

# Analisa

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*Arifuddin Ismail*

THE SOCIETY OF MINANGKABAU IN TULIS SUTAN SATI'S SENGSA MEMBAWA NIKMAT:  
BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND ISLAMIC TEACHINGS

*Betty Mauli Rosa Bustam*

TRACING THE "CULTURAL CHANGES" IN SUNDANESE LOCAL INCANTATIONS

*Asep Nahrul Musadad*

THE USES OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS TO REPRESENT ISLAM

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VALUE RATIONALITY OF PEOPLE LIVING ON THE SLOPE OF MERAPI IN YOGYAKARTA

*Napsiah, Budhi Gunawan, Oekan Soekotjo Abdoellah, dan Munandar Sulaeman*

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# *Analisa*

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Analisa is a peer-reviewed journal published by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Semarang Indonesia. It specializes in these three aspects; religious life, religious education, religious text and heritage. Analisa aims to provide information on social and religious issues through publication of research based articles and critical analysis articles. Analisa has been published twice a year in Indonesian since 1996 and started from 2016 Analisa is fully published in English as a preparation to be an international journal. Since 2015, Analisa has become Crossref member, therefore all articles published by Analisa will have unique DOI number.

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## INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

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The advancement of information and technology in this era has encouraged the editorial boards of *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion* to change some aspects of the journal for the better. The first changing is the name of the journal since 2015, from “*Analisa Jurnal Pengkajian Masalah Sosial Keagamaan*” to be “*Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion*”. As a consequence, there is alteration on the ISSN 1410-4350 to be 2502-5465. Furthermore, at this time, it is a must that a journal is published electronically, as it is stated in the rule issued by PDII LIPI (the Indonesian Institute of Science). Therefore, in 2015, *Analisa* started the electronic journal with E-ISSN 24443-3853, while the printed edition has been published since 1996 and continued until now. Along with the changing of the name, *Analisa* began the publication in English started vol.1.no.1 2016 as part of the preparation for being an international journal.

There are various articles submitted to *Analisa* in the beginning of 2016. These include Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, culture, Islam and Islamic education in Turkey. An article written by Tauseef Ahmad Parrray talking about Islamism is placed as the opening of this volume. He argues that the incidence of 9/11 2011 in World Trade Center USA became a turning point for Western country to stereotype Islam as terrorist. Furthermore, after that tragedy Islam is perceived as fundamentalist religion, extremist, conservative Islam, radicalisms, and other negative stereotypes. In this article, he suggests that it is necessary to evaluate the Western perspectives on Islam in which they labeled Islam as extremists.

The next article is entitled “The Chronicle of Terrorism and Islamic Militancy in Indonesia” written by Zakiyah. This paper provides data and deep analysis on the series of bombing and terror happened in Indonesia from 2001 to 2012. After the fall of President Soeharto in 1998, there were a series of bombing and terror in some part of the country which caused hundreds casualties and great number of property damages. This year was also a time for some extremists coming back to Indonesia after a long period of exile abroad. These extremist figures then began their activities in Indonesia and they also disseminated the radical ideology, establishing network, recruiting new members and preparing for terror and violent action. Some of the terrorists and suspected of the bombing actions were indicated having connection with the Islamic radical group which means that there is an Islamic militancy in Indonesia

The radical ideology was also spread at prominent university in Yogyakarta Indonesia. This theme is discussed by Arifudin Ismail. He mentions that this ideology is not only spread by jihadists but also by some activists in certain campuses. For instance, there are some discussions and discussion groups existed in Gadjah Mada University, Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University, Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University, and Indonesia Islam University. In such activity, there is an indication that there is discussion on “the radical ideology”. He focused his study on the exclusive students movement in Gadjah Mada University especially related to how the religious doctrine (Islam) disseminated and perceived by students.

Besides the discussion of the Islamism, terrorism and radical movement as the phenomena happened in Indonesia and in the world, this volume also offers other insights of Indonesia. Betty Mauli Rosa Bustamn explores the Minangkabau tradition. She describes in her article how the local people (Minangkabau) adopted Islamic values into their tradition from generation to the next generation. In this paper, it can be seen that Islam and local culture are living in harmony. In addition, Asep N Musadad talks about the assimilation and acculturation process between local traditions of Sundanese community with Islam. He describes that the harmony between them can be seen on the literature; there is a cultural change as a picture of how Islam and local tradition met and assimilated. Besides, in the folklore as he mentions that some incantations used by shaman (panayangan) contain some symbols of Islam

Besides being practiced in the local tradition as mentioned earlier, Islam in Indonesia is

transformed and disseminated through electronic media such as television; this can be read at the next article. Siti Solihati wrote a paper about how Islamic symbols are used by a soap opera broadcasted in a national television. In this article, she found that there are some ideologies embedded in such program namely; (1) ideology of materialistic-capitalist, (2) ideology of patriarchy, and (3) violent domination.

Napsiah and her colleagues wrote an article about how the people living in surrounding the Merapi Mountain cope with the disaster especially when the eruption occurred and its aftermath. Community living in Pangukrejo village near the mountain helps each other dealing with their disaster related problems. They are hand in hand in re-building their villages without looking at their religious background. All people participate in those activities since they feel that Merapi is their home and their source of convenience and safety, therefore this honorable symbol should be preserved at all cost. They argue that the eruption is the destiny from God, thus it is undeniable fact. At that time, they were at the bottom level condition, so that to wake up from that situation they need to help each other (gotong royong).

The last article in this volume is about the transformation of Islamic education at Imam Hatip School in Turkey. This paper is written by Mahfud Junaidi. He describes that the curriculum in this school aims to transfer the traditional norms based on the Islamic values. It is expected that by implementing Islam, this will contribute to the development of society and nation-state in Turkey.

Please enjoy reading articles in this volume.

