

RELIGION AND LOCAL WISDOM AS SOCIAL CAPITAL TO FACING RECESSION DUE TO PANDEMIC

Mahmudah Nur¹, Nurrahmah², Agus Iswanto³, Muhammad Agus Noorbani⁴

¹Research Center for Manuscript,
 Literature and Oral Tradition, BRIN
 mahmudahnur84@gmail.com

²Center for Research and Development
 of Literature, Religious Heritage, and
 Organizational Management, MoRA
 nurrahmahhusein2008@gmail.com

³Research Center for Manuscript,
 Literature and Oral Tradition, BRIN
 agus.iswanto83@gmail.com

⁴Department of Anthropology FISIP
 Universitas Indonesia &
 Research Center for Society and
 Culture, BRIN
 muhammad.agus01@ui.ac.id

Paper received: 13 October 2022
 Paper revised: 10-22 November 2022
 Paper approved: 24 November 2022

ABSTRACT

The Covid-19 pandemic has impacted to various fields of human life, including social and economic. The government has made various efforts to stimulate the community's economy, initiating various groups and individuals with various values of wisdom to revive their economy. This study aims to determine local wisdom and religious values that have an impact on community efforts in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic; the process of using religious wisdom in the local realm in handling a pandemic; The impact of local wisdom and religion on the development of social capital in various aspects of people's lives. Based on qualitative data collected through interviews and observation in four provinces; West Java, Central Java, DI Yogyakarta, and Bali this study found that the local wisdom behind various sharing activism during the pandemic comes from traditional values that have long been practiced by residents in various research areas. Their shared activism is a form of their ability to adapt various noble and traditional values in today's highly chaotic situation. Various sharing activism during the pandemic has established relationships among fellow citizens.

Keywords: Religion; Local Knowledge; Social Capital; Recession; Pandemic

INTRODUCTION

The pandemic that took place throughout the world due to the outbreak of a new variant of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Corona Virus 2 (SARS Cov-2 or known as the Corona virus), which resulted Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), had an impact on changes of social, economic, education, and psychology in society which is accompanied by conditions full of chaos (Blum, Smith, and Sanford 2020; Buzolits et al. 2020; Huang et al. 2021; MacArthur 2020; Purnamasari 2020; Veeroja and Foliente 2021). The diversity of cultures in Indonesia makes it attractive to examine whether this pandemic situation is transforming the existing local

culture or wisdom embedded in society as an effort of adaptation and resilience in the face of a pandemic. Having a diversity of cultures makes Indonesia has a positive value and a challenge to maintain and pass it on to the next generation.

The World Giving Index (WGI) (Charities Aid Foundation 2021) stated in its report that in 2020 Indonesia was ranked first in the aspect of generosity during this pandemic with a score of 69%, up from 59% in the previous year. The report also mentions that Indonesia ranks in the top two of the three categories or measures measured by WGI: donating to foreigners or unknown, donating money, and volunteering activities. The survey also shows that eight out of

ten Indonesians donated money this year, while the level of volunteerism in Indonesia is three times higher, at 60% of the world average.

The high level of volunteerism and generosity in Indonesia during the pandemic is the result of the social-communal values embedded in the wisdom of the people. The wisdom and local language have an essential role in responding to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic (Meneses-Navarro et al. 2020). During the Covid-19 pandemic, many efforts were made by various community to work together to relieve each other. There are various forms of activism during the pandemic to helping others, such as to raise funds to be distributed in the form of prepared food, food ingredients, personal protective equipment (such as masks, unique clothing for medical personnel, and others), and more. The givers and recipients, in this context, consists of various background and do not recognize social and economic strata. These various initiatives to help others are carried out from the individual, small community, unto government levels (Noorbani 2021).

These various forms of caring for others create relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of community social relations in a broad spectrum, as well as serve as a social glue that maintains the unity of members of society (the nation). Fukuyama (1995) mention this as a social capital, which is transmitted through cultural mechanisms, such as religion, tradition, or historical habits. This mechanism is commonly referred to as a local activity (Muhamad and Triwulandari 2015), a representation of local knowledge reflected in attitudes, views of life, abilities, and various life strategies manifested in activities carried out by local communities in responding to various problems (Ernawi 2010).

Literature Review

Social capital is often seen as ability to strengthen social cohesion in society. Social capital is often associated with conflict prevention because it binds members of the same group together and bridges different groups (Varshney 2001; Varshney, Panggabean, and Tadjoeeddin 2004). The values built from social capital then strengthen the bonds in society so that they can develop themselves and prevent them from various conflicts (R. Hatu, Wisadhirana, and Susilo 2019; Salahudin, Siswanto, and Dwijatmiko 2018). Although the essential function of social capital is to explain society's bonds and social cohesion, some scholars have studied the role of social capital in community development in situations and in overcoming and handling other chaotic situations resembling conflict, such as disasters (Ruslanjari and Dewi 2019).

The power of social capital can enable the community and the competent authorities to plan awareness and preparedness actions against disasters by building relationships and networks based on beliefs and norms that live in local communities. And all this can lead to action initiatives that thereby increase efficiency in reducing the impact of disasters (Hidayati 2018; Siti Nurbayani and Lingga Utami 2019; Tohani and Wibawa 2019; Windiani, Fahmi, and Muhibbin 2019; Wulandari, Muryani, and Karyanto 2019). Increased awareness and preparedness for potential disasters make social capital, in the end, also able to speed up the recovery process if a disaster does occur. The speed recovery process from disaster occurred because the community worked for hand in hand to provide a helping, thereby increasing the community members spirit that affected by the disaster so that they could recover physically, psychologically, and materially (Partelow 2021; Tohani and Wibawa 2019; Windiani et al. 2019).

Based on that background, the main problems of this research are *first*, what forms of local religious wisdom that have an impact on community efforts to deal with the pandemic of Covid-19?; *second*, how the process of using and modifying this account in handling a pandemic?; and *third*, what is its impact on the development of social capital in various dimensions of community lives? Therefore, this study aims to find out: forms of religious local wisdom that have an impact on community efforts in handling the Covid-19 pandemic; the process of using and modifying this account in handling a pandemic; the impact of local wisdom on the development of social capital in various aspects of people's lives. This research also aims to provide support for strengthening religious and cultural harmony. The model of social action carried out by the community can be used as a medium for increasing the use of the religious philanthropy to support the development project on religion, education, and poverty alleviation.

