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Social Hermeneutic Analysis of Village Lockdown to Prevent the Transmission of the Covid-19 Pandemic in Bontang Kuala Village, Bontang, East Kalimantan, Indonesia

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Abstract.

This paper focuses on the total closure of a tourist village initiated by its residents. It is called Bontang Kuala, a village with a mixed population of Bugis-Wajo ethnicities on the coast of Bontang, East Kalimantan, Indonesia. This village is crowded with local tourists, especially on holidays, located on the edge of the city of Bontang with 24-hour internet service. It's health culture is colored by a combination of cultural practices of the Bugis-Wajo diaspora, Islam and modern clinical culture at the same time. Bombardment of discourse on Covid-19 created tremendous panic, prompting them to implement village lockdowns. The implementation of the village lockdown operates more like a social game based on the discursive elements of the Covid-19 protocol, which is carried out by divided subject groups. The village guarding was very strict, preventing outsiders from entering, guarding and applying very strict health protocols to outsiders who for special reasons have to enter the village. But at the same time, they are helpless to prevent the crowd of fellow guard officers, and also hesitate to prohibit the parents from leaving the village on the grounds of working. Using a combination of Paul Ricoeur's perspective on Social Hermeneutics, Michel Foucault's power / knowledge perspective and Althusser's view of the divided subject, the authors interpret the Bontang Kuala Lockdown as nothing more than an experiment with the discursive elements of the Covid protocol driven by mass panic rather than the implementation of a strictly disciplined health protocol.

Keywords: Covid-19; discourse; social hermeneutics; village Lockdown

1. Introduction

1.1 The Pandemic and Mass Panic

The history of plague is a history of uncertainty. Medical knowledge always requires time to study the causes and treatment of new outbreaks. During that time there was often chaos in the community. Covid-19 set a record for the widest and fastest transmission. When the corona virus was still confined to Wuhan, panic had swept across the world. In just 3 months the virus has spread to all corners of the world, touching the number of thousands of victims.

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In Indonesia, the situation is very confusing ((Qodir et al., 2020). In terms of symptom identification alone, there are several categories that appear such as People Without Symptoms (*Orang Tanpa Gejala/OTG*), People Under Supervision (*Orang dalam Pengawasan/ODP*), and Patients Under Surveillance (*Pasien dalam Pengawasan/PDP*). There are no standard indicators to identify people who are exposed. The number of victims exposed continues to increase. The implementation of state social responsibility in dealing with covid-19 is not optimal due to confusion about who has the authority to determine health emergencies. Lack of agility, supporting facilities, and policies that do not show immediate results make people distrustful and create a chaotic situation. Many independent communities have sprung up in handling covid-19, which become a slap in the face for the government in the early days of Covid-19.

The news that China and several other countries have succeeded in suppressing the rate of the spread of covid-19 with the lockdown spread in the media. The word 'lockdown' has become a popular term among grassroots circles, even though Indonesia did adopt a different policy termed Large-Scale Social Restrictions (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar/PSBB*). Many villages revive the spirit of *gotong royong* (collaboration) making strict restrictions for their villages. They call it a village lockdown. The media is busy reporting that village-style lockdowns seem far more successful at keeping the population moving than the PSBB policy. March 2020, is a tense period for the citizens of Bontang. Panic peaked due to the confusion of media news about the number of deaths and uncertainty about prevention.

The number of people exposed to corona virus continued to rise. The absence of vaccine to stop the virus attack caused an extraordinary panic. Some measures taken to anticipate the spread of this pandemic were based more on pseudo-medical than medical knowledge. The most popular thing in the online news headlines is the use of booths in Surabaya for spraying disinfectants to individuals to anticipate the mass spread of this virus.

This action, which was previously praised and followed by many groups, has been proven to be wrong from clinical discourse. Disinfectants are very harmful to human health in the long term when sprayed on the body, especially when applied excessively on places and objects that are not necessarily a hotbed of viruses that you want to eradicate.

