

The COVID-19 Crisis Response Strategy and Public Opinion: the Complexities Involved in Acquiring Public Support for the Sticky Crisis

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The Indonesian government has been under intense scrutiny as the public expects them to handle the COVID-19 crisis competently and in line with their expectations. The research used quantitative content analysis of 30 organizational status posts and 578 public comments on the Ministry of Health's Instagram account. The analysis, conducted using descriptive analysis and a chi-square test, indicates that the most widely used organizational crisis response strategies were: justification, reminder, compensation, and ingratiating. Findings also showed that the public actively used social media to evaluate the attribution of organizational crisis responsibility, perceiving the government as responsible for the crisis response. This research contributes to the study of crisis communication by providing insights into the necessity for organizations, particularly those responsible for crisis management, to conduct crisis communication that clearly shows corrective action that is aligned, responsive, and adaptive to public expectations, leveraging media channels commonly used by the public for information dissemination.

Keywords: crisis response; public opinion; situational crisis communication theory; attribution of responsibility

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic stands out among various global health crises due to its profound impact on all facets of society and countries worldwide (Bahagia et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2023). Numerous sectors have borne the brunt of the pandemic's adverse effects, thereby challenging the credibility of governments. Classified as a "sticky" crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic demanded an exceptional response that transcended ordinary crisis management. It has necessitated nations worldwide to engage in exemplary political leadership, communication, and decision-making to effectively address public concerns (Coombs et al., 2020a; Lilleker & Stoeckle, 2021). Social media has become one of the most prevalent forms of communication utilized by the public during the COVID-19 pandemic (Van Winkle & Corrigan, 2022). Governments have also embraced social media platforms to engage with the public, understanding the imperative to listen to and address public opinion promptly to avert potential issues from escalating into crises (Chon & Kim, 2022; Liu et al., 2018).

During the COVID-19 crisis, communication from government entities at central, local, and state levels was considered accurate and reliable, contingent upon the public's perception of the government's credibility (Bickham & Francis, 2021). In Indonesia, the intense spread of misinformation in the media during this period undeniably eroded public trust in the government's management of the pandemic (Apriliani, 2022). Given that social media has become a primary medium for seeking and disseminating information about COVID-19, it is imperative for governments to utilize these platforms to identify and communicate their strategic crisis management policies. Nevertheless, in practice, public relations professionals often depend on experiential judgment and intuition rather than research-based recommendations when addressing crises (Claeys & Ogenhaffen, 2016).

Theories frequently examined in crisis analysis encompass Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) and Attribution Theory. The two theories can be said to be complementary so that they can be used to assess crisis responsibility and then determine responsive and appropriate communication strategies based on the type of crisis responsibility. Studies on attribution investigate public opinion and behaviours toward organizations involved in crisis management, as perceptions of responsibility attribution reflect public attitudes toward these entities (Jeong, 2009). On the other hand, research focused on SCCT aids organizations in identifying optimal strategies to uphold their reputations (Salem et al., 2022) and effectively manage public sentiment (Eaddy & Jin, 2018).

Various studies employing SCCT have explored diverse aspects of crises. For instance, research has examined public sentiment about a crisis on Twitter (Zhou et al., 2020), public response during Hurricane Harvey in the U.S. (Liu et al., 2018), and the impact of crisis communication strategies (Hirschfeld & Thielsch, 2022). Additionally, studies have delved into political crisis communication (Tian & Yang, 2022) and government responses (Adegbola & Okunloye, 2022; del Mar Gálvez-Rodríguez et al., 2019; Lilleker & Stoeckle, 2021). These inquiries have focused on the predominant strategies employed by organizations when managing crises and the dynamics between organizations and the public in crisis communication (Li et al., 2022). However, there

remains a scarcity of quantitative research examining the utilization of crisis response strategies by politicians (Tian & Yang, 2022).