We argue that religious values as a part of the daily life of Indonesian people have become a local wisdom that becomes social capital for the Indonesians to overcome the recession due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 Pandemic. As a form of knowledge that maintains their connection with the environment and fellow human beings, local knowledge is a form of social capital to maintain the sustainability of their community (Kohsaka and Rogel 2021; Wiratama 2020). This local knowledge includes the ability to survive in various chaotic and miserable conditions. This local knowledge serves as an instrument to defend themselves and the group's existence. Local knowledge makes community members aware about what is allowed and what the community should not do. It accommodates common interests, customs or traditions, educational institutions, traditional institutions, and others (Abdullah 2013; R. Hatu et al. 2019).

Conceptual Framework

Social capital is the actual and potential resources associated with reciprocal relationships within an institutionalized community. Social capital is not in the form of an intangible resource that is easy to use at any time. It is more in the form of a social network that allows community members to act in the same rhythm effectively to achieve common goals. Social capital is thus based on solidarity and mutual trust among community members (Putnam 1993, 2000; Varshney 2001; Varshney et al. 2004; Zarra Nezhad 2007). As an intangible resource and in the form of a social network, it includes various values that are institutionalized in society including religion and local knowledge (Claridge 2004; Hidayati 2018; Imron and Hidayat 2013; Islam 2013; Nurdin 2018; Salahudin et al. 2018; Windiani et al. 2019).

Religion and local wisdom are two invisible components of social capital (Syahra 2003; Taormina, Kuok, and Wei 2012), thus it must be observed through the components that practiced by society. Therefore, this study trying to analyze three main components of social capital; moral ties and norms formed in society, social values especially mutual trust, and social networks primarily voluntary individual involvement in formal community groups that are manifested in people's daily lives such as sympathy, making good, friendship, cooperation between citizens who form a community group as social capital used by specific communities or communities in facing the economic recession due to the Covid-19 Pandemic (Putnam 1993; Siisiäinen 2000). Religion and local wisdom become values that grow and develop in a community as the basis for social structures and networks to carry out their functions as social capital.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative design with data collection conducted in the Provinces of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Central Java, West Java, and Bali. The four regions were chosen to compare communities responding to the pandemic with the following framework: first, the initiative is purely carried out by rural communities (Yogyakarta). Second, initiatives that come from the government to mobilize the community (Central Java); third, community resilience in diverting economic resources (Bali); and fourth, the resilience of indigenous peoples to face the pandemic (West Java). These four provinces are also included in the area with the highest Covid-19 cases; West Java is ranked second with 669,911 positive cases (16.8%). Central Java became the third region with a positive number of 462,178 people (11.6%). Yogyakarta became the sixth area with positive cases of 144,608 people (3.6%), while Bali became the ninth with a positive number of around 102,140 people (2.6%) (Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan COVID-19 2021).

Data collection was carried out from April to August 2021 by determining a research unit that included small groups which took the initiative to carry out an activity to empower the community in facing the economic recession. These groups are selected on a snowball method. Data collection was carried out by interviewing informants deemed capable of providing information on traditional management in overcoming problems due to the pandemic.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sharing Practices during Pandemic

The impact caused by the spread of this epidemic affects multiple areas of people's lives; the main one is the health aspect and ultimately affects the social and economic capacity of the

community. The Covid-19 pandemic that began to enter Indonesia in early 2020 made various parties move quickly to prevent and handle the affected residents. The Indonesian government, for example, issued a policy of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) at the beginning of the pandemic, which forced residents to stop their activities. Business activities, schools, and other activities were closed, and several offices with essential services imposed a division of labor for employees, all of which resulted in many people losing or reducing their income. This social and economic impact occurred due to the policy restricting the movement and gathering of people to minimize the transmission of the virus from one person to another.

In order to overcome the social and economic impacts of various policies to overcome the Covid-19 outbreak, the Government of Indonesia has made various efforts to prevent and deal with health, social and economic impacts, such as the provision of cash and non-cash assistance. Besides the top level, various efforts to handle the impact of the pandemic are also carried out by the government at the provincial district to the lowest levels, such as the Rukun Tetangga or RT (neighbourhood unit), community organizations, and even individuals. The Central Java Provincial Government, as example, is one of the provincial-level governments that moving quickly to create prevention, handling, and mitigation programs for the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. On April 22, 2020, or about one month after the announcement of the first case in Indonesia by President Joko Widodo, the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, issued Instruction Number 1 of 2020 concerning Community Empowerment in Accelerating the Handling of Covid-19 at the Level of Community Units (RW) through formation of the "Jaga Tangga Task Force".

This instruction becomes a primary node of various citizen-based actions to handle the impact

of the pandemic. In a press conference speech about implementing the above instructions from the Governor of Central Java, Governor Ganjar Pranowo stated, "Villagers are used to sharing food, working together to build houses, protecting the environment with mobile security system called *siskamling* acronym for *sistem keamanan keliling*. We take this spirit because the main power base of the land of Java is the village" (kumparan.com, 2020). In one of the first dictums of the instruction, it is stated that every district and city government, in a systematic and structured manner, pays attention to the health of the citizens, the economic condition of the citizens, ensures the fulfilment of food and other basic needs. All of this is done by considering local wisdom and the local geographical potential.

The Provincial of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, through the Governor who is also the Sultan of the Yogyakarta Palace, issued a "decree" regarding the prevention and handling of the impact of Covid-19 in local ways, both in terms of health security and economic resilience, which was realized by calling for cooperation (*gotong-royong*) to help and reduce the economic burden of the people of Yogyakarta (Iswanto, Koeswinarno, Farida, & Haryanto, 2021). What has not been seen is how the community's actions at the lower levels to help fulfil the basic needs of the underprivileged during the pandemic.

Javanese cultural values are very thick in the practice of sharing in Central Java and Yogyakarta. At the community level, these values are embodied in what is practiced in the form of the *Halte Sedekah* in Bantul, Yogyakarta or *Jaga tangga* in Central Java. *Halte Sedekah*, which Mrs. Sujiati initiated, is a follow-up to the ideas that emerged in casual chats in the community of village women in the Katupadumai community. The same thing was done by *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or called *PKK* (family welfare movement) women in RT 02 RW 06

at East Poncowolo 02, Pendrikan Lor Village, Semarang, led by Bu Kiki.