1.2 Previous Studies

Previous studies have shown various phenomena of the impact of the pandemic and various policies of countries to overcome them. Glover analyzes the effect of regional restriction policies to lock up the movement of covid-19 in several high-income countries and poor countries. This study found a variety of impacts including anxiety, depression, food insecurity, and loneliness. Glover suggests lifting covid-19 lockdown (Glover et al., 2020)

In Panama, a policy of restricting human movement with a shifting gender-based system found that women reduced routine activities and visits to commonly visited communities more than men (Wenham, 2020). In India the national lockdown policy is effective for areas with high infection rates, but not for areas that have not been infected (Sardar et al., 2020). India has 90 per cent of unorganized migrant workers. The experience of poverty, informality and economic inequality makes informal migrant workers the most vulnerable group (Sengupta & Jha, 2020)

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Brazil made 3 models of restrictions on human movement. The vertical distancing policy is not effective to contain the covid-19 pandemic, because only the elderly are kept away. In the horizontal distance policy, all age groups adhere to social distancing, while in the control policy, individuals are expected to have their own self-control regarding behavior towards the conscious behavior of the Covid-19 protocol. The horizontal distancing policy significantly reduces the number of infected people "flattening the disease growth curve" than the other two policies (Duczmal et al., 2020)

Japan developed a cluster approach, science-based decision-making, and scenario planning. Learning from Japan, Tashiro and Shaw put forward the importance of an ecosystem-based lifestyle as a potential way to deal with pandemic events. (Tashiro & Shaw, 2020)

In Australia, Bratu found a link between highly inaccurate beliefs, emotional contagion and conspiracy ideas. Fake news, incomplete information plays a big role in creating fear, anxiety and stress during the pandemic (Bratu, 2020)

In Switzerland, Germany and the UK, Mondada saw how greetings as the basis of human sociality have changed shape during the pandemic. The greeting that is in the form of a touch (shake/hug) turns into a body movement full of hesitation. Gradually new touch models such as touching using the elbow, or the 'air hug' model became more normal than other greeting models (Mondada et al., 2020)

In Indonesia, the implementation of state social responsibility in dealing with Covid-19 was not optimal. Lack of agility, lack of supporting facilities, policies that do not immediately show the results have caused distrust. Many independent efforts by communities in handling Covid-19 was a hard slap for the government in the early days of Covid. (Qodir et al., 2020)

1.3 Bontang Kuala Lockdown Style amidst the National PSBB Policy

Bontang City was in the yellow area category when it decided to follow the PSBB policy. The city entrance gate was heavily guarded, only one path was opened to enter and exit Bontang. People's movement was restricted. The lower class people were given cash assistance of IDR 500 thousand per month, free of charge for water bills and electricity bill discounts. Residents who have to leave Bontang were required to have a letter of assignment from their office. People who entered Bontang were isolated for 14 days. A curfew was in effect, malls and cafes were allowed to open until 8 pm. During the PSBB, tourist destination were guarded, including at the Bontang Kuala gate. The entrance gate was under limited guard from the *Babinsa* (military personnel at village level) and the Bontang Police from 8 am to 4 pm.

There were complaints from residents against the PSBB policy in Bontang. The municipal government was considered to take weak measures against the crowds in traditional markets. Residents of BK have concerns over the residents of Bontang in other areas, because the village is a destination for tourists from inside and outside Bontang. The guard was considered ineffective, because the best time to visit BK is after 4 pm until late at night. Panic grew amidst rumors that one resident was being treated at the hospital due to corona virus. The situation got more tense because of rumors about faster transmission due to close proximity to each other and descendants of the same blood were considered to accelerate transmission.

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This study examines how the efforts of young netizens in Bontang village initiated the total closure of the village. The focus of the study is centered on how the mass panic due to the bombardment of the pandemic discourse, led the villagers to do a village lockdown with the provisions of the habitus of fragile health protocol discipline.

2 Method

2.1 Data Collection Method

The research was conducted between July and December 2020, after the New Normal policy in Indonesia. Secondary data were collected from City Health Office and local village office (*kelurahan*). As many as 20 informants were interviewed. FGDs could not be carried out because the pandemic period had not ended and the political situation was heated ahead of the mayor election at that time. The researchers were able to hold limited discussions with youngsters and village leaders.

