

The Role of Baduy Tribe Leaders and the Implementation of COVID-19 Pandemic Vaccination

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: To determine the role of the Baduy tribal leaders in implementing the COVID-19 pandemic vaccination.

Methodology: use a qualitative ethnographic design which is expected to analyze and even examine the wisdom of the Baduy Tribe such as culture, law norms, customs, habits, or beliefs that influence the implementation of the COVID-19 pandemic vaccination. The data collection was carried out from September 16 to October 14, 2021, from in-depth interviews with 7 subjects through in-depth interviews, observations, document analysis, and direct visits to the location of the Baduy Tribe. The collected data is analyzed by identifying the themes and subthemes, selecting them, and analyzing and synthesizing to get conclusions.

Results: the traditional leaders of the Baduy or Puun tribes and the leadership of the Kanekes or Jaro Village governments implemented: a) the prescribed role which gave the Baduy people the opportunity to take part in the health protocol and vaccination program; b) implementing the enacted role or the role of customary head to implement deliberation before making a decision which is a characteristic that cannot be changed by anyone. The enacted role dominates decision-making more than the prescribed role.

The practical implication: with an approach from the heart to the leadership of the Baduy tribe, the COVID-19 pandemic vaccination program has finally been accepted and implemented by the Baduy Tribe community.

Keywords: Role, Baduy Tribe Leader, Vaccination of COVID-19 Pandemic.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Cohen (1992), giving the meaning of the role as the behavior expected by others from a person or organization under the status they have[1]. While Kurniadi (2018), defines the role as an action by a person or group of people in a condition expected by people who have positions in society[13]. Both definitions have something in common, namely the actions taken by a person or group of people as expected according to their position. However, in the research that is seen is the position of the leader of the Baduy Tribe which comprises the highest leader called and the village head or Jaro.

Cohen (1992), explained that there are several roles that a person or group of people can choose in choosing and implementing their roles[1]. The roles that are important to be chosen are a) actual roles or enacted roles, which are inherent roles that are carried out by someone in real life without being designed; b)

recommended or prescribed roles, which are roles that are expected by the community to be following their position and conditions; c) role model or role model, which is a role that others can imitate; and d) the scope of roles or role sets, where each individual can complement each other.

The Baduy tribe, which is well-known as a tribe, still isolates itself from outside influences to preserve the culture and traditions of its ancestors. They uphold the position and trust of their ancestors so that they are not easily influenced. Meanwhile, there is a decision by the Lebak Regency Government to recognize the local wisdom of the Baduy as Ulayat rights, namely Regional Regulation number 32 of 2001 concerning the Protection of the Ulayat Rights of the Baduy Community which covers the Kanekes Village area comprising 3 Inner Baduy Tribes and 62 Hamlets. The area is 5100 km², with a population of 11,711 people. With this regional regulation, the position of the leader

of the Baduy Tribe has the legal power to regulate their own Ulayat area. In the organizational structure of Kanekes Village which was approved by the local government, the position of the highest leader in the Baduy Tribe is 2 people, namely a) the Tribal Chief or Puun is the highest leader of all Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy residents; b) The Head of the Village Government, namely Jaro. These two leaders regulate all the life activities of the Baduy people, both during normal times and during disasters.

Disasters that often occur are fires that occur almost every 3 months, landslides that occur when the rainy season comes, and finally the COVID-19 pandemic. This disaster condition will become an additional burden for the leadership of the Baduy Tribe, both the Inner Baduy and the Outer Baduy. Fires and landslides usually last for 1 day, but the COVID-19 pandemic disaster lasts for over 1 year starting from December 2019 to August 2021. The consequences of this pandemic disaster for other regions have spread to life-threatening health problems and a declining economy.

lasts for more than 1 year starting from December 2019 to August 2021. The consequences of this pandemic disaster for other regions have spread to life-threatening health problems and a declining economy.

