

Gotong Royong of Civil Society: The Identity Struggle in Handling the Palu Valley Disaster Response

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Abstract – The defined social phenomenon in this study is about the collaboration of the civil society movement through the public community as social cultural and religious movements and non-governmental organizations with their various visions on disaster response of the Palu Valley. The heterogeneous characteristics of the people of Palu and the existence of diverse social and cultural identities become the big capital in gaining support in responding to the disaster after the tectonic earthquake, tsunami, and liquefaction phenomena on September 28, 2018. Through this qualitative study, in-depth interviews were conducted on the actors involved in the disaster response in Palu. The interesting empirical reality was the strong involvement of ethnic or religious-based communities and organizations outside the government which has enabled the process of the emergency response phase to be passed with the government's minimal role at the beginning of the biggest disaster that has ever occurred in the Palu Valley. The regional, ethnic, and religious community and non-governmental organizations or social institutions through their internal mechanisms took part in helping as the identity and vision of their organization. The movement with the basis of mutual cooperation provides the ability to survive for the affected people in the emergency response phase by building relationships with local governments through mutual support and mutual trust.

Keywords – Civil Society, Community, Palu, Emergency Response, Disaster.

I. INTRODUCTION

There are 7 most disaster-prone provinces in Indonesia, namely, West Sumatra, Bengkulu, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Central Java, East Nusa Tenggara, and Central Sulawesi. The applied criteria are the number of types of disasters and the frequency of disasters in those regions. Central Sulawesi has the potential for natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, landslides, droughts, and forest fires (Abdullah, 2017; 5-8). This condition indicates that Central Sulawesi is one of the regions identified as areas with diverse character of disasters in Indonesia, especially on its position traversed by the Palu-Koro fault which has often triggered major earthquakes and tsunamis (PSGN Team, 2018). In fact, this region has a regional management orientation related to disaster

management that is continuous disaster management in which the government, business field, and civil society take part in after a disaster, take recovery steps, and participate in mitigation and recovery actions as a continuous process (Susanto, 2006:10; Pratomo, Rahmat Aris., Rudiarto, Iwan., 2013:174-182; Baeda, Achmad Yasir., Husain, Firman., 2012:75-82; Rachmatullah, Michael., Rogi, Octavianus HA, & Tilaar, Sonny., 2016).

The government actually has a policy framework for disaster emergency response which is a derivative of Government Regulation No. 21/2008 concerning the Implementation of Disaster Management. In its operationalization, it has been regulated in the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency Regulation No. 10/2008 concerning Guidelines for Disaster Emergency

Command. One of the important points in the regulation is the provision of disaster management, especially during the emergency response that must be done quickly, precisely, and coordinated in one command. Besides, there is also the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency Regulation No. 24/2010 concerning Guidelines for the Preparation of Disaster Emergency Operation Plans. The essence of this regulation is that the handling of disaster emergency during the disaster emergency status that begins from the emergency alert status, the emergency response status, and emergency transition to recovery status requires an operational plan.

The earthquake that occurred in Central Sulawesi, especially in the urban region, was a type of shallow earthquake caused by the Palu-Koro fault activity. The earthquake was generated by deformation through the sinistral slike-slip fault activity (Wicaksono, Bhakti Satrio, 2018). The implications of the earthquake have caused various disasters that have led to the loss of lives and property. The problem of the disaster in the Palu Valley brought a variety of associated disasters triggered by tectonic earthquakes that caused liquefaction, tsunamis and non-natural disasters with widespread looting by certain groups of people on various modern trade centers (<https://katadata.co.id/telaah/2018/10/04/penanganan-bencana-gempa-palu-yang-dirumitkan-aksi-penjarahan>).

The number of deaths by the earthquake and tsunami in Central Sulawesi, as of October 11, 2018, at 13:00 West Indonesia Time according to the report of SKH Kompas (11/18/2018), increased to 2,073 people. The number consisted of 1,663 deaths in Palu, 171 deaths in Donggala, 223 deaths in Sigi, 15 deaths in Parigi Moutong, and 1 death in Pasang Kayu, West Sulawesi.