2.2 Research Site

Bontang Kuala, known as BK only (formerly called Bontang village) is one of the oldest villages in Bontang City. The village was already recorded in the Book of *Sawai* (The genealogy of the kings of Kutai Kertanegara) in the 13th century, during the reign of king Aji Batara Agung Dewa Sakti. In the book Bontang was named Bintalu. The term 'Bontang' is derived from the word 'Bentang,' a local term to mark a coastal location with elongated coral reefs, a landscape that is very good for the growth of fish, shrimp and sea cucumbers (*holothuroidea*). This village was founded by ethnic Wajo migrants from South Sulawesi and their descendants who have been assimilated with many other ethnic groups.

Bontang village is crowded with trading ships. At the end of the 17th century, the influence of Islam began to enter through ulamas from Malaysia. The first mosque located outside the village since 1750 was named Masjid Al Wahab. In 1920, this village became the capital of the *Van Bontang Onder District* when Kutai Kingdom was controlled by the Dutch. In 1950 Bontang became a sub-district capital (*kecamatan*). As the sub-district area extended to the mainland, the capital moves outside of the sea village. Since then, the old village area was named Bontang Kuala, and the new area Bontang Baru or New Bontang.

In 1989 Bontang sub-district became an administrative town and since then BK has become a maritime tourism development project. The village has a culinary tourism attraction and the annual sea festival, where rituals of syncretism of Bajo, Bugis, Kutai/Dayak maritime cultures are displayed. Every afternoon, BK is the destination for Bontang residents to relax. On holidays there are many tourists from outside Bontang coming in. This has caused residents' concerns about the spread of the epidemic.

At the same time, BK is also the target of disciplinary clinical discourse about healthy living from the apparatus of local health institutions. The community is disciplined with the discourses of healthy living and medical treatment. The introduction of clinical discipline discourse has divided knowledge about health and illness into at least three areas of discourse in this village, namely traditional discourse, religious/Islamic discourse and medical discourse. In terms of illness, residents are used to distinguishing between medical illnesses that require a doctor's visit, and delivered or spiritual illnesses that must be treated by traditional shamans or religious leaders (to avoid *shirk* or idolatry in Islam).

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2.3. Theoretical Framework

Lockdown will be viewed with the analogy of a 'game' (Ricoeur, 1981) created from a typology of clinical discipline discourse (Foucault, 1980) by divided subjects (Althusser, 1970). There is no neutral knowledge according to Foucault. What was considered 'true knowledge' at one time, was only a discourse, a type of discursive knowledge that was dominantly supported by beliefs at that time. Foucault questioned the power not of subject-object questions ('who has power and which party is controlled'), but rather on how power works. *Discipline and Punish* concentrates more on observing how the effects of power work in the body and shape visible behaviors. The body as a place for technology to operate power.¹

Lockdown of Bontang Kuala features a typical social game text. BK netizens who appear to be rapidly transforming into strict health protocol discourse apparatus, have not been separated from the objects of customary and religious discourse that require them to submit to old social values. They act as the first readers to be bombarded by pandemic discourse from all corners of the discourse channel. From this process, they then understand how this pandemic is a very serious problem for BK residents. On the one hand, this village is a tourist village with many visitors, on the other hand the villagers are still very unfamiliar with the demands of the covid-19 prevention protocol.

Reading is appropriating in Paul Ricoeur's words (Ricoeur, 1991). One's position in front of the text that is read is a creative position, not swallowing it outright, but also not rejecting it outright. The BK youths can be said to be creative readers who try to take texts about the most effective health protocols to protect their villages. There has been so many talks about how to deal with covid-19, but the discourses about the lockdown in Wuhan and the lockdown of Java's rural villages seem to have influenced them the most.

Together with residents and village government officials, they then act as authors of a social game called village lockdown. They accept lockdown as the only option of action to save the village, but at the same time they simply do not have enough experience to carry out strict health protocol discipline codes. The codes of behavior in the lockdown game are finally a combination of codes of behavior from the discourse on health protocols, the discourse on the customs of the bontang diaspora and the discourse of the Islamic religion at once. At the beginning of the lockdown, the youths acted as the main subjects who acted as apparatuses that taught knowledge and practice of health protocols. But at the end of the process; they are excluded as objects that are pointed out, criticized and accused of being a source of inconsistency for citizens who fail to implement the lockdown according to health protocols.