This condition will be a test for the two leaders of the Baduy Tribe in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. The government in this case the COVID-19 Task Force implements the 3M program (Wearing masks, washing hands, and maintaining distance) and carries out 3T (Testing, Tracing, and Treatment) as well as vaccinations for every citizen (COVID-19 Hotline 119, 2020). The leader of the Baduy tribe must be able to take a position that is to support or reject the government program. To deal with 3M, Baduy people rarely go out of their environment outside Baduy, so they are not easily infected. This habit is the same as keeping a distance to avoid crowds or social distancing, being able to avoid being exposed to the COVID-19 pandemic, so there is no need to 3T (Djalante et al, 2020; Setiati & Azwar, 2020).

Because this is a government program, then the leader of the Baduy Tribe has the right to choose and accept it by implementing his leadership role. The customary habit of the Baduy Tribe leaders is usually to hold deliberations to get input from all traditional officials and Kanekes Village officials. This habit is a decentralized leadership that accepts input from those below it. Choosing the type of decentralized leadership in decision-making can reduce the number of deaths caused by disasters [20][22]. This type of decentralized leadership allows for disaster preparedness and response, increasing the capacity to reduce a human loss [10]

Considering that so far the Baduy have maintained a closed nature to adopting foreign culture. In addition, the Baduy Tribe Leader has the authority to determine all activities and activities that may and may not be carried out by the Baduy Tribe community. Likewise, for this COVID-19 pandemic program, the Baduy Tribe Leader with his ability and experience will take into consideration whether to accept or reject government programs, especially vaccination programs. Vaccination given by injection is a new thing, and there are no known side effects and benefits. For this reason, Puun will need input from all Baduy people represented by Jaro, Pangiwa, and Sisalat, so that they can choose the exact role. Here, their contradiction agrees or rejects it. If they accepted it is not possible because the benefits are not clear, and if it is rejected, it may affect relations with the government which has been good so far. Therefore, in this study, researchers will analyze what roles the leaders of the Baduy Tribe will choose to remain able to manage the traditions that have been conducted for years but also to support the COVID-19 vaccination program.



Figure 1. Location of Baduy Tribe in Kanekes Village in Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province, Indonesia.

(Source: Leuwidamar Subdistrict Administration, 2021)

1.1. Research Purposes

The purpose of this study was to determine the role of the Baduy Tribe leadership in implementing the COVID-19 pandemic vaccination in the Lebak Regency.

2. METHOD

This research uses qualitative research methods with a qualitative ethnographic design which is expected to analyze and even examine the wisdom of the Baduy Tribe such as culture, law norms, customs, habits, or beliefs that can follow the COVID-19 pandemics vaccination program [4]. The leadership role taken will be considered in terms of norms, customs, traditions, customs and cultures that apply in the Baduy Tribe. Data collection was carried out on 2 Kanekes Village staff and 1 Baduy resident, Leuwidamar sub-district head, and 2 Cisimeut Public Health Center staff, and 1

The Health Service staff of Lebak Regency, and 1 The Local Disaster Management Agency of Lebak Regency. The data collection was carried out from September 16 to October 14, 2021, from in-depth interviews with 8 subjects through in-depth interviews, observations, document analysis, and direct visits to the location of the Baduy Tribe. The collected data is analyzed by identifying the themes and subthemes, selecting them, and analyzing and synthesizing to get conclusions [15]

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion in this study will discuss: 1) the first regarding the legitimacy of leadership in the Baduy Tribe between the highest customary leader called Puun and the head of the Kanekes Village government who takes care of the administration of all Baduy people called Jaro; 2) the second is the implementation of the role of Puun and Jaro in the success of the vaccination program of the COVID-19 pandemic task force of Lebak Regency.

3.1. Legitimacy of Baduy Tribe Leadership

Since 2001 the issuance of Regional Regulation (Perda) of Lebak Regency No. 32 of 2001 concerning Ulayat Land Rights. The good impact of this regional regulation is the ratification of the leadership of the Baduy Tribe and the authority to manage their own Ulayat matters which are legally strong by having clear territorial boundaries. From the organizational structure, a command line will be obtained from Puun to the Baduy people, which shows the authority and responsibility of each official. The results of research in the field, it shows that there is an organized division in regulating administration related to the maintenance of legal norms, traditions, customs, habits that must be maintained, and those related to village government affairs. This is evidenced by the existence of an organizational structure written at the Kanekes Village Hall which includes the leadership of the village government and the leadership of the Baduy Tribe (Figure 1).

