (MediaIndonesia, 2021). According to the Secretary General of the PDI-P (PDIP) Hasto Kristiyanto (2021), President Joko Widodo's leadership amid the COVID-19 pandemic has successfully balanced health and the economy (Sihaloho, 2021). It has also been recognized by international institutions and even the world. Expert Staff of the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), Ali Mochtar Ngabalin (2021) also said that Jokowi's leadership has been tested and can lead Indonesia to survive the onslaught of the pandemic (Triyoga, 2021). From the headlines circulating in the mass media, the President's leadership seems successful in handling the COVID-19 pandemic.

In organizing, a leader does many leadership models with each individual's characteristics. However, previous research describes critical leadership with efforts to minimize impact, decision-making processes, achieve efficiency, create a vision, transformational, transactional, problem-solving leadership, democratic leadership, and authoritarian leadership. However, this study wants to know the model of President Joko Widodo's leadership style in implementing management policies in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic.

METHOD

The type of research in this research is qualitative research. A case study is a type of research that explores one or more people's programs, events, processes, and activities. A case is related to time and stir by collecting detailed data using various data collection procedures and continuous-time (Creswell, 2014). The data collection in this research is a literature study focused on using secondary data from online news media, such as three articles from Suara.com and three from Tirto.id, two articles from CnnIndonesia.com, three articles from Kumparan.com, and four papers from Kompas. Tv. four articles from Republika.co.id, three articles from WartaEkonomi.co.id, three articles from Merdeka.com, two articles from Grid.id, one article from Liputan6.com, one article from Tribunnews.com, one article from Kompasiana.com, one article from Pikiranrakvat.com, one article from Katadata.co.id. one article from Bisnis.com, one article from Jatimtimes.com, one article from Independensi.com, one article from Portonews.com, one article Desapedia.id. one article from Genial.id. one Ringtimesbanyuwangi.pikiran-rakyat.com, one article from Portaljember.pikiranrakyat.com taken on March 2, 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic began to enter the territory of the Republic of Indonesia until October 2020. Furthermore, online news media data were managed using the NVivo 12 Plus software through similarity coding and crosstab analysis. NVivo 12 Plus analyzes qualitative data for more professional results (AlYahmady & Al Abri, 2013).

The search for data in this study begins with a literature study to find problems related to research and theories and supporting data for this research. Then the data is made into a theoretical framework that serves as a guide for data retrieval and analysis. In choosing online media, this research should assess or select media content. As many as forty news media be determined. Alternatively, reports potentially related to the President's leadership style for this study can be researched using several literature reviews, leadership theories, and other purposes.

Then the researchers took data retrieval using capture and processed it directly with the help of data processing software NVivo 12 plus. The results then became analytical materials and adjusted to the existing frame of thought due to the literature review conducted at the beginning. Then after the analysis process is completed, the results have concluded the research.

Our study through big data grows to change reality in an era of significant digital change—online news media with sites that offer a selection of publishing materials. Forty master media are intentionally linked to version production. In a matter of minutes or seconds, events or events in the field be directly uploaded. Simultaneously, online news speeds up the flow of information across the internet network. Like how web news works quickly in conveying information, outdated information or data reopened with various content displayed through text, images, sound, and video during an uncertain period. However, there are shortcomings in internet media, of course. The material released is not always correct and is incomplete. Therefore, readers should pay more attention to avoid misinformation. Due to the presence of many media in society, the position of the media is vital.

In metropolitan and rural places, the presence of news media cannot be isolated from life. Today every individual has exploited the condition of every press, and the aim is to find information and extend the reach of human information substantially. Of course, it needs a tool to decide the contents to manage and analyze data from the various digital sites above, in this case, by using NVivo 12 Plus. NVivo 12 Plus is a tool that enables the efficiency and management of digital information. It allows the investigator to get a detailed grasp of each case analyzed. Therefore, this study invites readers to understand how the NVivo 12 Plus program analyzes digital web platforms' data. His studies in news media, therefore, focus on this subject. In this study, researchers used books and journals as literature review materials. We took secondary data from online news media about the President's leadership style in handling COVID-19 in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In 2020, popular opinion was sparked by President Joko Widodo's management style (See Figure 1). Sentiment seeks to pinpoint emotional viewpoints on a specific topic (Ghazizadeh et al., 2014; Pang et al., 2002).