Halte Sedekah is the practice of sharing ready-to-eat food or vegetables for those in need. These various foodstuffs were initially purchased from the results of the gathering of mothers who were members of the Katupadumai group led by Mrs. Sujiati. The foodstuffs are then hung at a bus stop right in front of Palbapang Village Office every Friday. Residents who need it are welcome to take the ingredients and food in moderation. Over time, this practice brought in more donors and attracted the interest of many affected residents. Not wanting to get caught up in complicated financial responsibilities, they finally made a slogan that was written at the location of the *Halte Sedekah*; anyone can take, anyone can fill. The target of the *Halte Sedekah* thus does not see the origin of the domicile; anyone can take it, even though most of the people who take it are residents around Palbapang Village.

The target coverage of the more minor beneficiaries was carried out by *PKK* women at Poncowolo Timur 02. In the early days of the pandemic, the assistance provided was in the form of basic food packages. Until then, a new variant of Covid-19 attacked and infected many residents of Rt 02, and the assistance provided was changed into assistance to those infected and affected families. This assistance is in the form of ready-to-eat food and various supporting supplements such as medicines and vitamins, as well as snacks and fruits for infected people. According to Bu Kiki, head of *PKK* woman in Poncowolo Timur 02, "people who receive assistance are those in need. The first, maybe the head of the family was laid off, then at that time (the driver) of an ojek, Gojek, there was no income, at that time he was at home (interview on August 28, 2021)". Data on residents who are poor economically and affected by Covid-19 were obtained from the direct monitoring of Bu Kiki

and other reported residents.

They made the motto "Jaga tangga, Jaga rasa, aja nggresula". As explained by Bu Kiki, the motto is "we have to take care of each other, take care and stop complaining, like 'Wow, this is what happened to us; we were ostracized, like that. It is not! Jaga rasa, jaga tangga. aja nggresula, (is) like 'oh, I do not have any income, here. Do not be like that! We are neighbors helping each other, you know. Nggresula in Indonesian is like complaining'. What makes this motto is the result of consultation with residents. The words in the slogan are indeed based on the purpose of this program, for social (activities).

As a society whose it's culture has been influenced by many religious beliefs, such as Hindu, Buddha, and Islam (Geertz 1968, 1976; Mulder 1983; Raffles 1895; Rubaidi 2019), the motivation for sharing during the pandemic in these two places has its roots in the values they believe in. Like the Halte Sedekah practice in Yogyakarta, initiated by the Katupadumai community, it can be said that it is a faith-based social capital activity. Sedekah activity is a way of carrying out God's command to donate one's possessions to benefit others in need (Dewi 2012; Koentjaraningrat 1960, 1980; Muhaimin 2006; Newberry 2007; Sumbulah 2012). As said by Sujiyati, what she does is based on the belief that alms always bring good luck in this world and in the hereafter (interview on July 4, 2021). This belief in God's commands and good deeds, as Putnam said (1993, 2000), is combined with the "community" of village women in carrying out social actions, which characterizes the local wisdom of the village community.

This can also be seen in the activities of Jaga tangga in Central Java. As stated by Mr. Dedi, Head of Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Desa (Dispermades or Community and Village Empowerment Service) Central Java Province,

the values of jaga tangga come from various practices that exist in the community, such as "the neighbor cooks, sometimes it smells like that to the neighbors, (the neighbor who smells the cooking smell) is given some" (interview on August 27, 2021). What Mr. Dedy said is in line with a hadith of Rasulullah which states;

From Abu Dharr radhiyallahu'anhu, he said: "The Prophet sallallaahu 'alaihi wa salam said: "O Abu Dharr, if you cook soupy dishes, then multiply the sauce and pay attention to your neighbours"". (HR Muslim)

In contrast to Central Java and Yogyakarta, in the other two research areas, Bali and West Java, the practice of sharing to survive in the time of crisis due to the pandemic is rooted in various local values and traditions combined with religious beliefs that are still being practiced. The Balinese people, who are very dependent on the tourism industry, have become a very affected area due to various policies issued by the Indonesian government and other countries. The lack of tourists who visit to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus has implications for the income of many residents who depend on the service industry related to tourism.

This caused many people who depend on the tourism industry to switch professions and caused a fundamental cultural change in Bali in the last two years. People who work in the tourism sector and come from villages return to their villages and switch to the agrarian sector, as people who work in the tourism sector and come from cities like Denpasar try to survive with the limitations that exist in their families. Some have the initiative to sell online engaged in the culinary field, open angkringan (a kind of street food stall) at night and sell necessities at several street corners that can be found at several points on the streets of Bali.

Balinese people are an independent communal society, so they rely on their needs

for themselves and family support, including during difficult times such as during the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. The strength of this value held by the Balinese people makes them feel very embarrassed if a family asks for it. Therefore, when a family member is in trouble, other extended family members will help. The Balinese people uphold the local wisdom of *tri hita karana* (three causes of happiness) and *menyamabraya*. These two pearls of wisdom have made the Balinese people work hand in hand during the Covid-19 pandemic, even though they have different beliefs. *Tri hita karana* and *menyamabraya* are ideal Balinese living systems based on karma and clans to live in harmony with all aspects of the environment in which they live. Living in harmony in Balinese society means taking care of each other with all the elements and not letting anyone or anything suffer or experience difficulties (Dita et al. 2019).

An example of the resilience of the Balinese people during this pandemic is what the Panglipuran Traditional Village community in Bangli Regency has done. The traditional village of Panglipuran has revived the community's local economy, as before the existence of tourism by working as farmers, planting rice, vegetables and other activities that are usually carried out by village communities. Since March 2020, the Panglipuran traditional village community has begun to close themselves based on the agreement of all villagers, and they guard the village so that no foreigners enter the village. During the closure period, the traditional village administrators subsidized and supplied the residents with essential ingredients consisting of one sack of rice, two kilograms of sugar, eggs, instant noodles, and others.

