

## Community Resilience and Political Behavior: The Case of Disaster-Resilient Village in Banyuwangi During COVID-19

Adhi Cahya Fahadayna<sup>1\*</sup>, Faqih Alfian<sup>2</sup>, Rizqi Bachtiar<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Political Science, Government, and International Relations, Universitas Brawijaya

<sup>2</sup>Department of Political Science, University of Illinois Chicago, USA

<sup>3</sup>School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

\*Correspondence Email: [a.fahadayna@ub.ac.id](mailto:a.fahadayna@ub.ac.id)

Received: 19 September 2023 Revised: 19 August 2024; Accepted: 3 September 2024

**Abstract:** *This study aims to explain the Banyuwangi people's perception of the government's institutional capacity in mitigating COVID-19 and the quality of democracy seen from the government's institutional capacity in the electoral political agenda. These focuses will be answered through analysis using the conceptual framework of community resilience and political behavior as a benchmark for liberal good governance. The results show that the disaster governance in seven disaster-resilient villages in Banyuwangi indicates dissatisfaction among several citizens regarding the aid programs. There are differences in information obtained between the government and the community regarding the distribution of goods and services during the COVID-19 pandemic, though some others are satisfied with the government. Consequently, while disaster governance shapes the civils' perception toward the current regent, Ipuk Fiestiandani, it also affects their political behavior toward the incumbent in the 2024 regional election.*

**Keywords:** *Good Governance; Community Resilience; Political Behavior; Disaster-Resilient Village.*

### How to Cite:

Fahadayna, A. C., Alfian, F., & Bachtiar, R. (2024). Community Resilience and Political Behavior: The Case of Disaster-Resilient Village in Banyuwangi During COVID-19. *Journal of Governance*, 9(3), 377–393.  
<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.31506/jog.v9i3.22076>



[This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

## **Introduction**

Indonesia is still attached to clientelism, in which patrons have relationships to succeed in the political interests of certain groups (Ramadhan & Oley, 2019). The clientelism system in Indonesia—which then raised a brokerage—is still widely used and widespread even at the local level and plays a vital role in electoral politics in Indonesia. It should be noted that the control over this patronage democracy lies in the bureaucracy at the local level (Aspinall & Hicken, 2019). The elite carries out the practice of clientelism at the local level by distributing certain gifts in the political process that is being pursued (Aspinall & Rahman, 2017). This gift is not only in the form of money or goods but also in terms of budget and policy priorities obtained by the political elite because of the close relationship with the man in power.

It reinforces the argument that in other political channels, especially during non-election times, the public cannot influence the decision-making process by elected political officials (Ramadhan & Oley, 2019). In Indonesia, election campaigns also occur through brokerage structures linking candidates with voters by Success Team. Broker networks or the success team in Indonesia only work together during the campaign and election period. This brief collaboration was based on mutual distrust, where brokers are skeptical that the candidate will adequately reward them, nor is the candidate sure of the brokers' loyalty. Thus, a transactional electoral political system is created, placing various individual interests in agreements between groups rather than on big ideas about the people's interests.

The brokerage networks in the government structure reduce the quality

of democracy. Montesquieu and J.J. Rousseau define democracy as a political system in which the government becomes a public servant of society (civil servant). Civil servants themselves can be represented through government action in fulfilling public service, which in this case is seen from government policies in mitigating COVID-19, which is currently hitting countries worldwide, including Indonesia. Kevin Olson (2006) mentions that contemporary political thought must experience a crisis when the welfare dimension is absent in the discussion of democracy. He explained that to integrate welfare into democracy talks, the first important thing is shifting our perspective on welfare. People's welfare is not a term that is narrowly understood only in the socio-economic context but more broadly in its political dimension. Therefore, it can be understood that welfare is used as a benchmark for implementing democracy in a country (Abbas & Dompok, 2022). These two aspects are even more relevant when faced with the current reality, namely the COVID-19 pandemic.

The quality of Indonesian democracy has significantly declined, which is influenced by civil liberties and pluralism and the function of government (Economist Intelligence, 2021). The Freedom House records the Indonesian democracy index in 2024 at 57/100, with 29/40 in political rights and 28/60 in civil liberties, which is categorized as partly free.