This means that the Baduy can be classified as a community [12]. In everyday life, it can be seen that the highest leadership of the Baduy Tribe, called Puun, is still trusted and recognized for its roles and functions. What Puun wanted and decided, he still obeyed and obeyed. There are leaders and people who are led and have a culture that is followed together in everyday life. According to Frazer (1999), this shows that between the leaders of the Baduy tribe and the community there are

similarities in terms of interests, perceptions, and attachments, and oneness to continue the Baduy tradition[6].

Who is the most powerful in the Baduy Tribe? According to 2 staff who are Kanekes Village officials, Head of Government and peace and order, and Head of Welfare and Economy & development and Banten Community Leaders:

“The Inner Baduy who determine the rules (Puun), while the Outer Baduy filter or as a companion, still follow the Inner Baduy, only a little leeway is given to the Outer Baduy compared to the Inner Baduy. Baduy Dalam is more strict, Baduy Dalam is said to be a high-ranking religious leader, either as the priest or as the head of rituals.”

“The chief of the customary tribe or Puun is the chief of the tribe and that is the highest.”

Based on the organizational structure and the results of the interviews above, it showed that the highest Baduy tribal leader is the traditional head of the Baduy Tribe, or called Puun. This position of Puun dominates the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy. Puun is it center of the highest legal norm of the Baduy on the customary leader. The Inner Baduy have the right to vote for Puun. Puun can come from the village of Cibeo, Cikeusik, or Cikartawarna. Decisions include ritual ceremonies, planting crops, weddings, releasing residents to become the Outer Baduy Tribe or leaving not belonging to the Baduy tribe, holidays/fasting including taking part in government programs regarding health promotions and COVID-19 vaccinations. For researchers, this long-standing tradition is described as an activity to maintain the life of the Baduy Tribe community and entertainment for the Baduy Tribe community so that young people love and believe in the greatness of the Baduy Tribe than the surrounding population.

Meanwhile, Jaro is the representative of the highest Baduy Village government in charge of carrying out government administration to carry out government programs. However, whatever Jaro does, he must still report it to Puun, except for those who have been given the authority for the good of the Baduy people who do not change or degrade the position of customs such as violating legal norms, culture, customs, or habits of the Baduy tribe. The authority to preserve this ancestral heritage is a belief that is recognized as true so that the Baduy tribe includes upholding the cultural community against outside influences [9]. According to researchers, empirical work for the Baduy community is relevant to the development of the cultural era that is outside.