The funds come from the traditional village's original income, which goes to the traditional village treasury. This village treasury is collected for the benefit of traditional villages,

such as temple construction, repair of public facilities, and rituals, including being used to subsidize the entire village during the seven-month closure period from tourists. The village's original income, all of which comes from entrance tickets to the village, is collected in one year. Then 60% of the funds are taken by the regional government as regional income. The remaining 40% is managed directly by the village, divided into two uses; 20% for village tourism managers and village operational interests and another 20% goes to the village treasury.

What is practiced by the Panglipuran traditional village community has already been practiced in the *peturunan* tradition. *Peturunan* is a mandatory village manners fee that is collected and imposed on *Ngarep* village manners or village manners which must be subject to the inheritance. This practice is then transferred by utilizing village income from the tourism sector, which is used to benefit the village community (Yasa, Herawati, and Atmadja 2017).

The practice of sharing based on traditions practised for a long time occurs in the traditional community in Cigugur Village, Kuningan Regency, West Java. The indigenous people of Cigugur Village have a cultural system and live behaviour according to Sundanese traditions, which are still maintained today. The character of Sundanese culture has implications for other aspects of their lives, such as daily rules and norms. Geographically, the Cigugur indigenous people do not live in one area like the indigenous peoples in Cirendeui, Bandung (interview on June 16, 2021). The indigenous people of Cigugur Village live in separate areas, but they are united with customs rooted in their ancestors' noble values.

The activities carried out by the Cigugur indigenous people in tackling the economic recession due to the pandemic are providing packages of daily necessities for exposed families,

returning to nature by farming and raising livestock, assisting small and medium enterprises and assisting exposed patients. This is done not periodically, that is, only at certain moments. This social action received strong support from the Indigenous community and local government officials. Even the Queen Mother herself helped educate the public to continue trading online.

Indigenous peoples always try to invite village communities to return to their identity as indigenous peoples, independent in providing various basic daily needs. Thus, the community is not too burdened to buy their daily needs because they already have them in their fields. Farming and animal husbandry are the traditions of indigenous peoples. This pandemic reminds people to return to and to unite with nature. The harmony of indigenous peoples lives with nature is very much in line with their philosophy, *Tri Panca Tunggal*. *Tri* consists of taste, mind, and thought, *Panca* are the five senses, and *Tunggal* is the One and Only. The meaning is that when humans can harmonize their sense of reason and thought and then translate them through the five senses when hearing, seeing, speaking, acting, and stepping that is what unites humans with God. This concept brings indigenous peoples closer to nature. They position themselves as part of nature to achieve closeness to God (Interview on June 28, 2021).

Morally, the indigenous people of Cigugur Kuningan are also very motivated by the message of their ancestors, which departs from two main principles, namely the *Cara Ciri Manusia* and *Cara Ciri Bangsa*. *Cara Ciri Manusia* are compassion (love), *undakusuh* (order in the family system), manners (rules), cultivation, culture, and *wiwahayu dhanaradha* (human nature that fights everything before doing it). The second principle is *Cara Ciri Bangsa*, universally meaning that all human beings have similarities in terms of the *Cara Ciri Manusia*. However, certain things

distinguish humans from one another. In the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan, the differences between humans are based on the *Cara Ciri Bangsa*, which, according to Pak Dodo (interview on June 17, 2021), is character building. The ancestors told the community that several signs must be followed in building a community, namely that we must have appearance, customs, language, script, and culture. These are the messages from the ancestors of the Cigugur indigenous people, which were conveyed orally and from generation to generation and inspired the people to build relationships between their communities.

Social Capital in the Tradition of Sharing during a Pandemic

The practice of sharing during the pandemic carried out by various communities in the four research areas was initially mainly carried out by communities or individuals based on bonds as fellow community members who have emotional closeness, neighborhood, similar values and beliefs, or the same customs (bonding) (Putnam 1993, 2000; Siisiäinen 2000). They already know each other because it started with a face-to-face relationship. They live in the same circle of residence and with the same beliefs. Aspects of trust and mutual benefit are maintained and developed through this limited network (bonding) (Putnam 1993, 2000). The cultural aspect of this bonding forms is the religious values or norms that become the spirit of their philanthropic practice. Bonding is the initial strength to mobilize solidarity during the Covid-19 pandemic by providing basic needs for food and clothing.

Javanese cultural values that emphasize the importance of mutual helping and assistance in overcoming the difficulties of neighbors encourage them to carry out this sharing practice (Aziz 2013; Dewi 2012; Geertz 1976; Kodiran 1984; Koentjaraningrat 1960, 1980; Muhaimin

2006; Mulder 1983; Newberry 2007). This practice is evident in the initiatives undertaken by many individuals in the four research areas. For example, PKK women in Poncowolo Timur 02 Semarang City and Palbapang, Yogyakarta, started this sharing activity from their surroundings by mobilizing those who could afford to donate. The social activities at Poncowolo Timur 02 Semarang, for example, were initially intended for residents of Rt 02, and although later on their journey, they also assisted residents affected by Covid-19 outside their area, the close emotional bond, being in the same environment that became the driving force this practice. As said by Bu Kiki, "From many donors in Poncowolo Timur 02, it is distributed again to the residents of Poncowolo Timur 02, (and) some is exported to the outside (Poncowolo Timur) 02" (interview on August 28, 2021).

The practice of sharing, which starts from the closest environmental ties and is based on this similarity (Fukuyama 1995), is seen in the practice carried out by traditional groups in Bali and West Java. Indigenous people in Bali take care of their family members so that they are not affected by the epidemic from a health and economic perspective. They closed the village from outsiders and fulfilled all the needs of the village community members with all the resources they already had. Various traditional rituals or ceremonies are increasingly being encouraged, apart from being a daily worship service and warding off a pandemic. This ceremony requires various materials for offerings, such as foam, coconut, bananas, coconut leaves, and various types of flowers. These commodities sought after during this pandemic spin the economy's wheels.

Balinese people believes that if Hindu teachings and rituals are carried out, the cycle of people's lives will continue. An example is the widespread manufacture of canangsari, which until that time has made the Balinese economy

still survive. The lack of tourism in Bali has revitalized the agrarian sector, making people return to their "land". Many Balinese people are returning to sleep and planting fruit, thus successfully building Bali's food security. The agricultural and ceremonial sectors revive and sustain Bali. During the pandemic, ceremonial purposes dominate the commodities sold in traditional markets. This shows that Balinese people are who were able to perform resilience in the most critical conditions, namely people who are socially and psychologically trained and are more likely to respond, adapt, and bounce back quickly from disaster events (Aldrich 2017; Mathbor 2007; Nelson, Adger, and Brown 2007; Norris et al. 2008; Patterson, Weil, and Patel 2010; Putnam 2000).