However, apart from this fact, one area in Indonesia has the title of a tough village. The area is Banyuwangi Regency, located on the eastern tip of Java Island, directly adjacent to the sea with Bali Island. Banyuwangi Regency itself has 7 resilient villages, namely Sarongan, Sumberagung, Pesanggaran, Kedungrejo, Badean, Bangunsari, and Grajagan

Villages. The disaster-resilient village in Banyuwangi is included in the Disaster Resilient Village category, which has met the indicators as a resilient village according to Perka BNPB Number 1 of 2012. To fill the institutional lacks, gaps in disaster governance can be filled by empowering grassroots communities to be actively involved in the development process (Goyal 2019).

The existence of a disaster-resilient village is inseparable from the roles of the regional government and the central government. It is important because democracy will not work if the government is stagnant in providing public services to society. When public services perceived by the public are low, it will be certain that the democracy that runs is also low.

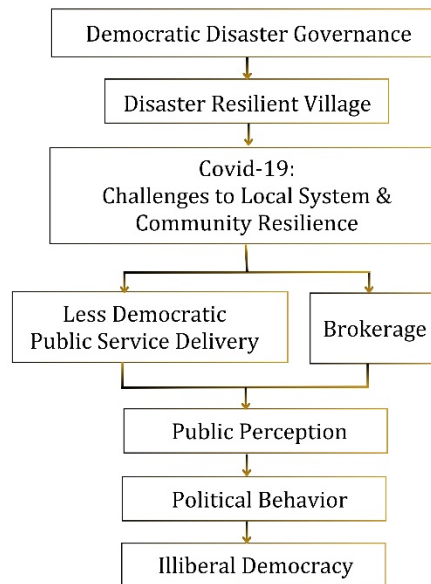
In this case, community resilience is facing a difficult situation of the COVID-19 pandemic. Where the resilience of this community is influenced by the institutional capacity of the local government to launch programs to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic (Fearly, 2020). Democracy can work well when political rights and civil liberty from each individual and community are also fulfilled properly. Based on this phenomenon, this study aims to explain the perceptions of the people of Banyuwangi on the institutional capacity of the government in mitigating COVID-19, as well as explain the quality of democracy seen from the institutional capacity of the government in the local electoral political agenda.

### **Community Resilience in Democratic Disaster Governance**

This study's concept of community resilience refers to the framework of community resilience from The International Consortium of

Organizational Resilience (ICOCR), which covers four main aspects: responsible governance, quality of life, a strong economy, and a prepared system.

**Figure 1.** Research Analytical Framework



**Source:** Processed by Authors

The resilient village becomes one of the outputs of democratic disaster governance, where the design allows inclusive participation in the recovery actions. It is included in the four pillars of disaster governance: address marginalization of local communities, institutions's transparency and accountability, strengthen disaster management institutions, and build community resilience. The use of inclusive participation in the recovery action will promote a lasting democratic outcome, providing opportunity for citizen leadership in disaster. Community struggle is needed to ensure democratic practices that are accountable, transparent, and inclusive. These democratic values have been accommodated in a BNPB Number 1 of 2012.

However, the resilience is challenged during the COVID-19 pandemic, and consequently, public service delivery also experiences several changes. The pressure during a disaster often urges the government to act quickly and ignore those democratic principles, allowing top-down responses to dominate the disaster governance (Honig, 2009). Thus, these changes influence society's perception, shaping the community's political behavior. In this case, the concept of political behavior is defined as a legitimate form of political participation, such as voting in general elections, activism in interest groups, or social movements. Orunbon (2016) states that political behavior refers to any form of involvement of an individual or group in political processes or other activities that have political consequences for government and policy. In the end, it will determine the democracy quality in Indonesia.

## **Method**

This study uses a qualitative method to explore how disaster governance in resilient villages affects the democracy quality in the Banyuwangi context. A qualitative method is used to get accurate evidence and data on the ground (Creswell & Creswell, 2023). We observed 70 respondents from three resilient villages in Banyuwangi, Genteng Kulon, Kedungrejo, and Badean villages, which were selected according to the existing clusters in the village classification. Genteng Kulon Village is categorized as the smart village that does not depend on nature for the livelihood of its inhabitants. Meanwhile, Kedungrejo Village is located in a coastal area where not all residents work as fishermen but are focused on other activities. In addition, Badean Village is located in a coastal area, but most of the

population works as farmers and ranchers. The respondents chosen were those aged 17 years and over or who already had the right to vote in elections. We also examined village officials, who were the main figures of the research subject. The in-depth interview seeks to ask the Resilient Village Community in Banyuwangi Regency questions regarding their perceptions of the government's institutional capacity in mitigating the Covid-19 pandemic. While the author does the documentation study through compiling secondary data from the local and national election databases.