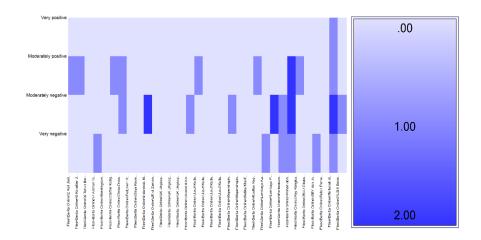


Figure 1: Sentiment in Online News

Based on the sentiment of the President's leadership style with a reasonably harmful category, rating (frequency = 2.00), the stronger the negative effect produced by the public. Suppose it added up in the variety of quite negative (frequency = 13.00). As for the relatively positive type with the total number (frequency = 10.00). In comparison, the category of very detrimental has a value (frequency = 6.00).

The analysis results prove that many negative statements were given by academics, observers, researchers, and experts related to the presidential leadership model in the early eight months of COVID-19 in making decisions. That way, it can also polarize the public on the arguments given. As stated by Graffith University Australian Epidemiologist Dicky Budiman (2020):

"Since the beginning of handling the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been a mess. There are too many hands to carry out the task, but the task is not

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clear in focus and direction. So many committees, it becomes *pabaliut* the term. It is dangerous and confusing. The handling of the pandemic in Indonesia is the least clear plan, the comprehensiveness is also not clear, and the focus is also not on health" (CNNIndonesia, 2021).

Eight months after the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia

During the eight months of the COVID-19 pandemic, President applied several leadership styles to anticipate the COVID-19 disaster, which entered Indonesian territory in March 2020. Early March shows the President's insights into using the leadership style Locus of Control or emphasizing perceptions and beliefs, not just a leadership style to anticipate the COVID-19 pandemic. President Joko Widodo's Locus of Control approach puts beliefs and perceptions first. Rotter,(1966) defined the term "locus of control" as a person's perspective on an event, whether or not it has the ability to influence the outcomes. By convening brief meetings to discuss the management of COVID-19, among other things, President Joko Widodo's views on dealing with the outbreak. The President has also considered this control approach by doing quick tests on a sizable population of people who may have been exposed to the COVID-19 virus. Locus of Control can also be inferred from the individual who will influence a lot of behavior (Rotter, 1966). President Joko Widodo also applies a transformational, democratic, and autocratic leadership style.

In June 2020, Joko Widodo's leadership style often put forward an authoritarian style until September; President Joko Widodo put forward a democratic way of leadership. This change in the President's leadership style follows the development of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. Leadership and adaptability to change are the biggest challenges facing today's leaders. The team's understanding of transformational leadership positively impacts team communication and confidence to measure high performance. Moreover, it has an important impact on team creativity (Akhtar et al., 2019).

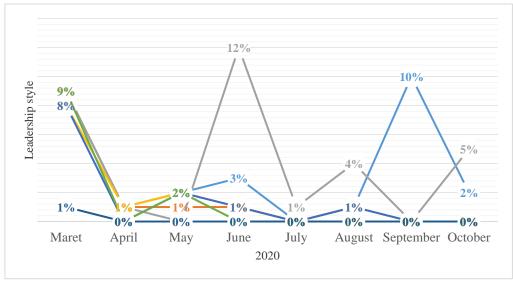


Figure 2: Leadership Style in the Eight Months

President adopted several leadership styles predetermined by the existing leadership style variables. The leadership style with the frequency from the lowest level,

namely spiritual traits with numbers (frequency = 1), followed by Locus of Control or perceptions and beliefs with numbers (frequency = 9), transformational leadership styles with numbers (frequency = 10), leadership transactional with numbers (frequency = 10), laissez-Faire leadership with numbers (frequency = 10), then followed by autocratic leadership style with numbers (frequency = 12), democratic leadership showing numbers (frequency = 23). Meanwhile, the most dominant leadership style is authoritarian leadership with numbers (frequency = 26).