Semarang, May 2016

Editorial boards



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Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion would like to thank you to all international editorial boards for their support and their willingness to review articles for this volume. Analisa would also like to thank you to all authors who have submitted their articles to Analisa, so that this volume is successfully published.

Analisa do hope that we would continue our cooperation for the next editions.

Semarang, May 2016

Editor in Chief



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## TABLE OF CONTENT

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# *Analisa*

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Journal of Social Science and Religion

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Volume 01 No 01 June 2016

Pages 1 - 138

Introduction from the Editorial Boards :: i

Acknowledgments :: iii

Table of Content :: v

**RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON “ISLAMISM” DISCOURSE: AN EVALUATION AND ASSESMENT**

Tauseef Ahmad Parray :: 1-18

**THE CHRONICLE OF TERRORISM AND ISLAMIC MILITANCY IN INDONESIA**

Zakiyah :: 19-40

**NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS: A ROLE OF CAMPUS' MOSQUES IN RAISING EXCLUSIVITY**

*(A Case at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)*

Arifuddin Ismail :: 41-58

**THE SOCIETY OF MINANGKABAU IN TULIS SUTAN SATT'S SENGSA MEMBAWA NIKMAT: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND ISLAMIC TEACHINGS**

Betty Mauli Rosa Bustam :: 59-74

**TRACING THE “CULTURAL CHANGES” IN SUNDANESE LOCAL INCANTATIONS**

Asep Nahrul Musadad :: 75-90

**THE USES OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS TO REPRESENT ISLAM**

*(A Study on Religious Soap Opera “Bukan Islam KTP”)*

Siti Sholihati, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, Heru Nugroho :: 91-104

**VALUE RATIONALITY OF PEOPLE LIVING ON THE SLOPE OF MERAPI IN YOGYAKARTA**

Napsiah, Budhi Gunawan, Oekan Soekotjo Abdoellah, dan Munandar Sulaeman :: 105-120

**IMAM HATIP SCHOOL (IMAM HATIP LISESİ): Islamic School in Contemporary Secular Turkey**

Mahfud Junaedi:: 121-138



# VALUE RATIONALITY OF PEOPLE LIVING ON THE SLOPE OF MERAPI IN YOGYAKARTA

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## ABSTRACT

*This study aims to describe rationality of the people who live in the eruption-prone areas of Mount Merapi and who refuse to be relocated. A qualitative research method with interpretative phenomenological analysis is used in this research. Informants are selected by snowball sampling technique. The location of research is in Pangukrejo village which is a village in the southern slopes of Merapi. The results show that people think Merapi as a place of origin where they obtain senses of comfort and safety. Merapi is also a place where they acquire and preserve community value system. Merapi is a symbol of their dignity that must be maintained. In this relation, eruption is interpreted as destiny, eruption is interpreted as destiny of God that can not be circumvented. At that time, their living conditions were on the bottom and could be overcome by means of mutual cooperation to return to normal condition. The value rationality motivate them to resettle in their homes after the great eruption of Merapi.*

**Keywords:** *rationality value, people's action, Merapi disaster, resettlement.*

## INTRODUCTION

Disaster management, especially settlement, is an important thing which requires attention (Bookshire et al., 1985). It is because people who live in disaster-prone areas have a high degree of vulnerability (Ozdemir, 2000). Therefore, an effort to relocate people living in disaster-prone areas is a primary effort taken by the government. However, in practice, such relocation effort is often not responded well by a group of people. According to Triyoga (2010: 158), Singarimbun (1980), Dove (2008), Dynes (1993) and Lane (2003), this is due to the difference of rationality between government and local residents. The rationality of governments perceives that disaster, using scientific perspective on disaster, is a danger so that all people living in disaster-prone

areas should be relocated. Meanwhile, using the objectivity perspective, people perceive disaster as something dangerous, but an attempt to leave their residence after the disaster is not something they have to do. Such difference in rationality exists, according to Kholiq and Arum (2011), is caused by the fact that the government does not take the value system of people who live in disaster-prone areas into consideration. According to Nygren (1999) the value system of the local population is often regarded as traditional so that it is not considered in the disaster management. In line with that views, Carter (1991:27) suggests that the difference of rationality results in the exclusion of local residents in the disaster management ranging from pre-disaster phase, when the disaster is happening, to the rehabilitation phase.



The difference of rationality significantly affects the disaster management so that it requires an understanding of the rationality of people living in disaster-prone areas.

In regard to the efforts to understand the rationality of people, various studies on disaster phenomenon, particularly volcanic disaster, which prioritized the perspective of the people have been conducted by experts, among others are Chester et al. (1999), Dibben and Chester (1999), who investigated public perception of the eruption of Mount Etna in Italy.

The experts' research focused not only on the people living around the volcanoes in Italy, but also people living in other mountains, for example, in Costa Rica, where Sheet (1999) investigated the perception of Indian communities in the vicinity of Mount Arenal. In Hawaii, Gregg et al. (2004) investigated the perceptions of people in the vicinity of Mount Mauna Loa and Mount Hualalai. In East Africa, Morin and Lavigne (2009) investigated the perception of people who live in the vicinity of Mount Karthala, Comoro Islands. Njome et al. (2010) focused on the perception of people of the eruption of Mount Cameroon in Central Africa.

The studies on the volcanic disasters at the international level above focused on the people's perception of the disaster. These studies revealed that people living in disaster-prone areas of the volcano followed the instructions from the government to leave their homes during the disaster. However, after the disaster ended they returned to their native places because they thought that the eruption of volcanoes existing close to them would be of a long duration to reoccur, so there was no reason to leave their native places forever.