## **Result and Discussion**

SNI sets five components for a disaster-resilient village: quality and access to basic services, a basic disaster management system, disaster risk management, emergency preparedness, and recovery preparedness. Disaster-resilient villages in Banyuwangi have different qualities and evaluations. Genteng Kulon Village tends to fulfill the five components of a disaster-resilient village because Genteng Kulon is classified as a non-natural disaster-resilient village. Kedungrejo Village only has basic disaster management system components and emergency preparedness. It is designated as a disaster-resilient village on a coast prone to natural disasters and fulfills one of the five components. Meanwhile, Badean Village does not have the five components of a disaster-resilient village. It is designated as a disaster-resilient village only because it is located on the coast, making it prone to natural disasters. Field results also show that people in disaster-resilient villages only understand disaster-resilient village as a label for their village, which is located in a coastal area. Several communities said they had not been involved in outreach and played a

role in disaster mitigation efforts. Some other people do not even know anything about disaster-resilient villages. It shows that the classification of disaster-resilient villages has yet to be socialized to the grassroots public.

### **Community Resilience**

Community resilience, interpreted as social resilience, is the capacity of a system to adapt and survive within a critical threshold (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Community resilience is often understood as the capacity of a social system to work together towards communal goals. In this case, community resilience is influenced by the presence of public service delivery provided by the government to the community. The community here is defined as a village that has received the "Disaster-Resilient Village" title in Banyuwangi Regency.

Disaster-resilient villages can recognize, deal with, and reduce vulnerability to natural and non-natural disasters (Ayuni & Neyasyah, 2021). One of the disasters highlighted in this study is the COVID-19 pandemic, which eliminated natural disasters and indicates a disaster-resilient village. With the COVID-19 pandemic disaster in Indonesia, especially in Banyuwangi Regency, the government had to change governance and regulations in its territory. Changes in governance and regulations made by the government to mitigate COVID-19 certainly affect public perception. The public perception that is built will influence the political behavior in the social order. Therefore, the people's political behavior will greatly affect the quality of Indonesian democracy.

Providing a disaster-resilient village program, interpreted as a form of community resilience, is something other than what greatly influences the community's ability to survive in

uncertain conditions (uncertainty). It is caused by the government's disconnection of public service delivery to the community, causing people's perceptions to remain the same. The government touts many programs that do not reach the people. One is the disaster-resilient village program, which is unknown to the villagers.

### **A. Responsible Governance**

Literature on responsible governance is often associated with stakeholders responsible for having a self-governing system that can sustain itself. The responsibility includes providing services community members need, such as transportation, electricity or energy, clean water, and communication systems. The creation of responsible governance necessarily requires rules, norms, processes, and practices to be incorporated into administrative decisions. Responsible governance systems also help develop and maintain the environment and community infrastructure. It should also be owned by regulatory agencies and representatives who humanely enforce the law. In addition, an accountable government must also have the capacity to deliver at all levels of government.

The area of governance also includes financial management to ensure funding for all necessary activities and meeting budgetary requirements in the face of changing conditions. Therefore, a resilient community always has a government system responsible for regulating and sustaining itself. This responsibility can be in the

form of the government's readiness to provide the required services.

The findings in Genteng Kulon Village show that the government has independent authority and the capacity to provide services to the community. The government also protects the public in uncertain situations and has emergency management capabilities. As a result, people are delighted with government services. Innovative village government also influences the level of community trust in government authority.

On June 6, 2022, Genteng Kulon Village was ranked first in the Development Village Index issued by the Ministry of Villages. The ranking is obtained based on three leading indices: economic resilience index, ecological/environmental resilience index, and social resilience index. The rank shows that Genteng Kulon Village has provided maximum public service facilities to its people.