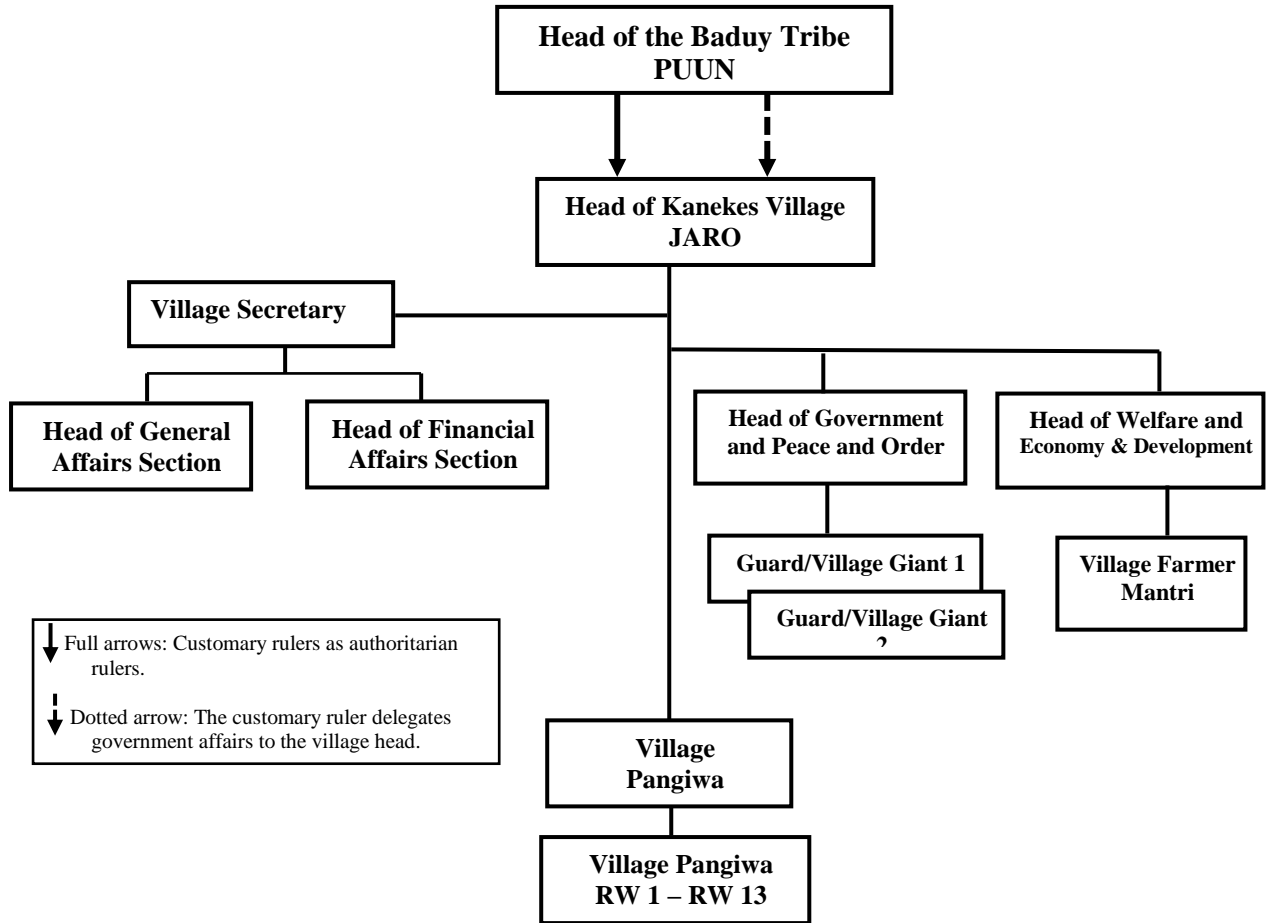


Figure 2. Position of The Head of Baduy Tribe (Puun) and Kanekes Village Administration (Jaro)

Source: Processed by Researchers (2021)

3.2. Roles of Leaders during The COVID-19 Pandemic

The following are the roles that have been carried out by Puun and continued by the Village Head or Jari Kanekes Village who has administrative power. As Jaro, to lead the Outer Baduy Tribe, Puun has given more freedom in managing the necessities of life than the Inner Baduy. As for implementing the COVID-19 vaccination program, Puun and Jaro carry out the following roles:

3.2.1. Prescribed Role

Evidence that the Baduy Tribe, represented by Jaro, supports the implementation of the COVID-19 vaccination program, as stated by Head of Government and peace and order, and Head of Welfare and Economy & development and resident S:

“Essentially Puun supports government programs. Moreover, Puun does support the health protocol program. But if we have to be given the tools we want, if we are told to look for it ourselves, we can’t. In the past, during the pandemic program in early February, there

were some outside Baduy people when they went out to Kanekes wearing masks.”

“....., yes it's normal. For tourists, during PPKM, it is closed.”

Prescribed roles or recommended roles, which are roles that are expected by the community to be under their position and conditions. This statement shows that the people of the Outer Baduy Tribe have followed the government's program in the health protocol. This means that the COVID-19 response task force program represented by the Cisemeut Health Center was successful. These results show that the health protocol that has been established is something that is easily accepted and easy to follow by Baduy Tribe residents. The health protocol which includes 3 M (wearing a mask, washing hands, keeping a distance), and 3T (testing, tracing, treatment) is successful. When viewed from the life goals of the Baduy people who uphold the trust of their ancestors to protect the natural environment from damage and extinction, it still included the 3 M health protocol in maintaining the authenticity of the environment.