Therefore, this study aimed to investigate potential variations in the selection of crisis communication strategies and public perceptions of crisis responsibility. The research seeks to assess the applicability of SCCT in analysing how the Indonesian government managed the COVID-19 crisis through social media. Indonesia has an extensive geography and a large population; therefore, it wasn't a surprise that the quickly spreading COVID-19 epidemic has presented the government with complexities in dealing with it. Although the government has implemented social distancing policies (Karuniawati et al., 2022), several studies identify opportunities for improvement in the future. Among them are the slow crisis response (Abdullah, 2020), inadequate data transparency (Djalante et al., 2020), and the unpreparedness of healthcare facilities (Setiati & Azwar, 2020) .

The primary focus of this research is on the crisis communication efforts conducted by the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Health (MoH), which has held responsibility for implementing and disseminating policies to address the COVID-19 pandemic. This study aims to enrich SCCT by identifying the strategies employed by the government in responding to crises. Simultaneously, it endeavours to assess public perceptions regarding the attribution of responsibility for the COVID-19 crisis, while scrutinizing the implementation of these strategies within the domain of social media.

Situational Crisis Communication Theory

Situational Crisis Communication Theory functions as a framework aimed at minimizing losses during crises and safeguarding an organization's reputation. Developed from Attribution Theory, SCCT explores how stakeholders perceive crisis responsibility on certain crisis organizational type (Coombs, 2007, 2013; Spradley & Spradley, 2021). There are four categories of crisis response strategies that aim to influence perceptions of the crisis or the organization itself. These include: (1) Denial, which involves efforts by the organization to refute the existence of a crisis and disavow responsibility (e.g., attacking the accuser, denial, and scapegoating). This strategy does not necessarily deny the crisis but seeks to minimize the organization's involvement. (2) Diminish strategies (e.g., excuse and justification) aim to attribute minimal organizational responsibility for the crisis. (3) Rebuild strategies (e.g., compensation and apology) are employed to address negative reputational impacts. (4) Bolstering strategies (e.g., reminder, ingratiation, and victimage) complement other crisis response strategies (Coombs, 2013). Before selecting a crisis response strategy, organizations must ascertain the type of crisis and their degree of responsibility for it (Coombs & Holladay, 2002).

Effective communication during a crisis plays a pivotal role in enhancing public trust and shielding governments from public accusations (Li et al., 2022). However, fostering positive stakeholder relations requires not only managerial acumen but also a shift in organizational culture (Deverell & Olsson, 2010). Public organizations, such as governments, operate under bureaucratic rules distinct from those governing private entities, influencing their communication priorities even

when employing similar crisis response strategies (Liu et al., 2018).

Situational Crisis Communication Theory emerges as a promising framework for organizations aiming to mitigate reputational damage during crises (Hirschfeld & Thielsch, 2022; Sheehan & Quinn-Allan, 2015). SCCT is rooted in Attribution Theory, focuses on how the public attributes the causes of crises, the sources of information they rely upon, and their overall crisis assessment (Schwarz, 2008). Attribution Theory emphasizes that the public evaluates a crisis according to its source—determining whether it arises from internal variables within the organization's control or from external influences. Essentially, when a crisis results from internal factors within an organization's control, the public typically assigns responsibility to that organization. Conversely, if external factors contribute to the crisis, the public tends not to blame the organization (Hong & Cameron, 2018).

SCCT expands this perspective by offering strategic guidance for organizations to respond to crises based on how the crisis is perceived by the public, especially in terms of responsibility. For example, the COVID-19 crisis, classified as a sticky crisis, has led to diverse stakeholder perceptions regarding management responsibilities. This variation makes it particularly intriguing to investigate how the public attributes responsibility to the government (Tian & Yang, 2022).

Drawing on SCCT and its relevance to government responses and public perceptions during the COVID-19 crisis, the following research questions (RQs) are formulated:

RQ1: What were the MoH's COVID-19 crisis response strategies as reflected in its Instagram posts?

RQ2: How did the public attribute responsibility in their comments on the MoH's Instagram posts?