Then, in Kedungrejo Village, the government authority that was built can support the responsibilities that are borne in the village. The regulations owned by Kedungrejo Village mean that this village can support itself. Providing community services owned by Kedungrejo Village proves that government capacity significantly impacts people's lives. Community services, which include community empowerment, clean water, health services, and communication systems, have been fulfilled in this village. One of the most visible community services is

the existence of 38 posyandu (Integrated Service Posts) scattered throughout the hamlets in Kedungrejo Village. Apart from that, community empowerment programs such as the PKK are also running actively in Kedungrejo Village.

The capacity of leaders to lead government authorities is also very influential in the running of government. It can be seen clearly in the leadership of the current village head. According to sources, village leadership in the current period is very different from the previous period. The personal character of the village head is protective and caring about all aspects of community life. This character makes the community happy by participating in programs implemented by the village government.

Handling a pandemic is one of the tough challenges faced by all Indonesian people, including Kedungrejo Village. The people of Kedungrejo Village initially refused to vaccinate as a government program for various reasons. However, over time, the people of this village became obedient to participate in the vaccination program. As many as 95% of the total population has been vaccinated. On the allocation side of the village budget, Kedungrejo Village allocated a minimum of 40% to mitigate COVID-19 in 2020-2021. Meanwhile, in 2022, villages will only budget a maximum of 40% of their village funds to mitigate COVID-19 because the pandemic is starting to subside.

In contrast to the situation in Badean Village, Blimbingsari District, the authority of the village government runs like a village in general. The village government allocates a budget for funds and programs. However, the budget allocation for these funds and programs has little impact on the lives of the village community due to the uneven distribution of budget funds and the implementation of programs from the village government. This inequality can be seen in Dusun Jatisari, located far from the Badean Village Office, where the community needs assistance from the village government. Apart from that, the infrastructure of Dusun Jatisari is lagging compared to other hamlets close to the village office.

In handling the COVID-19 pandemic, Badean Village is also inconsistent due to the lack of enforcement of regulations in the framework of COVID-19 mitigation. The lack of enforcement of regulations can be seen from the absence of PPKM, Covid-19 SATGAS, and Covid-19 handling posts. In addition, the distribution of BLTDD assistance to the community was also uneven. However, almost everyone in Badean Village can participate in the vaccination program.

## **B. Quality of Life**

The quality of life in a community directly affects its resilience. Communities can become vulnerable when there is internal tension due to injustice. In a resilient community, all members

who live in diversity are mutually respected. It is proved by social freedom regarding religion, freedom of speech, and choosing what to do. A resilient society will always prioritize the lives of other human beings. In addition, people have access to affordable housing, high-quality and affordable health care and education, and the freedom to believe in their religion of choice.

The findings in Genteng Kulon Village show that this village has a good quality of life. The respondents from the government stated that public services and access to health were very open and responsive. The village government is also trying to improve public health services during a pandemic by spraying disinfectants once a week, installing handwashing stations in public places, and distributing masks free of charge. In addition, in providing vaccination services during a pandemic, the village government is working with the puskesmas (public health center) to reach people who want to avoid coming directly to the health service. One way to do this is to create a "pick up the ball" mechanism. This mechanism aims to pick up the community and provide socialization about vaccines, so they want to be taken to the puskesmas and receive vaccinations. Even the health workers serve people directly in their homes.

The statement made by the government is in line with what the people of Genteng Kulon Village feel. Respondents from the Genteng

Kulon community acknowledged receiving health services quite well. The community can also access health services in the village quickly. One respondent also stated that the service they received was similar to other villages. It shows that health services in Genteng Kulon Village have generally met the standards. In addition, the people in Genteng Kulon Village are relatively diverse in terms of religion. Despite their diverse religions, the community feels no restrictions or discrimination against any one religious group. Freedom in religion supports the civil liberty of people living in the village. Thus, democratic values are well-developed with civil rights and civil liberty.

*"Covid handling is in line with government regulations, so there are no significant obstacles. The Covid facilities provided by the village are good; the obstacle is that the community cannot carry out activities as fully as it was. Public participation is high for vaccines; almost everyone has the first and second vaccines. There are also activity restrictions and the COVID task force,"* Siti Rokayyah said.