The term "leadership style" refers to the leader's actions or strategies to influence organizational members' or subordinates' emotions, feelings, behavior, and behavior. If this leadership style is used correctly and appropriately, it will guide corporate and personal goals. On the other hand, if the chosen leadership style is unsuitable for this situation, achieving organizational goals will not be easy. Leadership style, team success, trust, and organizational stability play a critical role. Based on the degree of media wealth, the leadership style will affect operational stability and team confidence, resulting in unique circumstances that will change in lockstep with the pace of change (Sedrine et al., 2020).

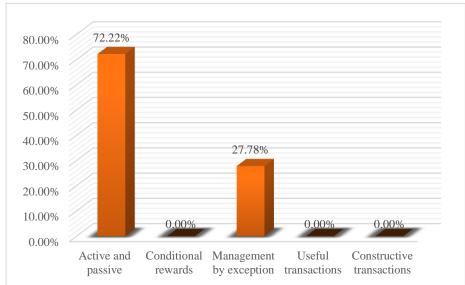


Figure 3: Transactional leadership

The findings from the analysis based on transactional leadership indicators, namely active and passive, contain a value of 72.22 percent, and management by exception of 27.78 percent. Other indicators do not affect the transactional leadership style of the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Generally (see Figure 3), actively and passively are capable of processing good management and placing the best people in cabinet seats. The President's leadership, without exception, is by forming a COVID-19 task force organizational system involving the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and other related institutions. It can also discuss the control of the coronavirus limited to the video conference from the Merdeka Palace. Actively providing direction for the ranks of the COVID-19 handling task force participating in the forum. Not only that, but the President also actively requested to conduct a test rapid with a bulk immediately. The President wants "one command"

handling COVID-19 with various responsibility expenses by optimizing resources throughout the government system, from the center to the regions.

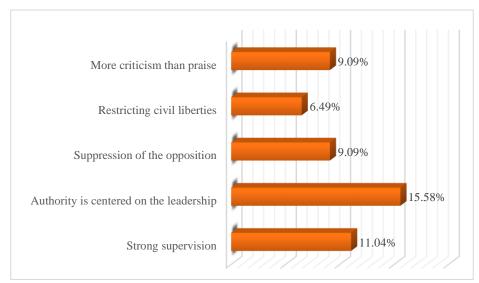


Figure 4: Authoritarian leadership

Research findings based on authoritarian leadership indicators, which criticize more than praise, amounted to 9.09 percent—restricting civil liberties by 6.49 percent, suppressing the opposition by 9.09 percent, and authority-centered leadership by 15.58 intensive supervision by 11.04 percent.

The above (see Figure 4) shows five indicators of the President's authoritarian leadership style during the COVID-19 pandemic. This leadership is accurate and peaked in June 2020. It starts with limiting civil liberties and using authority to silence groups that spread hate or hoaxes. See how the police actively summon and investigate those whose terms are hoax and hate. It is about the editorial team. It also has a broad impact on civilians, namely the desire of the authorities to limit civil liberties, including the media. Also, omnibus law seems to have great power. The President has taken over the distribution to local governments. In particular, the permits that have been distributed to local governments. The central government and its directives are now taking over.