In the context of volcanic disaster in Indonesia, particularly related to the disaster phenomenon of Mount Merapi in Java, various studies have been conducted. Some of them used sociological perspective and focused on the conflict and solidarity, such as the studies of Pramono (2012) and Herianto (2012). These studies investigated the conflict that arose as a consequence of the 2010

eruption of Merapi. Pramono (2012) investigated the relocation conflicts in Central Java, while Herianto and Wicaksono (2012) investigated performance by people in Cangkringan, Yogyakarta. Different from those two studies, Amiruddin and Widyanto (2010) focused on solidarity and disaster tourism business.

Investigating the disaster phenomenon of Merapi by using sociological perspective, previous studies generally focused their attention on the issues of conflict and the issues of social capital. All of the research on disaster phenomenon associated with the eruption of Mount Merapi did not specifically examine the issue of the rationality of the people behind the return of people living in a place declared dangerous by the government. Such research is important in order that the rationality of people living on the slopes of active volcanoes will be considered important by the government in disaster management, especially in terms of resettlement, and also to avoid the unilateral decision made by the government (Ahimsa: 2012, Indiyanto: 2012). According to Tyler (2006), a minimum number of studies that focus on the rationality of people will result in incomprehensive understanding in studying the phenomenon of volcanic disaster. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a research that focuses on the understanding the people about the disaster, which eventually combines the rationality of the government and the rationality of people (Tyler, 2006) as a consideration in the disaster management, especially the issue of settlement for people in disaster-prone areas.

After the 2010 eruption of Mount Merapi, the regional government of Yogyakarta attempted to relocate people who live in the disaster prone area III to the places provided. However, a group of people refused the relocation and rebuilt their house in their place of origin. Accordingly, this study is aimed at identifying the value rationality of people who returned to their native places on the slopes of Merapi, which were categorized as the Disaster Prone Area III by the government after the huge eruption of Merapi which according to the Research and Technology Development

Agency for Vulcanology (BPPTK) the eruption that occurred in 2010 was more powerful than the eruption of Merapi in 1872 (Kompas, 9 November 2010).

The theoretical framework used in this study refers to the rationality of social action proposed by Weber. According to Weber (1978) rationality of social action is action taken to achieve the goal. Thus, the rationality of social action is subjective. Rational or irrational action is very dependent on who is doing and understand. Further Weber (1978) differentiated the rationality of social actions into the instrumental and value rationality. Both rationality are interrelated. Because the value rationality is an abstract thing and could not be proved objectively, such as proving the success of the action of instrumental rationality, then value rationality is used as a means to achieve instrumental rationality.

The value rationality proposed by Weber in the form of values that bind people to perform actions based on the capacity of rational self-possessed. Kalberg (1980) confirmed the Weber's opinion that the actions of a person through profit or loss are taken into account, so when someone makes a decision then the decision is a rational choice.

Rational choice is an action taken because they are bound by social value in the form of cultural values inherent in society (Susetianwan, 2000). In line with these opinions, Schmuck (2000) states that local values espoused by someone serve as guidelines for its action.

Based on the theoretical description above, a proposition built in this study is the shared values of citizens into a subjective rationality to return to the village, despite it was decided into the Disaster Prone Region III of Merapi.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The qualitative research methods using interpretative phenomenological analysis was conducted to identify the rationality of people who resettled in their native places categorized into the disaster-prone areas of Merapi. Informants were taken purposively (purposeful random sampling)

by selecting people who were considered knowing, being involved, and having information related to the research topic and problems (Patton, 1990 quoted Barker dan Gentry, 2006: 322-333). Therefore, the informants in this study were those who knew the required information related to this study. The informants were divided into three categories, namely: *first*, the parties who had a close relationship with the community so that they had information about the disaster. The informants who were included in this group were: Head of the Disaster Management Agency of Yogyakarta Special Region Province, Head of the Disaster Management Agency of Sleman Regency, Head and Secretary of Cangkringan Subdistrict of Sleman Regency, Head of Umbulharjo Village, Secretary of Umbulharjo Village, Head of Pankukrejo Hamlet. *Second*, informal figures such as prominent religious leaders, youth leaders, village elders. *Third*, the parties who were involved in the process of post-disaster economic activities. The informants included in this group were merchants/owners of stall/store, cottage owners, tourist guides, tourist transport services and other residents.

Based on the three groups of informants, the informants were selected using snowball sampling (Groenewald, 2004), by first visiting the Head of the Disaster Management Agency of Yogyakarta Special Region Province to find out information related to the state of location used as the research site. Other relevant informants were obtained from the interviews in order to obtain the required data in this research.

Data was also gathered through participant and non-participant observation. The participant observation was conducted in order to explore data that could not be disclosed during the interview. In addition, a variety of secondary data were also collected from the office of the Disaster Management Agency of Yogyakarta Special Region Province and Sleman Regency, various reports of Cangkringan Subdistrict and reports of Umbulharjo Village.

The qualitative data were analyzed using a model developed by Huberman and Miles



(1994:428-444), known as the interaction. This model starts from data collection, data reduction, presentation of analyzed data, and conclusion. The research was conducted at Pangukrejo Hamlet, one of the hamlets in which people refused to be relocated although their settlement area was categorized the Disaster Prone Area III after the 2010 eruption of Merapi.

## **RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Pangukrejo Community, Land, and Merapi Environment**

Pangukrejo people belong to Javanese ethnic group who live at Pangukrejo Hamlet located on the southern slope at a distance of 6 km from the peak of Mount Merapi. They have inhabited this hamlet for generations.

Religion serves as a guide in their life. Therefore, religion is an important thing for them (*agama mergene aji*). Pangukrejo people practice Islamic teaching faithfully, either individually or in groups. Religious gathering is held every month which is not only limited to the mosque existing in their neighborhood, but also in resident's houses which is scheduled alternately. They are mostly affiliated with Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)

They grow in environment of Javanese tradition that respect ancestors. One of the forms of respecting ancestors is upholding and maintaining ancestral property bequeathed to them. Land is inheritance or gift from parents which is commonly accepted by Pangukrejo people. The estate is given to heirs who still belong to one lineage. Therefore, the ownership of land in Merapi nowadays has changed. The changes in land ownership provide evidence that inheritance and change of generations have taken place.