A similar condition is also found in Kedungrejo Village, where the quality of life in the community is relatively good. It can be seen from the many tribes and religions that live side by side, including the Madurese, Osing, Javanese, Bugis, and Papuans, who are harmonious in social life. The customary traditions and traditional culture of Kedungrejo Village are quite strong

and continue to be preserved by the local community. Respondents conveyed that they care about preserving the culture of their ancestors and still carry out traditional traditions regularly. One tradition still routinely carried out by the people of Kedungrejo is the picking sea ritual. This ritual aims to be a form of gratitude for the farmers for the abundant marine products. In addition, community organizations and institutions are well-developed and running, including youth organizations, family welfare empowerment (PKK), and village community empowerment institutions (LPMD). According to the statements of several respondents, the PKK in Kedungrejo also actively provided outreach and guidance to the public regarding vaccines.

In addition, the people of Kedungrejo also have good access to health services and are satisfied with the services provided by the government. It was conveyed by respondents from the community who stated that they received services and had access to good health, including vaccines. Several respondents stated that they had carried out the vaccine up to three times. However, one respondent is still afraid of being vaccinated and only has one vaccine.

Regarding services for toddlers and pregnant women, Kedungrejo Village already has a relatively high quality of service. Respondents from posyandu administrators stated that there were many posyandu services, as evidenced by 34 posyandu in Kedungrejo village. These



Posyandu serve 2,800 toddlers spread across Kedungrejo Village and include counseling on family planning, with services once a month. The community itself is enthusiastic about Posyandu services in Kedungrejo. Meanwhile, in handling the pandemic, the people of Kedungrejo have complied with government regulations in implementing the vaccination program to mitigate COVID-19. Apart from that, the Kedungrejo Village government also sprayed disinfectants in residential areas and public places.

Furthermore, in Badean Village, most people are from the Osing tribe. The Osing tribe is a native of the Banyuwangi area, which still exists in certain sub-districts in the Banyuwangi Regency. The quality of life in the Badean Village community is also quite good. It shows where people's lives are in harmony with one another. Access to education in the Badean area has also developed well. According to respondents, Badean Village has ten schools, including three kindergartens, two elementary schools, three junior high schools, two Islamic elementary schools, and two Islamic boarding schools.

Regarding health services in Badean Village, some people feel they are pretty good, especially regarding vaccination services. The community is quite enthusiastic about being vaccinated, and there has never been a shortage of vaccine supplies. However, researchers obtained interesting findings regarding health services in Badean village. One respondent

stated that he was still dissatisfied with the health services in Badean village, especially at the puskesmas. Respondents regretted that the performance of health services at the puskesmas was not responsive and not time-disciplined; they are supposed to open at 8 in the morning but often open later because employees are still having breakfast. In addition, the village government stated that the COVID-19 task force and post in Badean village had been divided into each hamlet and even down to the RT. However, this statement is contrary to what is conveyed by the community. They complained that during the pandemic, there was no formation of a Covid task force and no Covid post.

### **C. Economic Strength**

All societies need health and economic development to achieve prosperity. A healthy economic system depends on the ease of business, public transportation systems, economic networks, energy efficiency, and real estate costs. It also relies on having access to finance and resources, both financial and physical, and maintaining the value of the currency. There is a need for policy adjustments implemented by the government to meet the distribution of access to finance and resources. One strategy that can be applied is directly and indirectly changing income distribution (Nirwana et al., 2022). Adjusting these regulations can measure success through the public's response to government

policies in fulfilling people's welfare.

In Genteng Kulon Village, we refocus the budget from the village government and examine how it affects the intensity of pandemic handling. The participation of local entrepreneurs also influences the quality of community services in Genteng Kulon Village. Apart from that, the economic turnover in Genteng Kulon Village is also one of the central pillar sectors. As a result, the community's trust in the village government is greatly influenced by the village government's development efforts in empowering MSMEs (micro, small, and medium enterprises).

Based on our interviews, there are differences between the statements of the village government and civil society. During the pandemic, the community admitted that they had never received any assistance from the government. Economic conditions have declined drastically due to reduced income and business without customers during COVID-19. One respondent said that his boarding house business was empty and uninhabited.

However, respondents stated that Badean Village had become a developed village, was full of activities with good infrastructure, and had no corrupt practices.