In West Java, the Cigugur indigenous people in Kuningan, who still adhere to their two central values, the way of human character and the way of the nation (*cara ciri manusia* and *cara ciri bangsa*) have made the gotong royong tradition embedded in the community as a result of practicing the message of their ancestors, not lost during the pandemic. Even gotong royong, that based on these two central values, becomes the social glue that keeps the Cigugur community members together to face the pandemic. These values said that as humans who live in one community, Cigugur people must be able to work together for unity. They must have taste and be able to feel and perceive. They have to be wise, namely by having *teuras* (principles), *pereus* (leadership), *lemes* (smooth), and *usap* (rubbing). These aspects are united in the philosophy of *pageuh kepeul lega aur*, which means not to be stingy but to give.

What the Cigugur people practice shows their adaptive capacity through the difficult times due to the pandemic by maintaining the traditions they have. Adaptive capability is about the set of available resources and the ability to

engage with the resources to achieve the desired transformation. Community resilience plays an important role in reducing the impact of disasters because it empowers local communities to help those who are vulnerable. Community resilience is defined as the activation of social motivation processes by local communities themselves who are committed to working together against adversity to keep their communities alive and well (Imperiale and Vanclay 2016; Malik 2014; Nelson et al. 2007; Norris et al. 2008; UNISRD 2015).

Over time, the bonds that emerged in the practice of sharing during the pandemic turned into bonds that bridge various groups of people with different values and cultures, bonds that bind social actors based on networks that penetrate the boundaries of residence and kinship and religion (bridging). Their social relationships can be established through information and communication technology (WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, and so on). Therefore, these bridging bonds develop a stronger social action capacity than bonding bonds. As happened in the Katupadumai community, Palbapang Village, Yogyakarta, which can bridge individuals and other groups outside their group in bonding forms. Bridging bonds in several studies played an important role in strengthening the active participation of the community in distributing aid (Putnam 1993, 2000).

The philosophy of *menyamabraya* in Bali has made Balinese people bound in bonds that penetrate the boundaries of belief during this pandemic. The philosophy of *menyamabraya* is a value that becomes a bridge between them, regardless of their religious beliefs (Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1993, 2000). In *menyamabraya* religious beliefs and ritual differences that sometimes-become contradictory is kept so as not to separate them and experience division. An example is the term *Nyamo Slam* which is very

thick in Bali, the name given by Balinese people who follow Hinduism to those who embrace Islam. They take care of each other such as being careful in slaughtering pigs and providing information on the food sold by including the statement "contains pork". This tradition makes the Balinese people work hand in hand during the Covid-19 pandemic, even though they had different beliefs. Inter-religious life in Bali must be seen historically since the royal era when inter-religious relations in Bali had a very high tolerance, so they helped each other during this pandemic. Local wisdom, and historical harmony, have made the tradition of sharing more common during the pandemic.

According to Fukuyama (1995), what some of these communities practiced are referred to as social capital. Social capital is born and sourced from local wisdom as a representation of local knowledge, namely in the form of attitudes, views of life, abilities and various life strategies in the form of activities carried out by local communities in answering various problems in fulfilling their physical and spiritual needs. This social capital can be applied to accelerate the improvement of community empowerment as one of the important steps to achieving successful development in the economic field. The principle of this social capital is that only community groups with social and cultural values that appreciate the importance of cooperation can advance and develop with their strength.

Considering the practice of sharing during the pandemic in the four areas above, it can also be said that these communities are faith-based social capital. The community members above believe that what they do is based on the belief that sharing with others will always bring good luck in this world and the hereafter. This belief in God's commandments and good deeds is combined with the community's "community", which is not least driven by village women in

carrying out social actions, which characterizes the local wisdom of traditional communities. Sharing is a way of carrying out God's command to donate one's possessions to benefit others in need. Sharing activities during the pandemic have made community bonds that have been bonded so far become bridging.

Relation of Tradition with Government Policy

The government in each research area has different policies in dealing with the pandemic, especially regarding traditional values practiced during this pandemic. For example, the Provincial Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, through the Governor, who is also the Sultan of the Yogyakarta Palace, issued a "word" regarding the prevention and handling of the impact of Covid-19 in local ways and languages, both in terms of health security and economic resilience, which was realized by calling for cooperation. To help and reduce the economic burden of the people of Yogyakarta (Iswanto et al. 2021), but not giving full support to handling the outbreak.

In contrast to the support the Central Java provincial government provides, it is providing the *jaga tangga* application. This application is to map areas with severe conditions caused by the pandemic on residents of Central Java up to every Rt. The *jaga tangga* program is integrative. The *jaga tangga* program has existed since early 2020 with the issuance of Governor's Instruction No. 1 of 2020. This program is based on the Javanese philosophy that always prioritizes cooperation. This spirit was raised to be included in a pandemic management program called *jaga tangga*. This initiative is indeed from the government (Central Java Province), but its implementation is carried out at the RW level. The community purely does fund for this program. Because, as said by Mr. Dedi, Head of Village Community Empowerment, Village Community Empowerment, Population,

and Civil Registry Office of Central Java Province, "*jaga tangga* is about taking care of neighbors. A neighbor has been hit, that's right, he's quarantined, right, self-isolation. Well, that's them (helping each other), sometimes it's their turn. This is purely community based. But there are also those whom village funds support. There is 8% of village funds for the prevention of Covid. Then there are also village funds for BLT (*bantuan langsung tunai*/direct cash assistance). Kelurahan, which does not have village funds, can also issue assistance from the government".

Although it is intended to generate empathy and community self-reliance, there is also the participation of the Central Java government. According to Mr. Dedy (interview August 27, 2021), "There should not be residents of Central Java who cannot eat because of the pandemic. The province (Central Java) also continues to provide rice donations. So, if the Regency/City government asks for rice assistance for people who are self-isolating because they are infected with covid-19, the logistics are ready to be distributed to the community".