3 Result

3.1.1 The lockdown of Bontang Kuala village was carried out in the third week of March 2020 at the initiative of the youth to mobilize agreement and support of village residents and local village government officials. The village head made a decision on village restrictions

¹¹ In *Madness and Civilization* and *The Birth of Clinic*, Foucault has actually implied a relationship between knowledge, power and the body, but has not explicitly stated that the body is the object of power relations. In *Discipline and Punish*, this relationship is very clearly illustrated. Foucault describes how the European punishment system for people who are considered guilty varies according to models of knowledge about punishment that are considered effective.

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and organized the division of the guarding team. Lockdown equipment such as banners, soap, hand washing stations, disinfectants, and body temperature measuring devices were provided by the sub-district government and the local health office. Logistics for the guards was provided by mutual cooperation and assistance from several city leaders.

3.1.2 Agreement on joint lockdown procedures and mechanisms taking into account the standard protocol for preventing the transmission of covid-19, but cannot be implemented consistently.

3.1.3 They are very strict in guarding outsiders from entering the village, but have no power to prevent the residents and the crowd of guards from carrying out the same discipline.

3.1.4 The lockdown was disbanded prematurely due to residents' disappointment in the inconsistent implementation of the lockdown protocol, political suspicions ahead of the Bontang mayoral election.

4 Discussion

4.1 Context: Surrounded by Pandemic Discourse, Mass Panic and Fragile Healthy Living Discipline

The pandemic discourse entered BK in a situation of total compliance with government apparatus and fragile medical literacy behavior. Apparatus from government institutions such as village officials, local health center (*Puskesmas*) officers, infant care center (*Posyandu*) cadres as well as neighborhoods (*Rukun Tetangga/RT*), establish medical and pseudo-medical discourse by constantly discussing health protocols and the importance of refraining from activities that are considered unimportant. While medical and pseudo-medical discourse is being bombarded by the mass media, social media groups are constantly reporting on the terrible dangers of this pandemic. News about the number of infected people, high death rate, policies of other countries and independent lockdown of villages, mixed with appeals from the apparatus of government institutions, dominated the discussion about covid-19 in BK village.

Even though the discussion about the urgency of the pandemic was getting more and more tense, at that time no one dared to take the initiative to propose closing the village. Unlike other villages in the interior areas which were very easy to decide on lockdown, BK sees total compliance with government policies as an 'advantage'. It was as if there was an unwritten agreement between them, that whatever they decided would not overstep the official government policy. The head of BK also acknowledged this trend. According to him, the residents of BK are very fond of arguing. However, so far no one has argued against the government. In general they did not dare to actually go against the government.

The lockdown decision is not a decision that all BK residents naturally agree on. The youngsters of Bontang Kuala Youth Association (*Ikatan Pemuda Bontang Kuala/IPBK*) and Karang Taruna BK are the ones who intensively discussed the situation related to the pandemic. They are netizens, the subjects who first become the main information channel for online news about the pandemic. They revived the conversation about how dangerous it would be if the pandemic reached BK's village. Those who are more agile in consuming news from any media, become the subjects who dominate the conversation.

They carry the discourse of village lockdown, using media news to legitimize the reality that is happening out there. This situation makes knowledge alternatives from other discourse

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domains excluded. Customary circles, elders, even religious leaders are stuttering to use knowledge from the domains of old discourse to understand a completely new phenomenon of covid-19. Knowledge and experience about the pandemic exist, but with completely different physical characteristics from covid-19. Micro-economic actors are the objects that are most disadvantaged, but are powerless to resist the domination of the lockdown discourse.

Such dominance is getting stronger because there is no alternative discourse. Islamic religious discourse or local culture has long been bouncing from the health discourse, since the medicalization of life has been bombarding the residents of BK. The imam of the mosque and pious people are the subjects of religious discourse, but they do not master any explanation about covid-19, while traditional healers have long been eliminated.