Emergency Response Phase is a process of activities that involve the City, Provincial, and Central Governments through regional institutions such as the local social offices, local Regional Disaster Management Agencies based in cities or regencies around the Palu Valley, provincial Regional Disaster Management Agency for Central Sulawesi, National Disaster Management Agency, and local, national, or international NGOs to help the affected people to quickly meet their basic minimum needs. The main target of this emergency response phase is the rescue and humanitarian assistance. In this phase, the taken actions are distributing the people's basic needs, namely clothing and food, followed by building appropriate temporal shelter. Regional-based communities made their organization involved in the disaster response especially those that had a relation with the people of Central Sulawesi, especially

around the Palu Valley. The assistance of rendang that invited public attention during the emergency response phase was a manifestation of the identity relation between the people of Central Sulawesi and the family of Minang. The entire people of South Sulawesi through various local government mechanisms and the public community gathered support for the people of the Palu Valley.

Public communities from other regions around it linked only by one-way information by the mass media were establishing a bond as a consensus and from the principles of the cultural collectivity of the people of Nusantara. One form of civil society activism is a social movement through mutual cooperation. A social movement is a typical form of civil society activism which is defined as a form of collective action with a clear conflictual orientation on certain social and political opponents carried out in the context of close cross-institutional networks by actors bound by a sense of strong solidarity and collective identity exceeding the forms of other ties such as coalitions and joint campaigns (Darmawan, 2006:5). Organizations or communities that were involved at the beginning of this disaster were not only broadly-known organizations but also organizations that were known to be radical and organizations that suddenly established in the event of a disaster. The presence of public organizations that have been considered radical such as the FPI (stands for *Front Pembela Islam* or in English as Islamic Defenders Front) also appeared to be very organized and systematic in their involvement during the process of disaster emergency response with other organizations.

Regional-based community is the face of civil society that conducts moves to provide support for people around Central Sulawesi. A regional-based public organization such as from Soppeng, Bone, Gowa, Luwu Raya, Sinjai, Toraja, Sidrap, Pinrang, East Java, Minang, Central Java, West Java, Mandar, Gorontalo, Banjar, Dayak, Minahasa and various other regional-based communities took action in the disaster response by cooperating with the government from their respective regions. Higher education alumni-based communities were also involved in sending their aids since the second day of the disaster.

Refugees from the Palu Valley also gained support and aids from the people of Mandar in which for those that traveled from Central Sulawesi to other regions and crossed the region of Mandar, they would be given food, drink, and lodging services from people of Mandar. This mobilization was carried out by people from various ethnic groups living in the Palu Valley, Central Sulawesi such as Kaili, Javanese,

Manado, Mandar, etc. by considering that the western route through West Sulawesi was the safest route to avoid disaster. The action in providing supports or aids between regions makes Indonesia known for its cooperative behavior which is usually known as *gotong royong* in various ways. *Gotong royong* (Mutual cooperation) is the characteristic of people that consider they connect with people in other regions in terms of the root of human life by using the political term that comes from the 'polis' as a character of Greek City-State. Interaction is a depiction of the process of division of work and the direct involvement of all people in national life. For the people of Indonesia, mutual cooperation in society has become the nation's personality. Mutual cooperation or *gotong royong* comes from the Javanese word that is *gotong* meaning "to bear or to lift" and *royong* meaning "together". Therefore, the word mutual cooperation simply means to lift or do something together (Rochmadi, 2012:4).

The institutionalization and the presence of civil society in term of their perspective is defined by AS Hikam (2000: 98-99) that the main characteristics of civil society are 'self-sufficiency' and 'volunteerism'. It means that the organizations or communities established to channel the mutual interests, visions, and ideas with the final goal of self-sufficiency are able to carry out their purposes without any dependence and by applying the concept of openness. An example of the independent public community is *Pesantren* (Eng. Islamic Boarding School). The development of civil society which keeps distance from the government and tries to perform the function and role of the balance only occurs in the early twentieth century in Indonesia, when modern social organizations are established. The new middle-class people, especially from the natives, took part to be the motors of social movements that offered alternatives to the colonial political and social systems.