Method

This study used quantitative content analysis to examine public comments on government organization' Instagram accounts from December 16, 2021 to February 13, 2022. The selected sample units were the comments of each individual and the status of the organization posted on official accounts at the end of COVID-19 during the emergence of the Omicron virus. The researcher copied the comments and statuses and moved them to Excel to facilitate the preparation of data in SPSS. Of the total data collected, 578 were used for statistical tests. Given that the MoH had only posted 30 relevant statuses on Instagram regarding their crisis response strategies, all of these posts were included as units of analysis in this study.

Coding procedure

Coding analysis was carried out by two coders who had previously been briefed about the coding instructions. Each status was researched and categorized into a response type according to the criteria written, and each comment was categorized into one of the attributions of responsibility type. Each theoretical variable was adjusted to the case being studied to make it easier for the coders to categorize. For the intercoder reliability test, two coders randomly selected 58 comments (10% of the total sample). The rule of thumb is that at least 10% of the official sample for the study

should be coded by two or more coders to test for intercoder reliability (Scharer & Ramasubramanian, 2021).

Intercoder reliability statistics showed that agreement among human coders was acceptable. The manually calculated intercoder shows for the status of the organization (Krippendorff's $\alpha = 0.8128$) and attribution of responsibility (Krippendorff's $\alpha = 0.9425$) (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007).

The codebook included the following categories and values: organizational crisis response strategy: A post received a value of (1) if it met the criteria for any of the following crisis response strategies: attack the accuser, denial, scapegoat, excuse, justification, compensation, apology, reminder, ingratiation, or victimage. If it did not meet any of these criteria, it received a value of (0). For attribution of responsibility: A comment directly addressing the organization received (1), indirectly addressing the organization (2), and not addressing the organization (3). After calculating intercoder reliability, the research data were analysed using descriptive statistics and a chi-square test.

Finding

The following section discusses public comments on the MoH's Instagram post. Subsequently, the results of the content analysis on the SCCT response strategies employed by the MoH will be presented. The chi-square analysis is also presented to show whether there is a difference in the average distribution of the use of the crisis response strategy chosen by the organization.

Crisis Response Strategies

RQ 1 assessed the distribution frequency of the government's crisis response strategy to COVID-19. Table 1 showed that out of the 30 crisis messages communicated by the MoH on their Instagram account, four out of the 10 crisis response strategies outlined in SCCT were utilized. The most common strategy was justification (n=20; 66.67%), followed by reminder (n=7; 23.33%), compensation (n=2; 6.67%), and ingratiation (n=1; 3.33%). The MoH implemented three response strategies: diminish, rebuild, and bolstering, while denial was not employed.

Table 2 revealed the average crisis response score of 5.9333, standard deviation 1.46059, and median 5.000. From this data, the SCCT response data ranged from 5 to 9, with an average value of around 5.9333 and slight variation. Furthermore, a chi-square test was also conducted to see if there was a significant difference between the types of SCTT crisis response strategies carried out by the organization. Table 3 showed the chi-square value (29,200a) with a probability value (P) of 0.000. According to the chi-square test results, the difference between the expected and observed frequencies for the SCCT response was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The results revealed that there were differences between the types of crisis response strategies used by organizations in dealing with crises. These results indicated that the government had a preference for using only a select few crisis response strategies.

Table 1

Frequency distribution

Response strategy		Frequency	Percentage %
Deny Strategies	Attack the Accuser	0	0
	Denial	0	0
	Scapegoat	0	0
Diminish Strategies	Excuse	0	
	Justification	20	66.7
Rebuild Strategies	Compensation	2	6.7
	Apology	0	0
Bolstering Strategies	Reminder	6	20.0
	Ingratiation	2	6.7
	Victimage	0	0
Total		30	100

Source: data analysis

Table 2

Descriptive statistic

	Mean	SD	Median	Mode	Minimum	Maximum
SCCT response	5.9333	1.46059	5.000	5.00	5.00	9.00

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table 3

Chi-square Test

	df	chi-square	p
SCCT response	3	29.200 ^a	0,000

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 7.5.