On March 18, 2020, Bontang government officially decided to implement the PSBB. Bontang city gate is guarded 24 hours a day and tourist destination centers are guarded during working hours. Shortly after the PSBB took effect, rumors circulated that someone with a BK ID card was confirmed positive at the Bontang Hospital. Untraceable where it came from, the rumors immediately caused tremendous panic. This time, the discussion led to several items of concern about the special conditions of BK if someone has been confirmed positive of covid-19. Several arguments were used to discuss the importance to immediately implement a village lockdown. News reported the malignancy of covid-19 in other areas, the government has also made restrictions, meaning it is indeed dangerous. Above all, they consider the residents of BK to be one family, living in houses that are close to each other, meaning that if one is infected, all of them will be infected.

The panic situation over dangerous news both from outside and within BK, made the lockdown discourse almost unhindered and seemed to be the only thing that had to be done. There are discourse resistances that are less visible on the surface. It comes from those who do not fully believe that lockdown is the only way to fight the pandemic. Some elders still hold the belief that sea water can cure all diseases. The son of a former high-ranking Bontang official, said that from the past time people of BK had symptoms of fatigue such as fever, cough, flu; they only bathe in sea water and drink herbal recipes that have been passed down from generation to generation. It has been going on for generations, but because of this pandemic the symptoms are not felt, most people don't believe it anymore.

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In fact, many small business owners are also anxious about their income when the village is completely closed. No one can really express this concern at the coordination meeting in the village office. However, most of the meeting participants considered the government assistance of IDR 500,000/month as a response to the anxiety. Concerns over the number of deaths due to contracting the disease dominate the conversation. They realized that even

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before the village was closed their income had dropped drastically. In the end, the discourse of lockdown did not get any meaningful resistance.

Youth representatives from IPBK initiated a meeting of community representatives with the village apparatus. The meeting decided to immediately carry out village lockdown activities. Preparation was done within one week. An implementing organization was formed, containing the names of those present at the meeting. A person known as 'the mayor' was agreed to be the chairman. The division of guard personnel was arranged, young people were grouped into 3 shifts with predetermined names. They will join the city's covid-19 volunteers who work based on the Bontang Mayor's Decree, who only stand guard during working hours.

Logistics is collected from citizen donations, government and private agencies assistance. The village only bears the logistics for the city's covid-19 volunteer team. The BK volunteer team collects logistics as voluntary assistance from BK residents, either food or money. Not all residents contributed logistics; some of them, who did not fully agree with the activity but did not speak at the meeting, opted not to donate in any form. The team also made proposals for logistical assistance to several government agencies and companies in Bontang. The BK-style lockdown was finally implemented by the BK Volunteers, with formal decision by the Bontang Village Head, one week after the Bontang City PSBB policy.

4.2 Text: Combination Game of Clinical Discipline Codes, Pseudo-Clinical, Customary Manners Discipline, and Economic Logic

Young netizens of BK acted as the first readers of pandemic and lockdown texts to deal with the spread of the pandemic. They succeeded in creating panic by taking advantage of village issues, leading to lockdown as the perfect truth to secure the village. Together with village residents, supported by village government officials and local health institutions, they then acted as authors who compose the text of the BK village lockdown game. The agreement on the mechanism and procedure for the lockdown was set as much as possible to imitate the discipline of health protocols, but its implementation was entirely based on the logic of social games.

The first day of the lockdown, the spirit of BK volunteers was so strong. A fence at the BK entrance gate was installed with a banner that read, "In an effort to prevent Covid-19, visits to the Bontang Kuala Tourism Object are closed. Please cooperate." Outsiders are barred from entering, except for those with emergency interests such as visiting a sick relative. People who want to buy salted fish on the border of the village were allowed with the agreed procedure. Their body temperature was measured by the team and vehicle were sprayed with disinfectant (in the beginning even the person too). They were taken to the salted fish sellers and then immediately directed out of BK. Aside from the two reasons, outsiders were absolutely not allowed in.

On the Bontang Kuala *Bekesah* Facebook page, many Bontang netizens upload photos of this guard. A netizen said that he, who was about to enter BK to hang out with his friends, was driven away by the team and his motorbike was forced to turn around. There are many cases, where people who usually jog in the morning or afternoon through BK village, are not allowed to enter. Several personnel of the Covid-19 Volunteer Team also made the same status. It did not take a long time for the news of the BK lockdown to spread in Bontang City. Residents also think that BK was completely sterilized from outsiders, with strict covid-19 prevention SOPs.