On the other hand, respondents who served as village officials in Badean Village gave different statements from the community. The village government stated that several programs and assistance

mechanisms aimed to improve the community's economic level during the pandemic. These programs are implemented with the support of specially allocated village budgets, such as the Village Fund Cash Direct Assistance (BLTDD) and Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) programs in the form of groceries. The BLTDD program itself is an assistance mechanism to restore the economy. Apart from that, economic recovery is also being carried out through the food security program, in which the government allocates funds to assist people who want to be self-employed or continue their businesses, which were stopped during the pandemic.

In this case, the village government is also the distributor of programs held by the district government, the implementation of which still refers to the village budget allocation itself. Finally, the respondent, a village apparatus, added that the village government even asked for donations from local entrepreneurs to help assist residents affected by COVID-19. This action is one of the village government's efforts to secure the economy of its people.

Then, we move on to the second village, Kedungrejo Village, located on the coast, where most of the population works as fishermen, and their income depends on natural products. The existence of fishing docks and fish collectors is the main livelihood of this village. Apart from that, many of the people of Kedungrejo Village also work as Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI), so there are village officials who specifically handle the

mobilization of immigrants from the Kedungrejo Village community. During the pandemic, the Village Fund Budget (ADD) regulation allocated 40% to deal with the Covid-19 virus pandemic.

Based on our interview, there are interesting findings from the statements made by civil society and the village government. One respondent, a civilian, said he did not know about assistance from the government during the Covid-19 pandemic. Then, another respondent said that he did not receive assistance from the government because he did not have a beneficiary card. According to the respondents' information from the village head, beneficiary cards were only given to less fortunate people. In addition, some respondents stated that there was indeed an assistance program from the government for people who deserved assistance, namely through possessing a PKH card, which could be exchanged for cash (not valid if the child is already in college) or groceries. During the pandemic, the assistance often received was in the form of rice.

Meanwhile, respondents who are village officials themselves said that their party had changed budget allocations and ceilings and launched specific programs to mitigate the economic impact of COVID-19 on the community. During the pandemic, various kinds of assistance came from the central, provincial, and district governments. The central government, for example, through the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos), assists in the form of

gifts. In addition, the provincial government also assists, especially for farmers and fishermen. Meanwhile, the district government distributes assistance collected from a certain percentage of ASN salaries, which are then given to each village.

Finally, Badean Village has agricultural land and water. Initially, the people's livelihoods in Badean Village focused on the agricultural sector. However, as time passes, the people of Badean Village are more focused on the water sector as a livelihood. Although livelihoods are refocused on the water sector, the agricultural sector is still the livelihood of some residents in Badean Village. The Badean Village Government has also budgeted assistance funds for the community. One of the aids is in the form of goats and their cages to create jobs for the people of Badean Village. However, in reality, the people of Badean Village did not get this assistance.

*"None; I did not get any assistance from the government during the pandemic; I did not even receive an assistance-recipient card; I wonder how come the one with a better house building was assisted,"* Siti Rodiyah said.

#### **D. A Prepared System**

A robust crisis management system is needed to support the efforts of local police, firefighters, and other emergency personnel. Preparedness also requires communities to build networks and partnerships with other communities, government

agencies, and the organizations they serve, both in the public and private sectors. Achieving a disaster-resilient state requires a high level of knowledge from all elements of society about how to protect themselves and be better prepared when facing a disaster and uncertain conditions.

A series of existing systems in the government of Genteng Kulon Village also support the effectiveness of providing village government services. The Smart Kampung innovation is a form of digitizing community services developed in Genteng Kulon Village. The Smart Kampung design makes information related to the COVID-19 pandemic disaster management into one door. In addition, Genteng Kulon Village also provides services in the form of assistance to communities affected by natural and non-natural disasters. One example is the participation of people who work as entrepreneurs to help meet community needs in the form of staple goods. However, several respondents from the community stated that they had not been involved in disaster mitigation.