Public Attribution of Responsibility

RQ 2 focused on the frequency of respondents who attribute responsibility to the government for COVID-19 cases. There were three different types of attribution, with almost even numbers (see Table 4): 54% of respondents directly attributed responsibility for COVID-19 to the government (n= 311; 54%); 35% did not directly attribute responsibility (n=202), and the rest did not attribute crisis responsibility to the government (n=65; 11%). Furthermore, based on the descriptive statistical analysis presented in Table 5, the analysis of public responses on the MoH's Instagram account revealed that the predominant reaction from the public was to refrain from directly addressing the organization. The mean indicated that public responses tended to be more negative (mean = 1.574) while the median (median = 1,000) and mode (mode=1.00) indicated that public responses were dominated by those directly addressed to the organization. The standard deviation value (SD=0.782) showed that the score had a variation although it is slight and smaller than the mean.

To reinforce the answer to RQ2, a chi-square test was conducted. As shown in Table 6, the chi-square value (154.841a) has a probability value (P) of 0.00. According to the chi-square test results, the difference between the expected and observed frequencies for the attribution of responsibility was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in the attribution of responsibility by the public.

Table 4

Frequency distribution

Attribution of responsibility of public response	Frequency	Percentage %
1: attributed responsibility directly to the organization	311	54%
2: did not attribute responsibility directly to the organization	202	35%
3: did not attribute responsibility to the organization	65	11%
Total	578	100%

Source: follower comment tone analysis results

Table 5

Descriptive statistic

	Mean	SD	Median	Mode	Minimum	Maximum
Attribution of responsibility	1.574	0.685	1.000	1.00	1.00	3.00

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown.

Table 6

Chi-square Test

	df	chi-square	p
Attribution of responsibility	2	154.841 ^a	0,000

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 192.7

Discussion

The COVID-19 pandemic has underscored the importance of effective crisis communication strategies. Organizations, whether public or private, across Indonesia have undergone significant adaptations in response to this crisis, which has profoundly affected economic, social, and cultural sectors, along with the government's international standing. This study utilizes crisis communication theory to examine government responses and public perceptions, aiming to address two pivotal aspects outlined in the research problem formulation.

The first research question (RQ1) investigates the crisis communication strategies employed by the MoH. The primary crisis response strategies used include diminishing, rebuilding, and bolstering, respectively, while denial was notably absent. This study finds that during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis phase, the Indonesian government predominantly employ the "justification" strategy. This approach involved emphasizing to the public that the pandemic was not as alarming as perceived.

In contrast, this study reveals significant variations in crisis response strategies adopted by different governments. For example, the Chinese state has predominantly employed advocacy and bolstering strategies (Li et al., 2022), whereas the U.S. government has leaned towards denial (Chon & Kim, 2022). A noteworthy distinction between this study and prior research lies in the strategies employed by leaders such as Trump and Cuomo, who heavily relied on bolstering—a tactic less frequently utilized by the Indonesian government. This disparity may stem from the politicization of the prolonged COVID-19 crisis, exacerbating xenophobia. Trump and Cuomo's emphasis on bolstering strategies may reflect their approach to portraying COVID-19 not merely as a natural disaster but as a "sticky crisis", as highlighted by Coombs et al., (2020b) and Tian and Yang (2022).

The results from the chi-square test indicated that the Indonesian government shows a preference for several strategies ("justification," "reminder," "compensation," and "ingratiation"), highlighting its deliberate selection among various options. These findings align with recommendations from crisis communication research, emphasizing that organizations should eschew adversarial approaches and prioritize proactive efforts. The "reminder" strategy aims to evoke positive past experiences among the public, while "ingratiation" seeks to cultivate favour with the audience. Additionally, employing the "bolstering" strategy aims to enhance public confidence in the government's track record. Consequently, the public perceives the government's

crisis management efforts positively and tends to heed its recommendations, often communicated through social media. By utilizing posts that not only convey accurate information but also resonate with the public's sentiments—such as highlighting successful initiatives in reducing COVID-19 cases across various regions in Indonesia (Che et al., 2022)—the government tries to engage with and meet public expectations.