The studies of disaster put the institutionalization of the public through a civil society community always providing an important role in efforts to survive or maintain bargaining. A study conducted by Rachmad Gustom (2017) about the social movements to help victims of Lapindo mudflow to obtain compensation is one of them. This institutionalized movement was getting scattered. Then, 4 years later, it disappeared and became the individual movement, even though their goal had not been achieved. There are still many victims of the mudflow who have not yet received the payment. In fact, when they are divided, they will get weaker in fighting for their rights. The urgency of civil society in various activities is also seen by a study

conducted by Ratih Probosiwi (2018) that the successful implementation of social harmony programs for conflict prevention and community-based harmonization needs to be supported by CSOs. Very limited studies were conducted related to the earthquake disaster concerning social and cultural aspects. The phenomenon which is always view is from the aspect of disaster engineering. This makes the object of this study interesting in which it will focus on the involvement of public communities and non-governmental organizations in handling emergency disasters in the event of tectonic earthquakes, liquefaction, and tsunamis in the Palu Valley on September 28, 2018.

II. METHOD

This study used a descriptive qualitative research approach. This study emphasized on primary information that yields descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. The qualitative approach emphasizes the meaning, reasoning, and definition of a particular situation in certain contexts. It also examines more on topics relating to daily life, especially to the involvement of public communities and non-governmental organizations in the disaster emergency phase. The used data collection techniques were secondary data tracking and in-depth interviews with various actors from various regional civil society organizations, ACT, Save the Children, Baziz, MDMC Muhammadiyah, BNPB for Palu, the Social Office, and the Village Government of Talise. The used analysis is Miles, Huberman, & Saldana's model (2014) that qualitative data analysis activities are carried out interactively and take place continuously at each stage of the study so that it is complete.

III. RESULTS

The post-disaster recovery in the Palu Valley that was relatively fast despite facing large disasters can be seen by the rapid rise of the economic sectors from community production. The growth of economic mechanisms includes in the disaster area as seen along the Talise coast after the tsunami swept all culinary businesses in the region. The involvement of civil society with institutional CSOs is the main key. The presence of the public community in collaboration with their local government has brought acceleration that helps the people of the Palu Valley to be strong and tough in facing the impacts of various disasters caused by the tectonic earthquake on September 28, 2018.

The presence of other civil society organizations will then strengthen the efforts that have been given by the public community that has strong cultural ties in regional, religious, and ethnic identities. It cannot be denied that all

public community outside Central Sulawesi was building relations with their local government to save the people from their respective regions and other people who need help and assistance. This justifies Jeff Haynes' pessimistic perspective (2000) on social movements that are divided within the framework of democracy as a goal. Although this is true, it has a good psychological impact on the social-cultural context.

The involvement of other regional governments is a form of community pressure to take part in and to encourage the central government. As stated by Hans Antlov, local governments will not change without pressure from below or from above of their government (Triwibowo and Subono, 2006:182). In fact, many other ethnic communities, for example from Kaili and Java, were later found to provide support after the disaster in the affected regencies or cities because they followed their neighbors or friends to conduct evacuation to regions that were considered more secure. This is interesting when considering Schmitter's perspective that a strong but exclusively segmented civil society based on cultural, ethnic, and linguistic differences can actually hamper the consolidation of democracy.

Vice Mayor of Palu stated his appreciation to CSOs along with other institutions and to other local governments that have helped the people of Palu in the form of providing basic needs and other programs after the disaster so that it drove better conditions for Palu in which Palu can quickly recover from the disaster. According to him, the contribution of civil society organizations plays an important role in the disaster management phase. The number of civil society organizations involved in Palu during the period of the emergency response phase to the reconstruction phase is 90 organizations. In fact, the main characteristics of the involvement of civil society are self-reliance and volunteerism. Therefore, the involvement of all elements of society in the form of public community and other-type organization is the largest part of social movements in the response to the disaster emergency phase in Palu.

The civil society that came to Palu carries various humanitarian missions as part of tolerance and social humanitarian activities. Specifically, no mechanism binds all social institutions to be involved in handling the Palu disaster. However, the established and professional institutional mechanisms have led social institutions to become institutional processes that work based on careful field observation and analysis so that they do not cause overlaps that can result in conflicting management.