Living in the mountainous village, they still prioritize togetherness in many ways. It can be seen from life attitude that they always work together in any activities. Social activities are performed weekly and monthly in the form of mutual cooperation activities. They jointly clean up the environment in their own houses and in the hamlet where they live.

Monthly meeting is conducted regularly by the residents in the form of *RT* (Neighborhood Association) meeting and *RW* (Community Association) meeting. Moreover, the formal meeting also include meeting of local associations such as Dairy Cattle Association, Cottage Association, and Sand Association. Such meeting strengthen their togetherness.

As mountain people, they utilize the mountain resources as a source of livelihood. Prior to the 2010 eruption of Merapi, the livestock was the leading sector. The availability of grass and cool air was used to keep dairy cattle. Their expertise in dairy farm had created a fixed cow's milk marketing network. The production of cow's milk was collected by local cooperation and then sold to PT. Sari Husada in Yogyakarta. As a result, their area earned the epithet of "white gold mine". However, after the 2010 eruption of Merapi it seems that the livestock sector has not been a leading sector due to the inadequate availability of grasses and cow pens.

After the eruption of Merapi, people take advantage of the disaster condition as a source of livelihood. They create disaster tourist destination by making the disaster-affected areas, destroyed homes and sand-buried villages to be disaster tourist destination. This way makes them survive in their villages after the eruption of Merapi.

In addition, they rely on sand mining sector after the eruption of Merapi. The availability of abundant sand scattered into Kuning River, Opak River, Gendol River and lands encourage them to own truck to transport sand and sell them directly to consumers. As a result, they have access to markets and also determine the price of sand in the market.

Carpentry sector is also a reliable sector because after the 2010 eruption of Merapi their neighborhood suffered extensive damage. Houses and public facilities were destroyed and in need of renovation in order to be functioned again. Accordingly, carpentry sector is a sector that also provides a source of livelihood for those who work in the carpentry sector.

Living on the slopes of Mount Merapi, which is very active, they form an agglomerated settlement patterns. They built house next to one another without being separated by fences. All houses are built facing south, east and west. No houses are built facing north directly to Mount Merapi. According to Javanese philosophy, building a house facing Mount Merapi means opposing Mount Merapi. It gives bad impact for the residents of the house such as long illness. In addition to the philosophical meaning, it is a strong reason for the Pangukrejo people not to build houses facing Mount Merapi that it is difficult for them to get to the main roads when the status of Merapi is increasing. Therefore, they decide to build houses facing south and east which connect to the main roads.

Living on the slope of Merapi, they have a set of value concerning the interaction with Merapi. They have knowledge of Mount Merapi as *gugon tuwuh* that contains prohibitions and suggestions related to Merapi. Not cutting down trees, not entering prohibited areas, not grazing in prohibited places and not moving sacred objects are forms of respect for Merapi.

In addition, they also have *ilmu titen* to recognize the symptoms of the eruption of Mount Merapi, such as animals coming out from the forests of Mount Merapi, earthworms coming out from the ground, the leaves withering around the forest of Mount Merapi, very hot weather even at night.

Such signs of eruption serve as a local mitigation effort so they can minimize the impact of the eruption of Merapi. Therefore, whatever the condition is in Merapi, they will feel comfortable living in the vicinity of Merapi although Merapi erupts frequently.

### **Land in Merapi as Symbol of Self-Esteem**

Although lands in Merapi are owned by individuals, the origin of the lands is acquired from the inheritance for generations. Handover to the heirs is done by showing the location and boundaries of the land to heirs entitled to receive. The handover of estate is witnessed by relatives. After the handover process is completed, the land

also officially changes its ownership to the heirs. The Heirs who receive such land are entitled to give the land to their descendants. Thus, the ownership of lands in Merapi has changed from one generation to the next.

The change of land ownership continues to exist as the change of generations. However, there is no change in the system of the division of the estate. The adopted system refers to the teachings of Islam that a female child gets half of a male child. In practice, it is not rigid as in religious system. Sometimes a male child receives much smaller inheritance because the male child hands over his inheritance to the female child. Thus, the female child receives more land for more than the male child.

The size of land received by each heir is highly dependent on the size of the land area of the original owner. It is certain that people who have a large area of land have a relationship with those who firstly came at Pangukrejo Hamlet. The pioneers of the hamlet had a vast area of land because at that time the land belonged to no one. Although the land had been divided to the heirs, it seems that the size of land turn out to be different with people who came later. Thus, the estate is evidence that they are the descendants of the pioneers of the hamlet.

The land handover system is very diverse. There are those giving land to the heirs when their children get married, or long before they get married. There are also those who have daughters have prepared the land for them although they are still under the responsibility of the owner of the land.

The division of estate to the descendants is intended that the descendants of Pangukrejo people will live in their hamlet even after getting married. For them, if there is one who marries someone who is not a resident of Pangukrejo Hamlet, they are required to live at Pangukrejo Hamlet, especially for daughters. Therefore, it can be said that there is only a small number of Pangukrejo people who live outside the hamlet. Even if they live outside, one day they will return



by reason of being bound to the estate inherited from their parents at Merapi.

They were born and raised in Javanese culture at Merapi. They also form a residence that later became their settlements for generations. In the meantime, a relationship is also established between them and the environment of Merapi. Thus, they have adaptability in order to live in harmony with Mount Merapi. They have knowledge to keep Merapi because Mount Merapi is the source of their livelihood. In addition, they have local knowledge of the dynamics of Mount Merapi which can be used as a local mitigation effort. All of that are the value systems of the mountain people agreed for generations and do not change although generations have changed.