Community life during a pandemic is very vulnerable. It can be seen in emergencies where villages are required to move quickly in dealing with uncertain situations. Community resilience can also be seen in the readiness of strong emergency management to handle uncertain situations. The existence of a disinfecting program for the houses of Kedungrejo Village residents is a form of readiness for the village

government to mitigate COVID-19. In addition, in Kedungrejo Village, a Destana (Resilient Disaster Village) was formed starting in 2012. According to one respondent, the formation of the Destana in Kedungrejo was due to several floods in the village. So, the government made an effort to report this problem to the district government and followed up with the formation of Destana. Over time, Destana deals with not only natural disasters but also non-natural disasters. Destana Kedungrejo is also often asked for help from other villages. It is a form of togetherness between communities. The village government also installed a tsunami detection siren as a facility in Destana for disaster mitigation efforts. Some of the Kedungrejo people already know about Destana, but some do not know about Destana in their village. Most Kedungrejo people also stated that they had never been involved in a disaster mitigation program. Respondents from the government also acknowledged this statement. However, the community welcomes and supports Destana's programs quite well.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Badean Village government implemented the Community-Based Disaster Preparedness (CBAT) program, which was a program from the Banyuwangi Regency Government. One of the respondents from the village government explained that in 2015/2016, the village of Badean became a pilot project of Norway's cooperation with PMI. Then, CBAT

was formed, and every time there was an activity from PMI, CBAT was involved. The village administration stated that Badean Village had been equipped with sirens to detect a potential tsunami. They said the community also received risk and disaster preparedness training through CBAT. However, in its implementation, the community-based disaster preparedness program implemented by the Badean Village government did not reach the community directly. Several respondents from the community revealed that they had never received training on disaster mitigation from the government or CBAT. So, the government of Badean Village does not provide good service facilities to its people. Thus, civil rights in the context of democracy in Badean society are less fulfilled.

### **Political Behavior: Extensive Brokerage and the 2024 Regional Election**

Political behavior refers to people who can influence and be influenced by political conditions. Political behavior is an action against authority in general and the government in particular, where one of the visible political behaviors is elections and voting. In the practice of political behavior, there are democratic and authoritarian practices. In an ideal democratic practice, political behavior becomes a parameter that determines people's participation in the political agenda. In Indonesia, people's political behavior is still contaminated by bribery, vote-buying, broker-buying, and identity politics (Mietzner, 2020). Indonesia's formal democratic institutions are still

vulnerable to patrimonial manipulation in the context of oligarchic competition and the struggle to decentralize power and governance.

The case in Indonesia shows that democratic institutions are still attached to the practice of clientelism. Clientelism is not a characteristic that only occurs in democratic government systems. However, clientelism finds its place in the dynamics of democracy. In other words, there is a negligible space in the practice of democracy in Indonesia. Clientelism is a problem that continues to strengthen in political discourse, mainly because of the wave of democratization that has occurred so far.

Research conducted by Allen Hicken (2022) shows that many brokers, such as village officials and community leaders, come from circles that influence society. Hicken also mentioned that brokers often come from those closest to them, such as relatives, neighbors, and organizational influence. Based on an explanation of the broker practice that utilizes democratic space, we draw the meaning that the quality of democracy in Indonesia can be analyzed through people's perceptions of government capabilities. Based on research conducted in a disaster-resilient village in Banyuwangi Regency, an analysis shows that the community trusts the government in carrying out political practices. This was proved when we questioned the practice of elections within the village scope, where elections were still held regularly without significant problems. We found that people in disaster-resilient villages in Banyuwangi Regency tend to have indifferent political behavior regarding the political process in their village. When giving answers, they gave normative answers and lacked detail regarding the political process in the village.

Referring to what Mesquita et al. (2003) called a selectorate theory in the political survival logic where leaders can use economic incentives to maintain their power, what happens in Banyuwangi is likely to be less liberal. In a large coalition system such as a democracy, more lives are saved during a disaster by prioritizing public goods delivery to the citizens, thus enabling incumbents to secure their position. Meanwhile, a small coalition or autocratic state is the opposite. However, Banyuwangi, with a large coalition system, instead shows autocratic practices as small coalitions do: retain public goods for their coalitions rather than protect the citizens. Consequently, many people died: Banyuwangi ranked among the ten districts in East Java with the highest number of deaths related to COVID-19 (BPS, 2022), while East Java is the first province with the highest COVID-19 deaths in Indonesia in 2022.

Therefore, the incumbent's large coalition system with the small coalition-disaster policy should make Ipuk suffer from anti-government movement. However, the reality shows the opposite, where Ipuk remains in the office until today. Furthermore, she is nominated as the single candidate (insofar) for the 2024-2029 regional election period, and rival parties in the 2020 election, such as Democrats and Golkar, started to be in the same coalition for this year's election.