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This lockdown cannot fully comply with the principles of medical discipline procedures in preventing the transmission of covid-19. There is a tug of war from different realms of discourse, which cannot fully compromise with the agreed principles of preventive procedures. Lockdown was colored by many social compromises that actually have the opportunity to facilitate the spread of the epidemic. The lockdown ended not because of strong resistance from parties who did not approve of the lockdown, but rather the inability of the initiators to implement the lockdown protocol that was touted by the initiators.

4.2.1 Inconsistency in Implementing Lockdown Procedures

The city PSBB team has been on guard at the village gate for more than a week. They were tasked with preventing the spread of the virus by ensuring that people entering and leaving the BK village have passed the official procedures for preventing the spread of covid-19 from the local health institution. The agreed standard procedure was not to allow people to enter and exit the BK without an emergency reason. Those who have to enter or leave must go through checking body temperature, spraying disinfectant for the vehicle and its people, and washing hands with hand sanitizer or soap.

Table. 1: Inconsistency in the Implementation of Lockdown Mechanisms and Procedures in the Style of Kampung BK

Agreed mechanism	Implemented Procedure	
	Outsiders	Insiders
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The gate is closed halfway, a banner is posted that reads notification of village closure - 1-3 people guard outside the fence, keep a safe distance, wear masks. Care is arranged in 2 shifts, 6 people per shift. - Disinfectant spraying/sterilization: for passing vehicles and people who are forced to enter. - Measure Body temperature, Wash Hands with: body temperature above 38 is not allowed to enter. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The guard outside the fence is only 1-3 people, but behind the fence the youths are clustered under the tent, huddled together chatting without maintaining a safe distance. - Outsiders who just want to have a sightseeing, walk, hang out, were immediately driven outside the fence. - People who want to buy salted fish, were allowed to enter, delivered until they get it and immediately led out again. - The guard ensured that the mechanism of maintaining a minimum distance of 2 meters was observed consistent from people entering the gate, meeting sellers until they leave again. - Residents from outside BK who are relatives of BK people, were considered to be BK residents. They were allowed to enter with the same procedure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BK residents who have to work, or sell/shop at the market are still allowed. - BK residents who want to re-enter from traveling, undergo the same procedure (vehicle and person are sprayed with disinfectant, wash hands with hand sanitizer).

The Volunteer Team consisting of village youths joined the city PSBB Team. However, they were more equipped with a strong spirit of village solidarity, wanting to prevent outsiders from entering so that the village remains clean from the pandemic. They are mostly supported by medical/pseudo-medical knowledge that flows through television, online news and social media groups. They adopted the existing mechanisms and procedures. Some officers taught BK volunteers how to explain to people who wanted to stay in without a clear need. On the other hand, PSBB officers were assisted by BK volunteers in explaining to BK residents how they had to refrain from going in and out of the village for less important reasons.

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However, the spirit of guarding the village was colored by two very contradictory things from the first day as shown in table 2. First, the rotating guard agreement failed to be implemented. Almost all of the BK youths spilled over to the border under the pretext of protecting the village. Those who were not scheduled for the day's work huddled under a tent on the sidewalk behind the gate, they chatted, ate, played guitar or sang. A stereotype developed among them where young people who do not join the gathering were considered not to care about the goodness of the village. Residents who do not support this activity were also threatened by the same stereotype.

Second, they did not have the power to prevent BK residents whose jobs are outside to remain in the village. The fishermen still go to the market to sell fish, residents who want to shop at the market are also not prevented. Residents who have to work outside the village can also go in and out, even though they have to undergo the same procedure as outsiders. This procedure was considered inconsistent and disappointed the city PSBB Team, until in the end they were no longer on guard there.

4.2.2 Failed Virtual Resistance: “Mister Parliament Insensitive to Citizens Health!”

The excitement to implement the lockdown that was not fully consistent with the Covid-19 protocol caused residents nervous. On the one hand, residents were asked to refrain from going out of their village and on the other hand, the lockdown incited crowds that are considered dangerous for it can spread the virus.