Furthermore, the agglomerated settlement pattern and the houses next to one another without fence facilitate people to meet each other under any circumstances, either in happiness or sadness. It can be seen when they are disaster victims, caring attitude among them get stronger by helping each other among fellow residents.

Accordingly, strong social control over their neighbors is a way to obtain security guarantee. A sense of caring among each other unites them to have a sense of belonging. This can be seen when they leave their houses for everyday activities or for a long time. They never hesitate to leave their houses and cattle all day even within weeks if they have some errands to do outside the hamlet. They entrust their house and cattle to the nearest neighbor with full trust. Meanwhile, the residents who are entrusted have the responsibility do tasks as the house owners such feeding cattle and even keeping the house. Such responsible attitude strengthens trust and brotherhood among fellow residents.

They can also obtain security guarantee not only around the neighborhood, but also in their workplace. It can be seen from the results of materials excavated by sand miners. They are not afraid to lose the results of the excavation materials placed in the mining arena, without strong evidence to show that the sand is theirs.

In fact, sand miners are not only them, but also many other miners are around the mining arena. Although leaving for days, they never lost their sand excavation results.

The security guarantee felt by Pangukrejo people is not just limited to guarantee of non-material, but also material. This can be seen in security and safety guarantee for those working as handymen. Although there is no security and safety insurance, they can obtain such guarantee flexibly. They get help from neighbors and house owners in the form of safety funds if they are injured on the job.

*Silaturahmi* culture is done through meeting of local associations such as groups of religious gathering, social gathering, RT and RW meetings and business association meeting which serve as a medium for knowing the condition of each resident and even resolving life problems satisfactorily. In such meeting, they express their problems being faced in various situations, so that it is not uncommon that a life problem of a resident becomes a shared responsibility. Therefore, these problems can often be solved because residents help providing a solution, either advice or real assistance.

Furthermore, for Pangukrejo people the land at Merapi is also a means of power for its owner. The decisions to function the land into productive facilities, either for local businesses such as building cottage or keeping cattle or also used as a means to access capital in financial institutions become the power of the land owners.

Furthermore, the land at Merapi is used as a means to identify the lineage. This also implies that the land is an evidence to show their social status. This is closely related with their predecessors of the tenure which can be traced until their offspring today. For those who have large area of land it is certain that they are descended from ancestors who settled in the environment of Merapi.

At Merapi, people develop skills like mining sand, building houses, and raising cattle. As a result, they become cattle farmers, builders and sand miners which then become their source of

livelihood. They do not specially acquire such skills, but from experience of seeing and following their family members or relatives who are in their houses.

There are various life comfort values attached to the land at Merapi, so that the land at Merapi is *sedumuk bathuk senyari bumi* which implies that an inch of land is a self-esteem that must be maintained in any conditions. Accordingly, various measures are taken to preserve the land of heritage, albeit using local actions.

### **Local Action as a Form of Resistance to Relocation Program**

When Mount Merapi erupted in 2010, Hamlet Pangukrejo suffered severe damage and were later declared as the Disaster Prone Area III which must be emptied. Its inhabitants were encouraged to move to another place through the relocation program. In regard to the relocation plan, Pangukrejo people openly rejected the relocation offered by the government. However, they silently returned and survived in Pangukrejo by working hard to repair the entire public facilities and their houses so as to be livable. In addition, they also worked hard to make economic efforts by opening up business opportunities in sand mining, carpentry, cottage, cattle farming and tourism business. As a result, in 2011 overall houses of Pangukrejo people had been rebuilt and livable. The economic activities gradually have also become their source of livelihood.

The attitude of resistance to the relocation plan shown by Pangukrejo people was not simply expressed in a silent manner as mentioned above. They responded to the government's insistence in another way. They took action by placing billboards at the side of road leading to their village as a form of resistance to the relocation plan offered by the government to them.

Approximately after two months, the billboards were removed because the government did not return to offer the relocation program. Such calm attitude of the government made people panic because one read a daily newspaper that contained their settlement. From the news, the

Governor of Yogyakarta threatened that if they did not leave their place, the governments would force them by flattening their settlement using heavy equipment. The news spread immediately and all Pangukrejo people knew about it.

However, the news from the daily newspaper apparently was not yet done by the government because the residents received the registration form of relocation from the head of RT. The government gave relocation the registration form through the hamlet head which was then forwarded to every RT. RT then gave to the residents to fill in their willingness to join the relocation.

Pangukrejo people still did not respond to efforts of picking up the ball made by the government. For them, maintaining their hamlet is much more important than following the relocation although various facilities were provided by the government, including compensation for land and freedom of citizens to manage their previous land before it was officially declared by the government closed to people because it was converted into as a protected forest.

### **Submission Attitude Toward Merapi Disaster**

Pangukrejo people believe that life is arranged by God. Accordingly, they believe that everything happened at Mount Merapi has been arranged by God, including the time of the eruption, the size of the eruption, any losses that will be experienced, and who will be the victims. All have been arranged by God.

Such belief in fate forms a submission attitude towards the eruption of Mount Merapi, including the impacts they receive. This condition is analogous to the rotation of the wheel of life (Javanese: *cakra mangilingan*), sometimes we are down, sometimes we are up. They accept of (Javanese: *nerima*) what is going on, although in this case it does not mean they are silent and do nothing. They try to regain their living conditions as prior to the 2010 eruption of Merapi. They accept living conditions by working hard and motivating themselves to immediately rise from the deterioration of life due to the eruption of Merapi (*nerima ing pandum*).



In line with the awareness that life is always rotating like a wheel, they always aware and alert (*eling lan waspodo*) in acting and also *ajo dumeh* and *ajo aji mumpung*. The moral message becomes more meaningful when they have to start living from the bottom again. A prudent attitude to maintain balance of relationships with fellow human beings and God becomes absolutely necessary to be done to emerge from the deterioration of life as a result of the eruption.