The crisis confronted by the organization in this study is attributable to external factors, specifically the COVID-19 pandemic. Coombs (2007) posits that when a crisis originates from factors outside an organization's control, the level of responsibility attributed to the organization tends to be low. Consequently, organizations can shape their response by employing terms such as "victim" or by highlighting actions such as "informing" and "adjusting information". This approach is corroborated by Dhar and Bose (2022) who emphasize that organizations can mitigate risks to their reputation by providing clear guidance and adapting information pertaining to COVID-19.

However, in sticky crises where organizations are perceived as victims, denying responsibility for the crisis can prove more effective than simply minimizing its impact (Sisco, 2012). Such crises demand a more comprehensive crisis response strategy that goes beyond conventional approaches (Coombs & Tachkova, 2023). Interestingly, in the context of this study, the Indonesian government has refrained from employing the deny strategy in managing the COVID-19 crisis. One plausible reason for this decision could be a concern that adopting the deny strategy might disillusion the public, leading them to attribute blame to the government for the crisis.

Despite the substantial burden of responsibility placed on the public sector and healthcare system by COVID-19, the effectiveness of leadership in policy implementation depends significantly on trust and adept communication strategies (Hirschfeld & Thielsch, 2022). This study seeks to evaluate the extent to which the public trusts the MoH. The communication strategies utilized, especially on Instagram, play a crucial role in influencing public perception and acceptance. Furthermore, managing news frames is a vital communication strategy in the media. The government can strategically control news frames to communicate effectively with the public during a crisis. Ali and Malaco (2022) found that in two major Bangladeshi dailies, narrative framing emphasized social ties in Bangladeshi society, maintaining a balance between the government and media in reporting on the COVID-19 crisis. Drawing from these findings, the MoH could similarly develop appropriate frames to respond to crises, aligning them with Indonesian cultural values. On social media, this approach can function as a medium for two-way communication, effectively shaping public perception related to COVID-19.

The second research question (RQ2) aims to capture how the public attributes responsibility for the COVID-19 crisis response, as reflected in comments on the MoH's Instagram account. The responses were almost evenly divided among those that directly address the organization, those that indirectly address it, and those that do not address it at all. This distribution of responsibility attribution aligns with the application of SCCT, demonstrating its relevance for any organization. A chi-square analysis comparing attributions of crisis responsibility to organizations revealed that respondents' assessments of whether organizations were responsible for the COVID-19 crisis were significantly different. The results indicated that the public has different opinions related to the

attribution of responsibility. As Sisco (2012) noted, the public does not tend to favour one specific attribution of responsibility when evaluating an organization's crisis response.

The findings of this study are not consistent with those of Ma and Zhan (2016) who showed, through a chi-square homogeneity test, that there was no significant difference in public judgment during crises attributed to accidents. Moreover, the results support the public attribution of responsibility observed in the U.S. during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the U.S., the increasing number of COVID-19 cases led to a heightened perception of government responsibility. Conversely, the Chinese government became less prominent in the COVID-19 discourse as the pandemic evolved (Zhang et al., 2023). Therefore, this finding aligns with SCCT, which posits that the attribution of responsibility tends to be negative for organizations perceived as accountable (Schwarz, 2012). This pattern is evident in how the public assigns responsibility to the government for the COVID-19 crisis, on online media. Research on crises in general, and the COVID-19 pandemic specifically, indicates that governmental incompetence and inadequate crisis management amplify negative public opinion. The government's voice can be drowned out by the vast amount of public information circulating on social media. Additionally, the public tends to amplify negative tweets about the government by retweeting or expressing their negative emotions (Chon & Kim, 2022; Losada-Diaz et al., 2020; Van Winkle & Corrigan, 2022).

The findings of the organizational crisis response strategy and most of the attribution of responsibility by the public to the government, indicates that the government's crisis response strategy was less effective. Of the four strategies that have been used, in future, the government needs to pay more emphasis to corrective action strategies. COVID-19 has been a catastrophic crisis that has affected almost the entire world, and even though the government can still use the strategy that has been carried out the public may judge it is not enough. The government needs to show concrete efforts that can be positively accepted by the public given the length of COVID-19 which has made it a sticky crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2002). The government needs to show prevention strategies so that cases do not reappear, and show empathy, which can help the community to manage the psychological pressure (Gijs & An-Sofie, 2023) as done by organizations in South Korea that used various crisis response strategies, especially apologizing for various losses felt by the community and showing firm improvement efforts (Lim, 2020).