However, in an authoritarian regime, relations between institutions, friction, and bureaucratic control become increasingly blurred. Authoritarians prevent control and balance, which creates tension in democratic systems (Landau, 2013). In the current conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic, decisions are needed quickly for a leader so that there are no cases of increasing exposure to COVID-19. Authoritarian leadership has the potential to moderate the relationship between autonomous emotional regulation and indicators of well-being through established or integrated law (Chu, 2014). Scientists simultaneously recognized varieties of 'atrophic' (Shambaugh, 2008), 'fragmented' (Mertha, 2009), or authoritarian 'treadmill' (Lampton, 1987), which are impeded by widespread disjointing and inefficiency of the institutions they govern in administrative terms (Eaton & Kostka, 2014). The following organization of top-down involvement shows that extra friction supplies are part of a bigger plan to maintain control. Taken together, friction in authoritarian regimes such as China has strategic significance, as the

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primacy of policy on survival implies that demand for political conformity is far greater than competency (Egorov & Sonin, 2011).

The democratic leadership style (see Figure 5) contains eleven indicators to assess a leader. The first indicator is support from subordinates. This indicator is the lowest in evaluating aspects of the democratic leadership style. Are followed by indicators of the ability to motivate and develop of leadership cadre. The President said that in the current COVID-19 pandemic situation, we are working hard to build a pandemic response system for the safety of all Indonesian people. Then, ask the local government to determine their handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and take advantage of the local hospital to carry out the virus test. The indicator prioritizing deliberation is also a part that Joko Widodo often adopts in solving a problem.

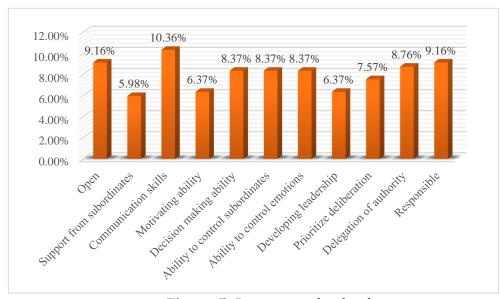


Figure 5: Democratic leadership

Findings from the analysis based on indicators of democratic leadership, namely openness, have an intensity of 9.16 percent. Support from subordinate's 5.98 percent, communication skills 10.36 percent, motivating abilities 6.37 percent, decision-making abilities 8.37 percent, ability to control aids 8.37 percent, ability to control emotions 8.37 percent, developing leadership 6.37 percent, prioritizing deliberation 7.57 percent, a delegation of authority 8.76 percent, and responsible 9.16 percent.

The President always convenes a meeting or a limited gathering to discuss any topic. They are accommodating all viewpoints based on numerous inputs from individuals with knowledge. As a leader, the ability to make decisions is required, as demonstrated by the President's democratic leadership style. A democratic leader undoubtedly has an appraisal based on their democratic leadership style, ability to influence subordinates, and control emotions. Joko Widodo asked to immediately carry out a large-coverage rapid test for residents suspected of being exposed to the COVID-19 virus. The President established an organizing system for the COVID-19 Task Force, which involved the National Disaster Management Agency, all ministries/agencies, the Indonesian National Police, the Indonesian National Army, and local governments.

The next indicator included in the assessment of the democratic leadership style is the delegation of authority to each region to stop the spread of the pandemic by developing COVID-19 in their area. It is followed by other indicators, such as openness and responsibility. Because what is currently being faced is a problem that must be resolved immediately, it is the responsibility of a leader to make a breakthrough quickly by signing a Government Regulation in place of a Law (*Perpu*) which discusses State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability. Finally, communication skills are essential in a democratic leadership style. The indicators above determine the assessment of aspects of the democratic leadership style. Democratic leadership and contingent benefits are associated with significant improvements in organizational efficiency.