### **People's Theological Expression in Merapi Disaster.**

The sincerity (Java: *accept*) and gratitude concepts are a form of expressions to indicate the level of submission to God. Although it is difficult to describe the level of expression of sincere because it is very abstract, one of the expressions can be detected in the way they respond to events that happened to them by not regretting or being sad towards changes in their lives that occur quickly, either before, at the moment of and after the eruption of Merapi.

In the days before the disaster, they followed the government's instructions to evacuate to places considered safe by the government. At the same time they were separated from their economic or social activities. Meanwhile, in the event of a disaster they relied on external parties. After the disaster, they faced major and sudden changes due to the eruption impact that caused the loss of houses and jobs which used to be the source of their livelihood. Such condition is the most difficult living condition for them.

The changes in life due to the eruption of Merapi are returned to God. They assume that there is nothing to do but surrender themselves by letting the lost property go. Accordingly, they do not waste positive energy to rise after the eruption. In addition to the sincere expression to indicate submission, Pangukrejo people express their submission by gratitude during the eruption of Mount Merapi. In this case the gratitude is expressed because they survive from the disaster. There are no family members or neighbors who died or suffered physical disability as a result of

the eruption of Merapi. They are grateful to be able to deal with the conditions after the eruption in healthy condition and no family members died as a result of the eruption of Merapi.

Emphasizing the role of God in the eruption of Merapi, they perceive disaster as a form of trial from God on them. Accordingly, they think that what is experienced today as the disaster victims does not always happen, one day the life like before the eruption definitely will return in an unpredictable time.

The perception of disaster as a form of trial gives impact on everyday behavior in various activities. They do not feel inferior because they do not have any property and have to start their life from the beginning. They also earnestly work, develop the spirit of cooperation and the spirit of helping to share with other people.

### **Religious Action**

Pangukrejo people had taken the submission attitude when the disaster occurs because the eruption is the destiny of God. Accordingly, people realized they could not avoid such event because the power of God has arranged the eruption. The awareness has long been established so that they rely on the power of God when the eruption occurred.

The submission attitude to the disaster expressed in sincerity and gratitude are strengthened with religious activities in their residence. Through religious gathering they perform religious activities carried out once a week on Friday at 08:00 pm until finished. The religious gathering is followed Pangukrejo people. It is held regularly once a week at Al-Mujahidin Mosque. It is led by a local figure who is a former head of RW. It opened with the reciting Al-Quran of Yasin chapter and doing the prayer together. The activity is then continued with a religious lecture. It is delivered by a cleric coming from Al-Qodir Islamic Boarding School, one of the schools located near Pangukrejo Hamlet. The presence of a cleric at the mosque is a form of assistance from the school to give religious reinforcement for people, the victims of the disaster.

Mental reinforcement for disaster victims is important to anticipate that they will not sink into prolonged sadness which will eventually lead to psychological disorders. In addition, the presence of cleric is to anticipate the attempt of Christianization to Pangukrejo people, because this area is a destination of assistance from various parties who have various interests which are not only limited to humanitarian, but also other interests.

Religious activities in the form of religious gatherings are conducted monthly. In practice the religious gathering involved Kinahrejo people. This is because Kinahrejo people are also involved in the tourism economic activities. Establishing not only limited to the business relation, Pangukrejo people deem it necessary involving Kinahrejo people in religious activities. In addition, Pangukrejo people also wish that the relationship (*silaturahmi*) between people of the two hamlets is well maintained although they have been separated because Kinahrejo people join the relocation.

Pangukrejo people do not have a special method to remind members to attend the event. They spread the information orally (Javanese: *gethok tular*), so do Kinahrejo people. They remind each other orally. The religious gathering is held monthly on every Tuesday at 08:00 pm. There are more members of monthly religious gathering because it involves not only Pangukrejo people but also Kinahrejo people. Therefore, Al-Mujahidin mosque is used because of its larger space.

The religious gathering activity is not much different from the weekly religious gathering. However, the monthly religious gathering is not opened by reading Yasin Chapter, but reading Al-Fatihah. Then, it is continued with religious lecture. The religious lecture also takes different topics from that are given on a weekly religious gathering. In addition, monthly religious gathering is conducted in dialogue. The residents are given opportunity to ask questions about the problems they encounter. This session receives many responses because people ask many questions

related to what they experience and what should be done in accordance with the Islamic teachings.

The religious activities are conducted to strengthen them who are victims of the disaster in order to rise from the deterioration. The cleric teaches them to work hard and not to despair easily. The concept of religious teachings can be manifested into the work ethic of Pangukrejo people. From the religious value the residents are motivated to work hard to get a good new source of livelihood or to manage a business that has been previously occupied. They do not despair and do not give up too quickly and do not depend on outside parties in the long term. Thus, working is the key to get out of the problems they encounter.

### **Solidarity of Pangukrejo People**

When the residents returned to Pangukrejo Hamlet after the eruption, the condition of hamlet was filled with Merapi's materials such as sand and stone. Likewise, Kuning River located just west of their settlement which was originally used as a source of clean water after the eruption, is covered with the sand and rocks materials, the trees around the river also had been burned. Coinciding with the rainy season in November, heavy rainfall can drain the sand at Pangukrejo hamlet. Gradually, paved main roads, land and frame of houses began to appear. However, it seems that the rainfall has not fully reduced sand thickness at Pangukrejo Hamlet because there are still sand and rocks and uprooted large trees that are scattered.

In such condition, people start to work together to resolve the problems they face one by one. They worked together (Javanese: *gugur gunung*) to clean up the remaining sand, rocks, uprooted trees and debris from buildings. Activities of mutual cooperation were helped by a team of volunteers. One of the teams of volunteers was from Bantul. The presence of a voluntary team from Bantul is interesting because a number of Merapi people were sent to Bantul to help the people affected by the 2006 earthquake. It seems that the cooperation and mutual help existing among the victims have been established well. When Merapi



people suffered from the disaster, Bantul people provided help for Merapi people to clean up Merapi materials from Pangukrejo Hamlet.