The activities of 3 M are not actually against the life goals of the Baduy Tribe, as said by resident S, and 2

Cisimeut Public Health Center staff, and 1 the Health Service staff, and 1 the Local Disaster Management Agency of Lebak Regency:

" The purpose of life for the Baduy people is to continue the legacy of their ancestors to protect nature, besides looking for food in nature."

At the time of Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities Program (ERCAP) in 2019 from Lebak District, West Java Province, Baduy residents in Kanekes Village also implemented it. The proof is that there is a hand washing place for tourists who will enter Kanekes Village and Baduy Tribe residents wear masks distributed from the public health center. However, the actual use of this mask is slightly contrary to the belief of the Baduy community that the cause of the COVID-19 virus is an evil spirit. Therefore, the treatment is to call Sisalat for healing not with vaccines or other drugs. Finally, many Baduy people follow the health protocols than those who don't.

This means that the role that Puun and Jaro have applied in this case is to implement activities that should be carried out but are outside the habits of the Baduy residents. According to [11] a leader may fulfill personal needs or inclusivism such as the Baduy Tribe tradition (impersonal) by accepting task behavior or activities that are more beneficial to the community. Although there seems to be a role conflict between maintaining tradition, namely the cause, and unique method in treatment with the government programs. Finally, the leader of the Baduy Tribe Although this health protocol program is contrary to the belief with the Baduy community that the cause of COVID-19 is an evil spirit and different methods of treatment, but in terms of its benefits it turns out to be very useful for preventing disease, the Baduy tribal leaders take the role that many people want. In addition, the health protocol does not conflict with the culture of the Baduy tribe. In this condition, the role applied is what someone expects or prescribe roles by the government and the Baduy people so that they are not easily infected with the COVID-19 pandemic disease. This means that a leader must be able to play a role according to situations and conditions that are more beneficial to many Baduy people (Cohen, 1992).

3.2.2. *Enacted Role*

The actual role (enacted role), namely the role someone in actual reality has carried that out without being designed. The primary task of the Puun, Jaro, and all Baduy people is to filter and select and reject foreign cultural influences or behaviors that are not following the Baduy culture. They adhere to the adage: "don't cut the baked ones, don't add the short ones", meaning that life must always be honest. The vaccination program carried out by the government is something new for the

Baduy community because they carried it out as injections. This vaccination program is a factor that is difficult for the Inner Baduy or Puun tribes to accept. This was stated by the Head of Leuwidamar Sub-district:

"Besides accompanying guests, I am also the chairman of the Covid-19 Task Force to continue the vaccine program, at that time Puun still refused, I and The commander of military rayon were rejected. Yesterday, when the PUB arrived, the leader of the Bantenese leader Haji Pepet, there was a program from the ministry to The target vaccine is the Baduy tribe and their families who are at the foot of the mountain, on the 17th it will be implemented."

From Camat's statement showed that Puun did not receive the vaccination program, this is a problem that must be solved. But according to Banten community leaders, the appointment of a person usually has a privilege that has been shown since childhood. It may be chosen because there is previous Puun heredity or it is genuine that it has nothing to do with Puun. Therefore, with this privilege, there should be no doubt about his ability to make the right decisions. Vaccination is a new activity. For the Baduy community, the problem of the COVID-19 pandemic Task Force vaccination program being rejected or accepted must wait for the establishment and beliefs that have been held for generations. The position of the Baduy Tribe in accepting government programs as represented by Head of Government and peace and order, and Head of Welfare and Economy & development of Kanekes Village, and 3 Cisimeut Public Health Center staff:

" If the sub-district has very good relations with us, the government is the parent of the Leuwidamar sub-district, no and the difference with the outside villages, sometimes they are privileged because we are customary. They understand that they do not impose the program even though it is a national program. The sub-district head has to carry it out, but if there is a conflict with customary rules, they are very understanding".