The involvement of CSOs in various disaster management clusters is concrete evidence that humanitarian ties go far beyond certain national ideologies in the order of global civil society. Although this is also owned by the local public community movement, the main purpose of regional and religious-based movements is related to culture and primordialism ties. The presence of these communities since the beginning of the disaster hitting Palu is a series of concerns over the problematic problems that befall the identity-based community around the area of Palu that was hit by the disaster. An informant from the government stated that:

“... During the emergency response phase, there were many public community and NGOs involved in the process of assisting the government in helping victims of the disaster. They are generally NGOs from outside Palu. After the post-disaster reconstruction process, their involvement was based on clusters. There were protection clusters, health clusters, residential clusters, and nutrition clusters. These clusters played a role in helping the affected people ... DAP, 2019” (in Muh. Nawawi et al., August 2019)

The implementation of activities of civil society groups from the public community, religion-based community, or CSOs has different strategic frameworks. Every management of activities is carried out with different methods and standard operating procedures based on those institutions. Public communities generally collaborate with their local governments, although some management is handed over to those public communities that collaborate with civil society organizations especially youth organizations from the regions as their supporters. As it was stated that:

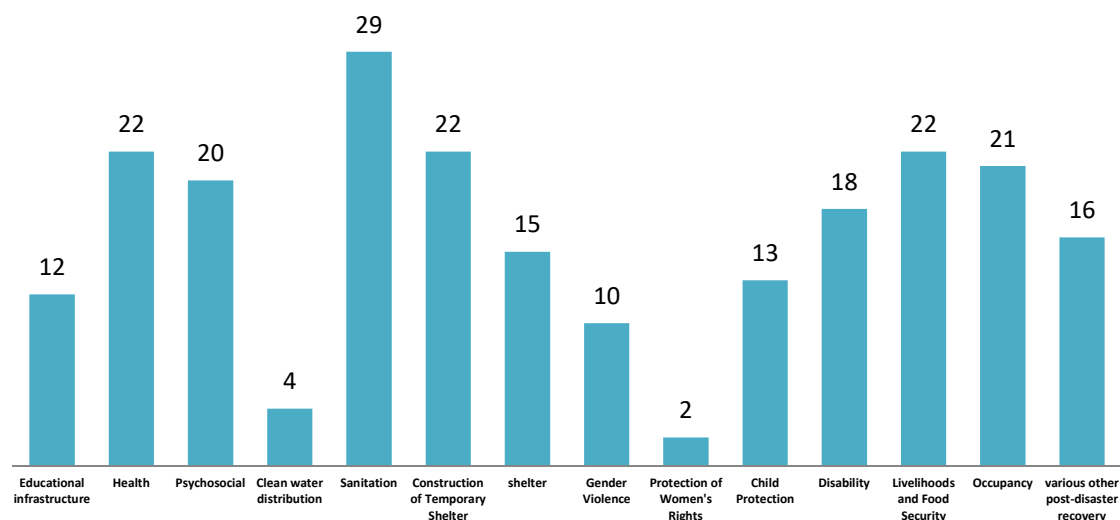
“The main objective of the assistance to local public community supported by the regional government and by various social organizations is to help the affected people in terms of clothing and food logistics and to evacuate families from their regions to temporarily return to their home regions to wait for the better condition. All of these aids came from our people for our public community in Central Sulawesi. We prepared several phases of assistance during the emergency response phase and provided unlimited vehicle support to mobilize our people and goods including for two-wheeled vehicles and livestock to be brought back together

with our people if needed. (PK, 2019 in Muh. Nawawi et al., August 2019)".

It is similar with the religious organization as stated by an informant that, "For the emergency response phase, Muhammadiyah, in particular, the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) by involving volunteers from the autonomous organization of Muhammadiyah, assisted in the evacuation and distribution of aid logistics to the victims

of the disaster" (IA, 2019). The strength of this autonomous organization later became the main force in distributing logistics to the people in the affected areas and refugee areas. Organizations that have a management hierarchy such as Muhammadiyah or Nahdatul Ulama became spearheading partners for other organizations in terms of logistics distribution. Specifically, these activities in the percentage can be seen below:

Types of CSO's Activities after the Earthquake in Palu on September 28, 2018



Source: BPBD Secondary Data of Palu City, 2019

The involvement of local, national, and international organizations took place early in the emergency response phase. One of them is shown by the Rapid Response Action Movement (ind. *Aksi Cepat Tanggap* (ACT)). The activities carried out were as stated by an informant that:

"... Before deciding what activities will be carried out, the first thing to do is making an assessment conducted by the ACT Internal Team to obtain data about the needs of the victims of the disaster. After the data is obtained, the next is making a proposal for assistance to be shared with our partners in individuals or organizations (based on shared visions). Then, partners will determine what kind of assistance they will

provide according to the proposal for assistance ..." (NL, in Muh. Nawawi et al., August 2019).