In addition, they also worked together rebuild people's houses. Such mutual cooperation has made people's houses rebuilt quickly although it still rudimentary. The mutual cooperation is also conducted to provide water. Although they get clean water assistance, it seems that they are not satisfied with the condition. They utilized water pipe they received and worked together to install the water pipe directly to spring water. The work is done together by the residents until the water can be distributed at the household level.

Water pipe installation work directly to the spring water of Mount Merapi is not something new for them because they have ever done it. Such experience is reused when they installed water pipe to the spring water and distributed it to houses. Since the water pipe was installed, Pangukrejo no longer relied on clean water assistance. Water for household needs have been fulfilled; even they also supplied water to public facilities in the arena of Merapi Exploration Tour.

The arrangement of Pangukrejo Hamlet is done together by Pangukrejo people. They think that everything can be solved together and the hard work becomes light by means of mutual cooperation. They also think that the mutual cooperation does not require enormous cost. In addition, the activities of mutual cooperation reunite fellow residents who have separated because of living in the refuge camp for months.

The assistance from external parties as a form of concern for the victims of the disaster are still accepted after they returned at the hamlet. Such assistance includes not only consumables, but also long-term assistance, such as cattle farming, skill training to make livestock feed concentrates, and economic empowerment and religious assistance. The material or non-material assistance are managed in groups.

The assistance from the external parties is received through "one-door" system which is accepted by the head of Pangukrejo Hamlet. In practice, the head of Hamlet receives and

distributes the assistance helped by other residents. The entire assistance is reported to the residents through the RW meeting which is held monthly.

The assistance is used as working capital, and it is useful to accelerate the restructuring of their lives after the eruption. There is still some relief that has not been used until now by the residents such as skills to make livestock feed concentrates. This type of assistance cannot yet be used because of unfavorable condition and situation to maximize the assistance because they still lack the dairy farmers. In addition, those who return to be livestock farmers can easily obtain fodder in the cooperation that facilitate them. Nevertheless, this skill assistance will not be in vain because the skills to make fodder can be practiced when the condition is favorable.

### **Value Rationality Behind the Resistance to Relocation**

Pangukrejo people rejection on the relocation offered by the government is not without reason. They believe that the rejection is one of their rational actions. Weber mentions (1978: 22 ) that rational action is action taken to achieve the goal and highly subjective which it depends on who is doing. Furthermore, according to Karberg, person's action is based on the rational choice and the capacity of themselves. In other words, the rational action is taking into account the gains and losses of its action.

The action of Pangukrejo people to keep living in the Merapi area is related to some of the values that they believe or feel. Merapi is their birthplace. They acquire a sense of comfort and obtain security guarantee, mainly because they still have and feel attached to the land. They grow and develop with the value system of the mountain people that make them different from others. Whatever the environmental conditions at Merapi is, the land they have should be retained. According to Winangun (2004: 74), local actions are used to retain the land because for resident it is not only a source of livelihood but also a source of comfort of life. In line with Winangun's view, Weber (1978: 24) also states that one perform an

action to achieve the goal of the comforts of life. Although, according to Weber, such comfort is abstract and relative because it depends on who performs and interprets such action.

For Pangukrejo people, land at Merapi is a source for enjoyment of life, because they are born and grow up to be citizens in the mountainous region. Moreover, the life values of the mountain people was formed long time ago. In addition, the land becomes heritage from generation to generation, so that his estate becomes evidence to determine the family tree. Thus for the citizens, the land at Merapi is a symbol of self-esteem is it are known as *sedumuk bathuk senyari bumi*. This concept means that every piece of land has worth and meaning that stored in the minds of citizens Pangukrejo. This is clearly revealed through their daily language. This concept is often expressed by the citizens of Java in particular to demonstrate the importance of land for farmers. But for Pangukrejo people, this new concept initially first used to justify the rejection of the government's efforts that would move them from their homeland. Therefore, whatever the condition of the land must be maintained.

Pangukrejo people using local actions such as cultural silence, is to improve conditions in the township independently and put up banners in the street to show the attitude of rejection of the relocation program. Local actions is also done by Samin tribe who refuses relocation because in their area there will be built cement factory. According to Said (2012:225-262) local actions done by Samin tribe is through dialogue and cultural performances, namely building a house without using cement and other materials produced by the plant. Local actions are a form of rejection of citizens to refuse relocation, because for them to leave the township is not the thing to do, although they will receive compensation.

Just like the local action which done by Samin tribe, Pangukrejo people also perform local actions to show the attitude that they are not willing to leave their village. Although the eruption of Merapi destroyed their houses and the source

of life, Pangukrejo people consider the disaster as God's destiny which cannot be avoided. The condition is like hitting the bottom because life always analogous to a rotating wheel (Javanese: *cakra manggilingan*). They accept it sincerely, but that does not mean they are passive, they try to work hard and let God determine the results.

The concept of sincerity and *nerima ing pandum*, according to Imron and Hidayat (2012 : 207-228), is the value existing in the public mind that comes from the religious values which is referred as theological construction and cultural values inherited from ancestors. It which is called cultural construction. Both theological and cultural construction are used to explain how Pangukrejo people interpret disaster. This value serves as a spirit to rise from the disaster that befell them.

This is consistent with the views of Koenig (2006) and Chester et al. (1999 : 189-207) that religious actions taken by disaster victims aim to give power to rise from the deterioration due to the disaster. The view of Chester et al., (1999: 189:207) is specifically based on the experience of Italian people when Mount Etna and Mount Vesuvius erupted. After the eruption, the survivors experienced prolonged trauma. Embracing Catholicism, people came to the church with the expectation to find peace and to rise from the deterioration caused by the disaster.