Unfortunately, the *jaga tangga* program has not yet targeted those who are socio-economically affected, such as those who have lost their livelihoods due to the pandemic, especially when the second wave of attacks from July to August hit Indonesia. They received BLT (government funding) worth two hundred thousand rupiah, which was given to the affected people. Mr. Dedi said (interview August 27, 2021), "for those who are affected socio-economically, the assistance (which is available is) from above (the government). The point is not to let people not eat. There are many more government programs for citizens during the pandemic."

The Bali Provincial Government, referring to the policy issued by the central government, issued Circular Letter 01 of 2021 concerning

the Implementation of Community Activities in a New Era of Life Order in Bali Province which essentially limits the mobility and activities of residents who gather large numbers of people. This certainly impacts religious activities, especially ceremonies, which invite many people. To overcome public protests this policy, the Bali Province of Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) and the Bali Province Traditional Village Council issued Joint Circulars Number 009/PHDI-Bali/I/2021 and Number 002/MDA-Prov Bali/I/2021 concerning the implementation of the Nyepi holyday series of Saka Year 1943 in Bali, one of which decided to cancel the Ogoh-ogoh parade, the most important ritual on Nyepi Day. However, this decision still allows various rituals in various traditional villages to carry out Nyepi rituals with various restrictions on participants, division of territory, and the application of stringent health protocols. The Bali Provincial Government has also tightened the entry of residents from outside the region by imposing various stringent requirements.

In another location, the Provincial Government of West Java has yet to obtain a policy in dealing with a pandemic related to traditional values, especially in supporting the community through difficult times during a pandemic. The Provincial Government of West Java has taken the same policies as other provinces in Indonesia, such as distributing assistance to people who are socially and economically very affected, conducting tests and tracing infected residents, and increasing the capacity of health facilities.

Government officials at lower levels eventually followed this general policy. For example, employees at the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion of the Province of Bali are building real actions during this pandemic by providing basic food assistance to the elderly and orphans, including others in need. Darma Wanita of the Ministry of Religion of Bali Province during

the Covid-19 pandemic also took part in helping fellow believers in need, such as in the fire disaster that occurred during the pandemic.

In addition, the Ministry of Religion of the Province of Bali also created an innovation program for the Hand of the People (Food Security of the People) with panenpa to buy farmers' crops through an application based on the [harvestpa.com](https://www.harvestpa.com) website to help the economic recovery of the people, especially in Bali. Panenpa is a startup company created by Indonesian children from Bali, focusing on e-commerce in the modern food sector to assist farmers in ensuring and marketing their harvests. The Head of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion for the Province of Bali, Komang Sri Marheni, hopes that his staff in each Ministry of Religious Affairs' district in Bali will be able to become liaisons and build good synergies with farmers. This good synergy can realize people's food security which is in line with the Ministry of Finance's program to synergize to build the country during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The role of the Ministry of Religion in each research area during the pandemic is still limited to socializing the health protocol issued by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia. As a vertical institution, the role of the Ministry of Religion Affairs in each region is highly dependent on the ability of each official to coordinate between agencies. There is no cooperation at the ministry level to tackle and handle the pandemic. The Ministry of Religion has abundant human resources, namely religious instructors, with the status of Civil Servants and honorary. They are usually religious figures in each area where they work, those who have an extraordinary capacity in inviting the people and their followers to be able to contribute together to deal with the pandemic.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion and research analysis described above, it can be concluded that the local wisdom behind sharing activism during the pandemic comes from traditional values that residents in various research areas have long practiced. The activities of the *Halte Sedekah* in Yogyakarta and *jaga tangga* in Central Java, for example, stem from the tradition of *rewangan* or *gotong royong*, which Javanese cultured people practice daily. These traditional values are becoming more potent as a driving factor for sharing activism because their traditional values have blended with Islamic religious values.

In Balinese society, the philosophy of *menyama braya* and the practice of inheritance that people often carry out in various villages in Bali have become the basis for various sharing activism during the pandemic. Hindu teachings and rituals that are still being carried out make the cycle of people's lives continue. The practice of saving most of the income from ticket sales in the Panglipuran Tourism Traditional Village comes from the hereditary tradition usually carried out by the village community. They then use these saved funds in times of emergency to maintain their survival. The same practiced by the indigenous people of Cigugur Village. Their two central values, the Way of Human Character and the Way of the Nation, make the tradition of *gotong royong* embedded in society as a result of practicing the message of their ancestors, not lost during the pandemic. These aspects are united in the philosophy of *pageuh kepeul lega aur*, which means not to be stingy but to give. As an example, they are reinvigorating food security and revitalizing their economy by conducting coaching to return to farming for themselves and sharing with neighbors.

Their sharing activism is a form of their ability to modify various noble and traditional

values today in a chaotic situation. Despite making modifications, they do not necessarily eliminate the original form of the existing tradition. Like the tradition of *rewangan*, *sambatan*, and *peturunan* are still carried out in their original form. However, on a more modern scale and preserving their traditions, these practices are modified to be more acceptable to a broader audience.

Various sharing activism during the pandemic has strengthened the bonds between fellow citizens. They are overcoming various class barriers and beliefs to spread more aid to those most in need and impacted during the pandemic. The passing of class and belief barriers is also inseparable from the values of the shared traditions above, which never look at anyone who deserves to receive it. The traditions above have the value that whoever is a neighbor, lives within the same territorial boundary, carries out the same tradition, is a brother who deserves to be helped to survive.