The micro and small business owners, especially the *angkringan* (small scale) traders in front of the village stage, were very disappointed. Their incomes are most vulnerable because of the absence of visitors. Many of them were trapped by debt to moneylenders. They refrained from leaving BK village, trying to comply with the village lockdown agreement, even though they have no income. They were very angry with the inconsistent implementation of the village lockdown, but did not dare to speak out.

Every time someone complains about the empty income during the lockdown, volunteers will approach them, reaffirming the importance of keeping the village closed to outsiders. A covid volunteer who is known as the 'person of the mayor of Bontang' explained how he had to fight desperately to make people (especially SMEs) understand the importance of protecting the villagers from the virus. The same argument was always used to emphasize that the residents of BK are kin, living in houses that are close to each other. If only one resident is exposed, it is feared that it will quickly spread to all residents. For several weeks, this argument became common sense to justify the village lockdown.

At the end of the third week of April, resistance came from the youngest member of the Bontang City parliament named Joneidi. His family is known as the owner of 3 famous cafes in BK. Joneidi made a Facebook post saying that the total ban on local tourists from visiting BK kills the cafe businesses. The post sparked a commentary war and gave rise to several counter posts among BK netizens. Those posts have now been deleted, but according to informants, there were hundreds of comments flooding Joneidi's post. Most of the comments consider Joneidi to be very insensitive to the enthusiasm of the residents to protect the village.

The defense came from the son of the first head of BK. He was the first person who dared to give support by commenting on Joneidi's critical status on Facebook. His comments were then followed by hundreds of subsequent comments from BK netizens. About 5 people tried to defend him, but most of the comments were offensive, accusing him of being sensitive to

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people's health. From the Facebook status, Joneidi's resistance also appeared in Bontang's online news. Junaidi immediately assumed the title as a member of parliament who was against the aspirations of his citizens.

In everyday conversation, many regretted that a member of parliament from BK did not stand behind the residents of BK. The gossip even said the cafe owner just wanted to save his business. He owns 3 well-known cafes in the BK area, two of which are Jimbaran Café and Batavia Kafe. The alibi is that there are many traders who can earn less, the gossip of the residents is more regretful why they don't earn income instead of fighting the lockdown activities.

From a Facebook status that invites hundreds of comments, it becomes a daily conversation. Most villagers strongly objected to this statement because they considered the restrictions for their safety some people even convey it directly to the Lurah (village head). The Lurah also made a personal status with the same spirit with them, reaffirming the spirit of fighting the transmission of covid-19 which is being intensified by the government. The status of the Lurah also received many comments, most of them supported the lockdown. There is no new status that contains a rebuttal of this gossip. Some BK netizens made a counter status. The contents more or less emphasize the spread of the danger of Covid-19 and the importance of keeping the village so that residents do not get infected and the lockdown continues.

4.2.3 Multidirectional Resistance of Those Who have Long Silence

The month of Ramadan (starting 24 April 2020) became a turning point for the transfer of discourse power formations. Logistics supply increased in line with the spirit of giving alms in the month of Ramadan, both from village residents and Bontang city leaders who passed proposals for logistical assistance requests to government agencies and corporations. The abundance of logistics makes lockdown supporters proud. The tradition of breaking the fast together which usually takes place in a mosque, has now moved to the guard post. Towards sunset, the crowd behind the gate is getting busier, although in front of the gate the guarding took place as agreed.

The volunteer team claimed that the lockdown was successful in helping the government prevent the pandemic from entering BK. This situation became a strong alibi that lockdown is not merely the aspiration of the incumbent mayor's support camp, but all BK residents as well.

However, this situation was also read from the opposite direction by people who did not fully agree with lockdown. People who were originally positioned as objects who were bombarded by the health protocol discipline enlightenment by the volunteer team, turned into subjects who criticized back with the same discourse. Small traders, mosque leaders, groups of traditional elders and village elders who had been the objects of discipline in the lockdown, turned into the subjects who criticized the course of this activity. Those who are also not media illiterate, use the medical and pseudo-medical discourse that abounds both on social media and from everyday conversation, to show how the lockdown is not effective in preventing the transmission of Covid-19. The large number of residents breaking their fast at the guard post fulfills criticism of the inability of the Volunteer Team to discipline residents who work outside the BK, residents who want to go to the market and even residents outside BK who still have kin members inside.