The same thing occurred in the lower class in Bangladesh who lived in flood-prone areas. The research of Schumck (2000: 85-96) concluded that the victims of flood in Bangladesh sought to strengthen themselves through religious activities to face the floods that occur every year therefore they could immediately rise to reorganize their lives. The same thing was stated by Dave (2008: 329-337), when Merapi erupted in 1994, Turgo people considered that eruption of Merapi was not a thing to be feared, so they remained living in his village. Religion became an amplifier factor for them to survive in between eruptions. In addition, their culture did not ask to leave their homeland, despite eruption of Merapi was frequently occurred.

The action of Pangukrejo people relying



on the religious value in facing of the disaster condition become relevant when Merapi erupted. When human cannot escape from the disaster, people rely on the power of God.

Such beliefs then makes religious followers feel protected so that they will feel comfortable in performing a variety of activities to reorganize their life. In this context, religion is a coping mechanism for disaster victims to survive the adverse effects of the disaster that they eventually revive (Ghozali, 2008: 103-131).

Revival of people from Merapi eruption can be seen from the actions that they start their business. As it was the case in Bantul people who become victims of Earthquake in 2006, according to Imron dan Hidayat (2012 : 215), Bantul people formed groups to conduct social activities at a mosque that palxs as a place of assembly. Moreover, in some mosques there is a business related to the procurement of leather as a raw material of puppet craft. Those prompted the emergence of other business activities.

Moreover, according to Imron dan Hidayat (2012 : 215), the mosque also became a citizen deliberation plate to improve their living environment after the disaster. Even the mosque also became a social gathering place where they performed routine activities by citizens who became victims. Thus, the function of the mosque was not only for performing acts of religious per se, but rather to do out social and economic activities.

The spirit, theological construction and cultural construction are manifested in the form of mutual cooperation to help both in material and non-material aspects. According to Pangukrejo resident, helping each other through mutual cooperation is done by rebuilding the houses of residents. In addition, they also work together to repair public facilities. They do it as they are in the same boat in facing living conditions after the eruption of Merapi. The mutual cooperation activity, according to Budiani et al. (2014 : 106-113) is important element in the disaster management because it indicates togetherness of disaster victims.

Referring to the opinion of Durkheim, togetherness of disaster victims was manifestation of organic solidarity. Organic solidarity is grown in rural communities with every members known each other. As such, they work together to resolve their problems due to the Merapi eruption.

The mutual cooperation is evidence that the solidarity of residents has strengthened as a result of the disasters. This is similar to what has been expressed by Abdullah (2009) that the solidarity of victims of disaster has its ups and downs. There are times when solidarity weaken because one puts more emphasis on personal interest to get rid of the disaster. However, there are times when solidarity strengthen because people mutually help each other.

It seems that the strengthening of solidarity also occurred in Japanese society when the Kobe disaster occurred. According to Harwich (1979) when a disaster occurs, the rich provides assistance to the poor. Similarly, it happened to the people of Bantul when the 2006 earthquake happened. According to Surjono (2007: 35 ), Bantul residents provided mutual assistance among fellow victims, so that by strengthening the solidarity Bantul people could quickly repair their neighborhoods.

For residents who are the victims of Merapi disaster, it seems that the strengthening of solidarity is not only solidarity that comes from within or in the term Durkheim 1965 (quoted Turner & Beeghley, 1981:334 ) is a mechanical solidarity, but also organic solidarity. According to Durkheim, the organic solidarity is the solidarity that comes from outside the community. The form of solidarity is the development of mechanical solidarity. Organic solidarity grows in society that is more professional in the division of labor. Nevertheless, the solidarity actually requires the existence of entanglement among the part of the community with other parts. Thus, although its members do not know each other, but there is an intensified relationship between citizens.

The organic solidarity expressed by Durkheim above seems to occur also in the victims of Merapi.

They did not know the donor before, because the aid was from outside their communities. Nevertheless, Merapi disaster victims received assistance from various parties, as a form of sympathy from outsiders to the Merapi victims.

The assistance received by the Pangukrejo people from the university as the emergency response could be manifested by actions involving students to help people resolve their problems. In addition, the assistance in the form of strengthening religious and economic were well received by residents. The assistance from the universities was utilized by residents to re-organize their life in the village.

While the aid given by the donors to the citizens, including in the form of a team of volunteer labor was not just limited to the emergency response phase but also periods of improvement. They received help to repair the environmental conditions and they obtain the temporary shelter.

Pangukrejo people also received assistance in the form of health care. Residents obtained health insurance since the evacuation. Residents received medical assistance from some agencies. Thus, disaster victims received various assistance from outside parties as a form of manifestation of solidarity mechanical reinforcement.

The assistance received is a proof that the people of Merapi have a strong level of solidarity and it becomes stronger when a disaster occurred. Therefore, the reason that they did not leave the village becomes a normal thing, though the eruption of Mount Merapi damaged their environment. It is because they have a strong solidarity value to stay on the slopes of Mount Merapi.

## CONCLUSION

The disaster management efforts planned by the government in the event of the devastating eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010, especially in terms of resettlement, meet with resistance from certain groups of people who have lived in the area around Mount Merapi. The reason behind

such resistance is related to the rationality of residents which is different from the rationality of government. For the resident by using their subjective perspective, disaster is something dangerous, but an attempt to leave their place categorized by the government as a disaster-prone area is not something they have to do. This research concludes that Pangukrejo people have an attachment to Merapi because it is a place of origin, where they gain a sense of comfort and safety. In addition, Merapi region is a place to gain and to perpetuate a system of values, therefore Merapi has become a symbol of self-esteem that must be maintained. Accordingly, the eruption is interpreted as the destiny of God that cannot be avoided. At such times, the living condition hit the bottom and is back to normal by means of mutual cooperation. Such value rationality motivates people to return to their hamlet although a huge eruption has just occurred.

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