Based on these conclusions, the policy recommendations that can be given through this study are first, the Government, both the Central Government (relevant Ministries) and the regions, need to collaborate with various community groups to strengthen food security, disaster resilience, and health resilience, which are developed based on the values of local wisdom of the community as some examples of cases have been described in this policy paper. Second, the Ministry of Religion needs to expand its scope of work by guiding in preserving traditional and cultural values based on local wisdom or noble values by empowering religious instructors through the Religious Moderation program. In addition, the Ministry of Religion also needs to expand the scope of the Religious Moderation program, which is not only a matter of inter- or intra-religious tolerance but how religious moderation becomes the basis for the

actualization of disaster resilience, health, and food.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to thank to the Research and Development Center for Literature, Religious Heritages, and Organizational Management for funding this research. The authors also would like to thanks to all parties in West Java, Central Java, DI Yogyakarta, and Bali who have assisted during the fieldwork.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Suparman. 2013. "Potensi Dan Kekuatan Modal Sosial Dalam Suatu Komunitas." *SOCIUS: Jurnal Sosiologi* XII(Januari):15–20.
- Aldrich, Daniel P. 2017. "The Importance of Social Capital in Building Community Resilience." Pp. 257–364 in *Rethinking Resilience, Adaptation and Transformation in a Time of Change*, edited by W. Yan and W. Galloway. Springer.
- Aziz, Donny Khoirul. 2013. "Akulturasi Islam Dan Budaya Jawa." *Fikrah* I(2):253–86.
- Blum, Dinur, Stacy L. Smith, and Adam G. Sanford. 2020. "Toxic Wild West Syndrome; Individual Rights vs Community Needs." Pp. 122–33 in *COVID-19 Volume II: Social Consequences and Cultural Adaptations*, edited by J. M. Ryan. London and New York: Routledge.
- Buzolits, Johanna Soet, Ann Abbey, Kate Kittredge, and Ann E. C. Smith. 2020. "Managing Trauma Exposure and Developing Resilience in the Midst of COVID-19." Pp. 209–20 in *COVID-19 Volume I: Global Pandemic, Societal Responses, Ideological Solutions*, edited by J. M. Ryan. London and New York: Routledge.
- Charities Aid Foundation. 2021. *World Giving Index*.
- Claridge, Tristan. 2004. "Social Capital and Natural Resource Management: An Important Role for Social Capital?" *Natural and Rural Systems Management* (July):90.
- Dewi, Kurniawati Hastuti. 2012. "Javanese Women and Islam: Identity Formation since the Twentieth Century." *Southeast Asian Studies* 1(1):109–40.
- Dita, Made Agus Dwi Pradnyana, I. Made Rai Aditya Wiranata, Kompiang Sari, and I. .. Sujana. 2019. "Panglipuran Sebagai Desa Edukasi Berbasis Tri Hita Karana Dalam Pengembangan Karakter SD." *Indonesian Values and Character Education Journal* 2(2):97–105.
- Ernawi, Imam S. 2010. "Harmonisasi Kearifan Lokal Dalam Regulasi Penataan Ruang." *Seminar Nasional "Urban Culture, Urban Future : Harmonisasi Penataan Ruang Dan Budaya Untuk Mengoptimalkan Potensi Kota"* 1–21.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. Vol. 33. Free Press. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: Simon & Schuster.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1968. *Islam Observed; Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* Chic a Go & London.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1976. *The Religion of Java*. Phoenix. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan COVID-19. 2021. "Peta Sebaran COVID-19 _ Covid19." *Komite Penanganan Covid-19 Dan Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional* 1. Retrieved April 5, 2021 (<https://covid19.go.id/peta-sebaran-covid19>).

- Hidayati, Deny. 2018. "The Role of Social Capital in Enhancing Community Disaster Preparedness and Building Back Better in Recovery." *MATEC Web of Conferences* 229.
- Huang, Felicia N., Kelly Lim, Evan Sidhi, and Belinda Yuen. 2021. "Sensing Community Resilience Using Social Media." *COVID-19 Pandemic, Geospatial Information, and Community Resilience* 145–60.
- Imperiale, Angelo Jonas and Frank Vanclay. 2016. "Experiencing Local Community Resilience in Action: Learning from Post-Disaster Communities." *Journal of Rural Studies* 47:204–19.
- Imron, Ali and Aat Hidayat. 2013. "Kekuatan Agama Dan Kearifan Lokal Dalam Proses Kebangkitan Masyarakat Yogyakarta Pascagempa." *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 14(1):103–30.
- Islam, M. Rezaul. 2013. "Indigenous Knowledge as Social Capital." *The International Journal of Social Sciences* 10(1):65–79.
- Iswanto, Agus, Koeswinarno Koeswinarno, Anik Farida, and Joko Haryanto. 2021. "The Integration of Religion, Culture, and Science in the Interpretation toward the Covid-19 Pandemic: Sapa Aruh by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X." in *The 3rd International Symposium on Religious Life*. Bogor.
- Kodiran. 1984. "Kebudayaan Jawa." P. 390 in *Manusia dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*, edited by Koentjaraningrat. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Koentjaraningrat, RM. 1960. "The Javanese of South Central Java." Pp. 88–115 in *Social Structure in South-East Asia*, edited by G. Murdock. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.
- Koentjaraningrat, RM. 1980. "Javanese Terms for God and Supernatural Beings and Tahe Idea of Power." Pp. 127–39 in *Man, Meaning and History: Essays in Honour of H. G. Schulte Nordholt*, edited by R. Schefold, J. W. Schoorl, and J. Tennekes. London and New York: Brill.
- Kohsaka, Ryo and Marie Rogel. 2021. "Traditional and Local Knowledge for Sustainable Development: Empowering the Indigenous and Local Communities of the World" edited by W. L. Filho, A. M. Azul, L. Brandli, A. L. Salvia, and T. Wall. *Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals* 1261–73.
- MacArthur, Kelly Rhea. 2020. "Treating Loneliness in the Aftermath of a Pandemic; Threat or Opportunity?" Pp. 197–208 in *COVID-19 Volume I: Global Pandemic, Societal Responses, Ideological Solutions*, edited by J. M. Ryan. London and New York: Routledge.
- Malik, Khalid. 2014. *Human Development Report 2014 Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*.
- Mathbor, Golam M. 2007. "Enhancement of Community Preparedness for Natural Disasters: The Role of Social Work in Building Social Capital for Sustainable Disaster Relief and Management." *International Social Work* 50(3):357–69.
- Meneses-Navarro, Sergio, Mariá Graciela Freyermuth-Enciso, Blanca Estela Pelcastre-Villafuerte, Roberto Campos-Navarro, David Mariano Meléndez-Navarro, and Liliana Gómez-Flores-Ramos. 2020. "The Challenges Facing Indigenous Communities in Latin America as They Confront the COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 19(1):19–21.
- Muhaimin, A. G. 2006. *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Muhamad and Andriyani Triwulandari. 2015. "Pengaruh Modal Sosial, Kearifan Lokal,