From this statement, every government program must respect the customs or traditions that apply to the Baduy Tribe. But what is clear, said the Head of Development and Finance of Kanekes Village, there is a selection process carried out by Puun Lama and the community regarding the quality of a person in terms of his religion, abilities, and signs of leadership. As Head of Government and peace and order, and Head of Welfare and Economy & development of Kanekes Village and resident S said:

"Only the method of deliberation from traditional institutions is that there is great scientific communication, broad insight, strong inner and outer".

According to one of the Banten community leaders, several years ago there was a Puun known as Puun Banjol who could memorize the Koran and could speak English. Therefore, a Puun should not be humiliated even if he does not receive an official education. Puun needs further research on whether to accept the direct vaccination program or refuse. As a testament to the wise nature of a Puun, before deciding, he always receives input from Pangiwa (hamlet head), Jaro and his staff, and some of his confidants. There is an unsatisfactory input from Jaro and his staff, namely the bad effect of the vaccine injection. As stated by the Head of Government and Head of Finance of Kanekes Village and resident S:

"I joined the community socialization task force because I'm used to this. Vaccines, for example, say that vaccines are important, but they are already healthy. The two news that is extraordinary because they are bad or hoax finally arrived, we lost out to those who wanted to do good (the task force). Almost 70% of Baduy outside use cellphones so they receive bad news".

The Outer Baduy community is indeed free to use cell phones. Jaro believes Puun will accept new things more quickly, such as vaccines. With this cellphone, they will easily receive information about health protocols and vaccination programs. As stated by the head of government and finance, the supervisor of the Lebak District Health Office, and the Baduy Tribe:

"Starting from early 2019 to be exact in March 2020. They can get information, they can also get it from their cellphones."

From the source of the cellphone, the Kanekes Village staff and most of the Baduy people finally made a bad perception of the impact after vaccination someone died. This will be an input for Puun to reject the vaccination program for the Inner Baduy Tribe. Therefore, the Inner Baduy tribe is more likely to temporarily reject the vaccine program. This is in contrast to the Outer Baduy Tribe who will accept the vaccination program. The acceptance of the vaccination program was marked by participating in two vaccinations in Kanekes Village.

Puun finally chose a rather cautious attitude towards the vaccination program as expressed by the Camat and Cisemeut Health Center staff and the Head of the Lebak District Health Office Surveillance:

" Commander of the task force for vaccine socialization because Puun is still not ready to receive vaccinations in his citizens"

"They join the government if they want to test, they must first get permission from the traditional leader. Then what was the basis first, so that I could get a permit to Puun."

This shows that a Puun who has the ability and strong authority to reject or accept a culture or activity that must be filtered before being followed by the Baduy tribe should carry the role as it is out. This refusal is a natural thing for researchers because a supreme leader has a vital role in deciding. Decision-making must be discussed with all Baduy officials starting from RT/RW Pangiwa, Village staff, Jaro as Village Head and Puun staff himself. From the above incident, according to the researcher, for a Camat as Commander of the COVID-19 Pandemic Task Force, this is the role of conflict [3] This is because the position of a Commander of Taskforce is the right hand of the government [21] so that they must be held accountable to their superiors if they fail. According to [2], the level or position of the Camat in the eyes of the community is the highest leader above the Baduy Tribe. The result is to must shame and the burden of office responsibilities and risking the good name of his role being accepted or not by the community. This feels heavy to be felt like a regional leader.

For Puun, the matter of rejecting and accepting government programs is a normal decision. But for a government official is a big problem. According to the researcher, the lack of cooperation and not enough time causes the two differences. This makes the relationship feel like it's just doing the job to get it done. The results are not as expected. Because with a long time will experience a process so that there will be a relationship of mutual understanding and mutual need.

The researcher's statement is under what was said by Public health center R staff who had experienced hard conditions to conquer Baduy residents to seek treatment at the Cisimeut Health Center.