The description of the process of activities as stated above indicates that various activities that are divided into certain clusters are the institutional competencies from each institution. There is a unique mechanism in each institution to decide what is best and needed by the affected people during the emergency response phase. The involvement of civil society organizations such as NGOs and social organizations which have relatively long-term programs in handling the post-earthquake on September 28, 2018, can be seen from the various sorting of activities that become the focus of the organization as shown in the activity table below:

Table. Activities Conducted by CSOs

No	Kegiatan
1	Training
2	School infrastructure
3	Capacity building
5	Guidance and Counseling (Trauma Healing)
6	Clean Water Distribution
7	Piping
8	Boreholes
9	MCK
10	Drinking Water (ARSINUM)
11	Water Reservoir Distribution
12	Feces Vacuuming
13	Health Promotion (PROMKES)
14	Water tower
15	Cleanliness & Sanitation
16	Clean Water Filters
17	Clean Water Tubs
18	Laterine Huntara
19	Laterine Non Huntara
20	Garbage Bank/container
21	Plastic trash
22	Home Improvement Money Aid
23	Building Materials Assistance
24	Development Support for Huntara Units
25	Development Support for Huntara Units
26	Construction of Emergency Tents,
27	Occupancy
28	HUNTAP Unit Development Assistance
29	Establishment of Shelter Management
30	Strengthening the Management Capacity of KMTP
31	Handling of Gender Based Violence Cases
32	Capacity Strengthening
33	Recovery of the Post-Earthquake Agriculture Sector
34	Recovery of the Post-Earthquake Fisheries Sector
35	Recovery of the Post-Earthquake Economic Sector
36	Boat stimulants
37	Rono Fisherman's Assistance
38	Pre potential community resources and livelihoods
39	Initial capital support for community economic recovery (CBO)
40	Alternative Income Input

41	Alternative Income Business Training
43	Fresh Food Voucher
44	Community Grand
45	Adolecence On skills For succesful Transition

Source: BPBD Secondary Data of Palu City, 2019

The data shown above illustrates that almost all government tasks to serve the affected people can be handled by civil society organizations. It indicates the importance of the presence of various organizations with all their potential and support from global and local community networks. The implementation of each organization activity is generally carried out in collaboration in partnership with several institutions which then partner with local institutions to support field operations.

IV. DISCUSSION

Disaster emergency provisions are set up by the Government through Government Regulation No. 21/2008 about the Implementation of Disaster Management, the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency Regulation No. 10/2008 about Guidelines for Disaster Emergency Response Command, and the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency Regulation No. 24/2010 about Guidelines for Preparation of Disaster Emergency Operations Plans. Because of stagnation caused by the various conditions encountered, it leads to the command structure and the existence of operations plan management according to the demands of the regulations above not working well. In the first week after the earthquake hit Palu and its surrounding, the voice from the government was barely audible even though on the second day, the president visited those areas accompanied by the governor (CNBC, 2018). The Minister of Home Affairs had also issued an appeal to the regional government for Central Sulawesi to provide help, including a statement by the Minister to give freedom to the public to be able to take consumer goods in shops which led to more looting (<https://www.antaranews.com/berita/753361/indonesia-kembali-diuji-setelah-lombok>). As the command mechanism of government work, the provisions in the regulations appear unclear. This led to a vacuum in the voice of the government.

Disaster management activities are divided into two, namely at the Tadulako Military Resort Command Office which is the logistical distribution center, and the Vatulemo field in which the public does not know the institution in charge of holding a disaster management command at this

field. The logistics distribution process requires a copy of the family card stamped with hamlet/neighborhood stamp and Vatulemo command center stamp. These conditions cause people who have been waiting in line for long periods to be canceled to get help at the military resort command office. The bureaucratization of providing aids in the emergency response phase was a form of the absence of an integrated command system.

Some people who were waiting in line had several reasons for not being able to meet the administrative requirements such as because of limited fuel due to scarcity at that time and caused by the inoperation of gas stations because of blackout and looting in all gas stations in Palu. Difficulties were also in accessing hamlet/neighborhood stamps as a requirement to gain legitimacy at the Vatulemo command center. This mechanism took place amid looting on the economic centers in Palu. The emergency situation faced by the affected people was alleviated by the inclusion of regional-based logistical assistance in Palu which also left other problems. People outside Palu conducted blocking on the vehicle carrying the aid in which those people felt neglected and only witnessed a convoy of aid that goes to Palu without gaining any aids. They looted the aid to meet the needs of their lives which were also actually affected. This condition has further strengthened the solidity between community organizations and local governments to synergize each other in distributing community assistance to all of those affected in Palu.