- Religiusitas, Dan Faktor Ekonomi Terhadap Kepatuhan Para Nasabah BPRS Di Yogyakarta.” *EQUILIBRIUM: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah* 3(2):290–310.
- Mulder, Niels. 1983. “Abangan Javanese Religious Thought and Practice.” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 139(2/3):260–67.
- Nelson, Donald R., W. Neil Adger, and Katrina Brown. 2007. “Adaptation to Environmental Change: Contributions of a Resilience Framework.” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 32(February 2014):395–419.
- Newberry, Janice Carol. 2007. “Rituals of Rule in the Administered Community: The Javanese Slametan Reconsidered.” *Modern Asian Studies* 41(6):1295–1329.
- Noorbani, Muhammad Agus. 2021. “Dari Iman Ke Praktik Budaya: Jaga tangga Sebagai Modal Sosial Kendalikan Dampak Pandemi.” Pp. 360–74 in *Memulihkan Pembelajaran dan Kebudayaan di Tengah Pandemi*, edited by I. Zamjani, N. Berlian, L. Solihin, Relisa, and Y. Murdianingrum. Jakarta: Pusat Standar dan Kebijakan Pendidikan BSKAP Kemendikbud RI.
- Norris, Fran H., Susan P. Stevens, Betty Pfefferbaum, Karen F. Wyche, and Rose L. Pfefferbaum. 2008. “Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness.” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 41(1–2):127–50.
- Nurdin, M. R. 2018. “Religion and Social Capital: Civil Society Organisations in Disaster Recovery in Indonesia.” (May).
- Partelow, Stefan. 2021. “Social Capital and Community Disaster Resilience: Post-Earthquake Tourism Recovery on Gili Trawangan, Indonesia.” *Sustainability Science* 16(1):203–20.
- Patterson, Olivia, Frederick Weil, and Kavita Patel. 2010. “The Role of Community in Disaster Response: Conceptual Models.” *Population Research and Policy Review* 29(2):127–41.
- Purnamasari, Deti Mega. 2020. “Perubahan Sosial Akibat Wabah, Muhadjir Sebut Butuh Peran Ilmuwan Sosial.” *Kompas. Com*.
- Putnam, RD. 1993. “The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life.” *The American Prospect* 4(13):35–42.
- Putnam, RD. 2000. *Bowling Alone; The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: Simon & Schuster.
- R. Hatu, Dewinta Rizky, Darsono Wisadhirana, and Edi Susilo. 2019. “The Role of Local Wisdom as Social Capital of Remote Indigenous Communities (RIC).” *Politico* 19(1):67–86.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford. 1895. *The History of Java*. Vol. II. 2nd ed. London: John Murray.
- Rubaidi, Rubaidi. 2019. “Javanese Islam: A Blend of Javanese Culture and Islamic Mysticism Viewed from Post-Colonial Perspective.” *El Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam* 21(1):19–36.
- Ruslanjari, Dina and Titis Puspita Dewi. 2019. “The Social Capital in Community Preparedness Towards the Landslide Disaster in Pagerharjo Kulonprogo.” *Jurnal Kawistara* 8(3):237.
- Salahudin, Budi Siswanto, and Sri Hartni Dwijatmiko. 2018. “Local Wisdom As Social Capital Of Gampong Development.” *IOSr Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 23(8):77–84.
- Siisiäinen, Martti. 2000. *Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam*. Vol. 15. Dublin, Ireland.
- Siti Nurbayani and Lingga Utami. 2019. “Modal Sosial Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Dalam

- Mitigasi Bencana.” *Talenta Conference Series: Local Wisdom, Social, and Arts (LWSA)* 2(1):1–8.
- Sumbulah, Umami. 2012. “Islam Jawa Dan Akulturasi Budaya: Karakteristik, Variasi Dan Ketaatan Ekspresif.” *El-HARAKAH (TERAKREDITASI)* 14(1):51–68.
- Syahrar, Rusydi. 2003. “Modal Sosial: Konsep Dan Aplikasi.” *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya* 5(1):1–22.
- Taormina, Robert J., Angus C. H. Kuok, and Wei Wei. 2012. “Social Capital as Dehumanizing Terminology.” *Advances in Applied Sociology* 02(02):143–48.
- Tohani, Entoh and Lutfi Wibawa. 2019. “The Role of Social Capital in Disaster Management of Disaster Vulnerable Village Community on the Merapi Eruption.” *Cakrawala Pendidikan* 38(3):527–39.
- UNISRD. 2015. *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030*.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. “Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond.” *World Politics* 53(3):362–98.
- Varshney, Ashutosh, Rizal Panggabean, and Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeddin. 2004. “Patterns of Collective Violence in Indonesia (1990-2003).” *United Nations Support Facility for Indonesian Recovery (UNSFIR), Working Paper 04/03* (July):45.
- Veeroja, Piret and Greg Foliente. 2021. “The Role of Neighbourhood Social and Built Environments on Social Interactions and Community Wellbeing Through the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *COVID-19 Pandemic, Geospatial Information, and Community Resilience* 2003:79–86.
- Windiani, Windiani, Arfan Fahmi, and Zainul Muhibbin. 2019. “Social Capital in Community Development at Prone Disaster Area: A Lesson Learnt at Sempu Village, Nglancar, Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.” *IPTEK Journal of Proceedings Series* 0(6):31.
- Wiratama, Rudy. 2020. “Pageblug Mayangkara Dan Epistemologi Katastrof.” Pp. 40–54 in *Pengetahuan Budaya dalam Khazanah Wabah*, edited by A. Suwignyo. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Wulandari, D., C. Muryani, and P. Karyanto. 2019. “The Strengthening of Social Capital in Flood Disaster Preparedness in Jebres District, Surakarta.” *Journal of Physics: Conference Series* 1363(1).
- Yasa, Edy Putu Suryadi, Nyoman Trisna Herawati, and Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja. 2017. “Pengelolaan Dan Realisasi Dana Peturunan Krama Desa Dalam Pelaksanaan Sabha Di Desa Bali Aga.” 07(01).
- Zarra Nezhad, Mansour. 2007. “Social Capital: Conceptual Overview and Measurements.” *Quarterly Journal of Human Development* 1(4):3–21.