"The experience of over 15 years of serving in the Baduy Tribe has yielded results, where I am trusted by them. It started with helping emergency deliveries which I managed to help. Finally, I got to know some people and paragis who are shaman officers for the Inner and Outer Baduy tribes."

From the statement of R staff, intense cooperation is needed in approaching all Baduy people. The benefit of this approach is that the leaders and residents of the Baduy Tribe will exchange their customs with new knowledge and experiences that are beneficial to them [7]. Even the staff of R said approaching Baduy residents must use their heart and actual evidence. Other people who enter first are not considered guests but are still considered as strangers who have not been useful to the Baduy Tribe. A regional leader must do this. Besides that, Puun doesn't care whether the vaccination program from the COVID-19 Pandemic Task Force is successful or not. For Puun, it is important to follow the customs of the Baduy Tribe, where those who are not under the Baduy Culture are not accepted, while those that are not following the culture will be rejected. Everyone should

know that the culture of deliberation is always upheld which, according to Parwoto (1997), the Puun Baduy Tribe in decision making is collective, meaning that it always involves all elements of the representatives of the Baduy Tribe[17][8][18]. Even Mintzberg & Walter (1985), viewed Puun's role as carrying out the role desired by all Baduy people or inter-personnel roles[16].

The explanation above shows that Puun as the highest customary leader and Jaro as the highest government leader have mutually supportive roles. Puun holds the highest power in every decision-making to maintain the life of the Baduy Tribe. Therefore, in carrying out the role during the COVID-19 pandemic, the leader of the Baduy Tribe takes the role of prescribing or the expected role, which is to provide opportunities for all Baduy people to receive health protocols and vaccination programs. This role allows every Baduy resident of the health protocol program to be carried out by residents of the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy Tribes.

The real role or enacted role, namely the role someone in real reality has carried that out without being designed. It is precisely this role which is the role of the Baduy Tribe Culture which was inherited by the ancestors. For the researcher, Puun's type of approach to decision-making is that decentralization is something strange because Puun's power is actually authoritarian. The decentralization approach in disaster has many benefits in reducing the number of deaths caused by disasters [10]. Kahn also found the same thing (2012) and Allen (2006) that decentralized leadership makes it easier to carry out disaster preparedness and disaster emergency activities to increase community capacity so that it will reduce casualties[1].

In this study, it was found that with the decentralized leadership of the highest customary leader or Puun with the help of the village head or Jaro, it was proven that he could carry out the COVID-19 task force program as health protocol activities which included the 3 M (wearing masks, washing hands, and maintaining distance), and carried out 3T (Testing, Tracing, and Treatment) for the Outer Baduy and Inner Baduy, but the vaccination was successful for the Outer Baduy, while the Inner Baduy still needed a more thorough approach. From this, a suggestion can be made in terms of practical implications, that with a heart-to-heart approach and concrete evidence of the benefits of an activity or program for the Baduy Tribe community, it will be easy to change Puun and Jaro's resistance to accepting the activity sooner or later.

4. CONCLUSION

The leaders of the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy tribes apply the prescribed role because it is considered beneficial for Baduy people in the health's

implementation of protocol 3 M and 3 T, but apply the enacted role is to maintain the culture and traditions of the Baduy ancestors because COVID-19 vaccination program is a new program. Although in the end all the vaccination programs were also accepted by the Baduy community.

It is important to note that in this study the application of the enacted role is more dominant than the prescribed role or others because they are still strong in maintaining the culture and traditions of their ancestors. To change the knowledge and will of the leaders of the Baduy tribe through an approach from the heart and concrete evidence. Therefore, the practical implication of this research is to use an approach with heart and concrete evidence to all leaders and residents of the Baduy Tribe so that it is easy to carry out certain activities so that the Baduy people accepted them and carried out.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge researchers and those involved as informants in the Lebak Regency, Banten Province, Indonesia who obtained collaboratively the data and results of this study. The authors are also grateful to the Local Disaster Management Agency of Lebak Agency for facilitating and authorizing this research.

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