Governments must adapt their crisis responses to evolving forms of attribution (Spradley & Spradley, 2021) and focus on reconfiguring communication approaches during crises (Grantham, 2023). Evaluating the effectiveness of response strategies necessitates examining both internal and external organizational dynamics. Establishing relationships with the public through interactive communication channels enables them to access and disseminate information via the organization's social media platforms (Obembe et al., 2021; Park & Reber, 2011). Furthermore, analysing how the media frames a crisis is crucial for comprehending the diverse public perspectives (Kim, 2016). From these findings, it is crucial to highlight that effective crisis management by governments involves adeptly handling stakeholder relations. Given the rapid evolution of social media platforms, organizations must comprehensively understand and skilfully address public perceptions (Ravell, 2023). A notable example is the Saudi Arabian government's successful use of Twitter as a tool for navigating crises during the COVID-19 pandemic. They have actively

employed Twitter not only to disseminate information but also to underscore its importance and enhance public awareness (Azudin et al., 2023).

Organizations that possess a profound understanding of the types of crises they face and the associated risks of executing crisis response strategies may opt to blend them strategically to complement one another. Despite the notoriously rigid and top-down organizational culture typical in government bureaucracies, the effectiveness and efficiency of crisis response strategies hinge significantly on public perception. Leveraging social media emerges as a pivotal choice for effective crisis communication (Tian & Yang, 2022). However, managing social media presents significant challenges for public organizations, especially regarding compliance with legal regulations that require two-way and transparent communication (Ozanne et al., 2020). This issue is particularly pronounced in the context of this study, where the MoH's Instagram presence is noted for its formal and somewhat monotonous style, despite delivering timely updates (Coombs, 2013). Nevertheless, the primary goal of crisis communication remains ensuring public safety, with careful consideration also given to preserving organizational reputation.

This study contributes to the crisis communication literature by evaluating the effectiveness of various crisis response strategies. Unlike previous studies that primarily report percentages of each strategy, this study explores differences in preferences among strategies outlined in SCCT. It underscores that governments typically deploy strategies such as diminishing, rebuilding, and bolstering, while the public tends to scrutinize these strategies equally (Coombs, 2013). These findings align with prior research indicating that social media users come from diverse geographic, demographic, and psychographic backgrounds. Consequently, they often exhibit varied interpretations regarding crisis responsibility, as observed in assessments of who should manage the COVID-19 crisis (Zhao et al., 2020). In a practitioner implementation, organizations are required to proactively comprehend public sentiment when giving response to crisis, demonstrate empathy in accordance with local culture, and avoid publishing information that could potentially provoke public controversy.

Conclusion

This research contributes empirically to the testing of SCCT through quantitative content analysis of organizational crisis responses. It underscores that an organization's choice of response strategy significantly influences public perceptions. The effectiveness of crisis response strategies does not always align with theoretical recommendations, particularly when the crisis type is intertwined with various contextual factors. Moreover, this study reinforces the notion that crises are increasingly diverse and require careful attention from organizations. Therefore, response strategies need to be tailored to specific crisis conditions, taking into account socio-cultural perspectives, political climates, and public opinion. By doing so, organizations can effectively convey their responsibility and competence in managing crises.

Public opinion in crisis communication holds significant importance as it allows individuals the liberty to assess an organization's accountability during crises. The heterogeneous nature of the public on social media presents a substantial challenge, requiring organizations to carefully

consider their response strategies. Recognizing the inherent limitations of this study, it is acknowledged that the number of status posts related to the research theme constrained the available data sources. To enhance comprehensiveness, future research could broaden its scope by incorporating additional data sources, such as status posts from various other social media platforms. Moreover, this study primarily focuses on delineating organizational response strategies and public perceptions on COVID-19 crisis. Future research can test the SCCT theory in various types of crises to provide a diversity of organizational crisis response strategy.

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