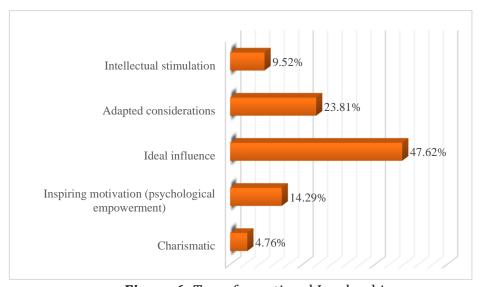


Figure 6: Transformational Leadership

The findings from the analysis are based on indicators of transformational leadership, namely intellectual stimulation 9.52 percent, adapted considerations 23.81 percent, ideal influence 47.62 percent, inspiring motivation (psychological empowerment) 14.76 percent, and charismatic 4.76 percent.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia (see Figure 6). As evidenced by providing much motivation to the stakeholders in managing coronavirus, stakeholders could direct all their abilities outside their previous expectations. This indicator is used at the time of change in specific problems. Customized considerations, such as the many solutions from experts, are considered by the President in overcoming coronavirus in Indonesia. Even the President opens opportunities for research and university institutions recommended by the Ministry of Health of Indonesia. The ideal influence of the President in managing COVID-19's pandemic is as head of state who is expected to resolve the coronavirus problem by inviting religious institutions to prevent the spread. Motivation and charisma from the President can also affect groups in the cooperation process. The President's charm in the first selection period can affect several groups or community elements.

As the highest head of state in a country that adheres to the presidential system, the President certainly has job responsibilities (laissez-faire leadership) (see Figure 7).

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The burden of the work carried out by the President is still found, meaning that the President still gave decisions to some groups with expertise in the field. The small responsibility of the President in making decisions in directing subordinates can affect the results of implementation. The President generally determines the policies taken but does not have the firmness or control based on leadership as head of state. Trust subordinates in making decisions to manage coronavirus in various sectors, for example, asking the Regional Government to establish its status in handling COVID-19.

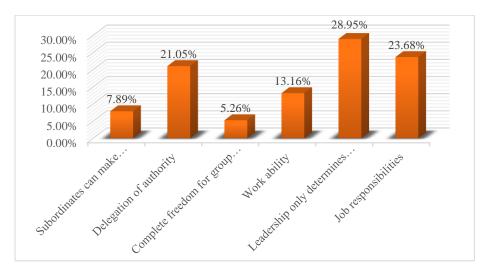


Figure 7: Laissez-Faire Leadership

Based on laissez-faire leadership indicators, the analysis findings are that job responsibilities are 23.68 percent, and leadership only determines policy and general goals at 28.95 percent. Workability is 13.16 percent, complete freedom for group decisions at 5.26 percent, delegation of authority at 21.05 percent, and subordinates can make decisions that are considered suitable at 7.89 percent.

The many leadership styles adopted by the President create inconsistencies in managing the COVID-19 pandemic. This pandemic is also detrimental to various existing sectors and has a massive impact on every human group. Changes in many leadership styles in urgent situations like COVID-19 are currently inappropriate. However, applying a leadership style that can minimize transmission effectively is better. A leader must be an example so that in the future, in an urgent situation, it can be appropriately managed and make competency standards mandatory to protect the entire nation and state based on the leader's decision making.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that President Joko Widodo applies various leadership styles to deal with the COVID-19 disaster. The leadership style applied by the President varies in intensity. The President uses the Locus of Control leadership style or emphasizes perceptions and beliefs, not just a leadership style, to anticipate the COVID-19 pandemic. The Indonesian President has also put forward a democratic way of leadership. This change in the President's leadership style follows the development of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

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Decisions are critical to institutional operations. If the decision is not optimal, it changes, adding a second reaction as carefully as the first. Such things are often contradictory and cause the organization to be confused and unsure of how the organization will work. As a result, it can be said that President Joko Widodo is inefficient in handling the COVID-19 outbreak, even though President Joko Widodo has directly taken over the handling of the crisis.

This study does have some limitations, such as only looking at the eight months from March to October 2020. As a result, it must consider how the findings relate to the research objectives. Therefore, in the coming year, it is essential to examine President Joko Widodo's leadership style by using a different approach from the public and experts as participants to measure his perception of the influence of leadership on COVID-19 control policies.

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