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This situation made the noise of objections in the village even stronger. Small business owners began to openly gossip about their objections. One by one, the residents finally dared to speak openly about their objections. The news of the strict lockdown in the villages became a reference for gossip about the lockdown in Bontang. One of the residents finally dared to express his complaints directly to the Lurah.

One by one, the residents finally dared to speak openly about their objections. They criticize the team's indecisive attitude towards BK residents, who were allowed to freely leave, and kin members of BK people from outside who can get in. The courage was gained when they realized that residents' distrust about the effectiveness of the lockdown was rising. They have references to lockdown activities in other villages who dare to do a total village lockdown from TV news andWhatsapps groups. The news of the strict lockdown in the villages became a reference for gossip about the lockdown in Bontang. One of the residents finally dared to express his complaints directly to the village head.

The youngsters, who initially seemed united in supporting the lockdown, in the middle of Ramadan began to split. The moment before the elections also influenced this division. The lockdown process began to give birth to political interpretations. The team is considered more willing to seek face to the mayor. Religious leaders who during the initial process of lockdown refrained from engaging in open talks, when rumors peaked, also colored the discussion of the pandemic from Islamic discourse, adding to doubts about the effectiveness of the lockdown.

The moment before the election also influence this division. The incumbent candidate was believed to be stronger and more likely to win than his challenger. The volunteer team was initiated and led by a person known as the mayor's person. The Lockdown process, which was then considered to be excessive and even unable to maintain health protocols, began to give birth to political interpretations. Scornful conversations began to appear, the team was believed to be more willing to seek face with the mayor than to really keep BK from the spread of covid-19. The skewed view mainly comes from the side that does not support the incumbent candidate.

Religious leaders, who during the initial lockdown process refrained from engaging in open talks, when the rumors peaked, also involved in the conversation. One of the *takmir*s (management member) of the mosque stated that in fact from the beginning people who understood religion were aware that any disease could come from God. When the PSBB policy took place, the takmir of the Al Misbach BK mosque added a daily prayer (after the dawn and sunset prayers) to reject malicious diseases. According to him, this was the best effort that can be done by the mosque, because the situation did not allow for mass worship.

None of the informants remembers exactly when BK was re-opened. The Bontang Terkini Facebook account uploaded the status without guard on May 16, 2020 (facebook.com/bontangterkini/post/1781714770001935). If this is the closing date of the guard post, then the BK-style lockdown only last about 1.5 months. Since then 2 more weeks for the PSBB to end, but there was no longer any guard from the BK Volunteer Team or from the City Government Team. Entering the new normal period, the number of covid-19 in Bontang increased from Green to Yellow and finally Red December. Yet BK Sea Village had the lowest number of infections compared to other areas in Bontang City.

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5 Conclusion

5.1.1 The village lockdown initiated by young netizens BK failed to implement the Covid-19 prevention clinical protocol discipline codes of conduct in the village lockdown 'game'. The village lockdown was carried out more as a temporary response to the panic of the residents over the bombardment of the pandemic discourse. The agreement to carry out a lockdown did not take place naturally, but through a massive opinion-driven strategy from BK netizens. Resistance is not non-existent, but the dominance of medical discourse is very strong, making those who disagree lack adequate explanations and choose to remain silent.

5.1.2 The habitus of the discipline of health protocols which is still very fragile makes clinical protocols very difficult to apply firmly. Young netizens seem to act as subjects who are very knowledgeable about the covid-19 protocol, seem to be very strict against people from outside the village. But at the same time, they are fragile and become obedient objects when dealing with village elders and their own comrades. In front of their parents, they are helpless, becoming objects who submit to the arguments of economic discourse that require residents to work outside the village. In the presence of their own friends, they failed to organize the youths for the discipline of the agreed protocol.

5.1.3 This BK village-style lockdown is more accurately said to be a social game of disciplinary elements of health protocols into the practice of village restrictions rather than the pure application of clinical discipline protocols to prevent the transmission of covid-19. They created lockdown mechanisms and procedures from the combination of the Covid-19 protocol discipline habitus with other social habits that have long been in effect in the village. In the end, the BK village-style lockdown could be said to be an experiment in the application of a clinical protocol to prevent Covid-19 from being disciplined.

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