The assistance, coordinated by the public community, does not have an adequate basis of information regarding the basic needs of the affected people in the field. As a result, in some places, the assistance was only distributed directly to the logistic center in the military resort command office or collected in several locations of the management center of the public community which also did not have a database for distribution. The condition of the telecommunications and the absence of an adequate communication chain allowed this condition to happen. In this case, the whole assistance provision was only based on limited media information so that it became more dramatized (Personal Farid, 2018:146-153). This is different

from what was done by civil society organizations that are more systematic in working for disaster relief assistance.

The dimension of self-reliance as stated in the previously explained theory indicates that civil society institutions are divided, although the ideological strength seems strong in the management and involvement of civil society in disaster management in Palu. The involvement of all elements of the local society is an engagement process to create an attachment for all local society components as a standard empowerment process. The existence of local resources is a major part of presenting stimulant activities to seek interventions in the context of effective community empowerment.

The involvement of partnership in the implementation of disaster management activities is one of the determining factors in how a program can be implemented and achieved well. Local capacity and understanding of what is best as a choice for a community under the assumption of “participation” will greatly be determined by the object being targeted. The presence of local partnership also provides advantages such as organizations that have been established like Muhammadiyah or Nahdatul Ulama or local organizations that have only been established after the disaster like Central Sulawesi Moves (ind. *Sulteng Bergerak*). In addition to being an object, their involvement also becomes a subject to provide support in the emergency response phase (Indah Ahdiah, 2019). This strategic role is able to optimize the achievement of logistics and stimulant provisions according to the needs of the affected people during the emergency response phase.

International, national, and local civil society institutional collaboration is a common work scheme implemented in the disaster management process in Palu. The involvement of each of these civil society institutions provides certain reinforcement in various assistance and empowerment mechanisms. The real form of the collaboration mechanism is reflected in the success of each program as a result of collaboration. For civil movements, territorial identity for each community is important because the region is a space of interaction that connects people, leaders, and resources (Alamsyah, M. Nur., Subekti, Valina Singka., 2017). This condition can be seen in the public community that mobilizes support by using the regional identity that is able to mobilize the solidarity of regional community organizations and by demanding the involvement of regional governments in the process of sending social assistance to disaster areas in Palu.

Civil society is broadly involved far beyond the capacity of the government which is a combination of the central, provincial, and regional governments from various formal institutions of the State. The presence of civil society organizations in Palu is able to be a bridge that fosters new hope for the society about new opportunities that can be expected. The survival mechanism obtained by the affected people is mainly sourced from civil society in the form of support from the people that channel it through their respective governments or through civil society organizations that are specifically established for humanity.

Civil society, in fact, has its own mechanism for survival after a disaster. As with disasters occurring elsewhere, the institutionalization of society through civil society organizations always provides an important role to survive and to maintain bargaining (Rachmad Gustomy, 2017). The Institutionalization of community interests related to sources of life during the emergency response phase was mostly prepared by civil society. Initiatives arising for the construction and restructuring of economic production mechanisms that were paralyzed by the disaster were also mostly prepared by civil society. The presence of international or national CSOs and newly established communities is a survival mechanism to meet three basic needs, namely food, clothing, and shelter.

V. CONCLUSION

Self-reliance and independence are the characters of civil society during the disaster response phase after the earthquake in Palu on September 29, 2018. Those characters are divided into 2 major movements carried out by the public community and by local, national, and international civil society organizations. The fragmented character of civil society is the reality of the civil society movement that moves to support certain identities related to territoriality, ethnicity, and culture. Achievements shown by civil society organizations are not only the vision of their organization but also their financial support.

Gotong royong, the mutual cooperation movement is a tangible manifestation of socio-cultural values that attract civil society involvement in the name of humanity. The working mechanism of community empowerment for the society provides an important understanding that the institutionalization of the society will be able to form its own scheme to favor the interests of the society based on the basic values of human culture. The development of humanity during disaster conditions as a form of attachment to the world community is a form of global humanitarian

ties that become the direction of ideology and the face of diplomacy from the nation-states in the world.

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