**Table 1.** Party Coalition in Banyuwangi Regional Election

2020 Regional Election	
Ipuk Fiestandani and Sugirah	Rival (Yusuf Widyatmoko and Muhammad Riza Azizy)
PDIP	PKB
Nasdem	Democrat
PPP	Golkar
Hanura	PKS
Gerindra	
Other non-parliamentary parties...	
2024 Regional Election	
Incumbent (Ipuk Fiestandani) and Mujiono	have not yet decided on a candidate
Nasdem	PKB
Democrat	
Golkar	
PPP	
Gerindra	
PDIP	

Source: Processed by Author from Mukaromah, 2020; Oktavia, 2024; Sumarsono, 2024; and Kabar Banyuwangi, 2024, on 26 August 2024.

This anomaly strengthens the proof of illiberal democratic practices in the region, where leaders with clientelist practices tend to endure in the office. The entrenched brokerage is indicated in the inconsistency between local government and civil society where they are asked about the COVID-19 aids. The provision of effective public goods and services should be a priority to maintain the political leader in office, but the ineffective distribution still enables it to happen.

The Resilient Village and disaster governance during COVID-19 seem to favor Ipuk's popularity among the people. Apart from several unsatisfactory aspects of aid distribution, brokerage networks, and the high death rate from COVID-19, political behavior in the three villages does not show any negative means. Therefore, supporting Ipuk's electability remains high for the upcoming regional election in November 2024. Finally, this condition shows that even though the disaster governance during COVID-19 has ended,

the electoral effects remain developing on the ground.

### Conclusion

Based on public perception of government performance in mitigating COVID-19, it can be concluded that public satisfaction is influenced by four indicators of community resilience, namely institutional capacity (responsible governance), quality of life (quality of life), economic strength (strong economy), as well as system preparedness in facing uncertain conditions (a prepared system). Disaster Resilient Village, which has yet to provide and distribute public service equally in society, ultimately forms an unfavorable perception of the community towards government institutions, given the lack of public satisfaction with government services in mitigating COVID-19.

Thus, disaster-resilient village is said to be only a claim because of the many facts found in the field, namely the programs the government has implemented and said have not been felt by the community. Unequal public perception of public service delivery provided by the government implies the increasingly flawed quality of Indonesian democracy. Given that the fulfillment of civil rights has not been implemented properly in practice. Even though the unsatisfactory attitude towards government institutions during COVID-19 does not seem to challenge the electability of the current regent, the result of it will still affect their preference in this year's electoral agenda.

### Acknowledgments

The Authors would like to send our gratitude to everyone who helped us during the process of the article. Thank you for the valuable input and suggestion.

### References

- Abbas, A., & Dompok, T. (2022). Dampak Demokrasi terhadap Kesejahteraan (Studi Kasus di Indonesia). *Dialektika Publik*, 6(2).
- Aspinall, E., & Hicken, A. (2019). Guns for Hire and Enduring Machines: Clientelism Beyond Parties in Indonesia and the Philippines. *Democratization Journal*, pp. 137–156.
- Aspinall, E., & Rahman, N. (2017). Village Head Elections in Java: Money Politics and Brokerage in the Remaking of Indonesia's Rural Elite. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, pp. 31–52.
- Ayuni, Q., & Neyasyah, M. S. (2021). Urgensi Pembentukan Peraturan Desa Tangguh Bencana Di Desa Karang Anyar, Kabupaten Lebong. *University of Bengkulu Law Journal*, 6(1), 99-113.
- Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2012). Community Resilience: Toward an Integrated Approach. *Society and Natural Resources an International Journal*, 5-20.
- BPS Provinsi Jawa Timur. (2022, November 10). *Kasus Kumulatif Covid-19 Menurut Kabupaten/Kota di Provinsi Jawa Timur*. Retrieved from <https://jatim.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/1/MjQwNCMx/kasus-kumulatif-covid-19-menurut-kabupaten-kota-di-provinsi-jawa-timur-2021.html>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell J. D. (2023). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Fearly, G. (2020). Jokowi in The Covid-19 Era: Repressive Pluralism, Dynasticism, and The Overbeating State. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 56(3), 301–323.
- Freedom House. (n.d.). Retrieved from Freedom in the World Research Methodology; from <https://freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology>
- Goyal, N. (2019). Disaster Governance and Community Resilience: The Law and the Role of SDMAs. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Management*, 1(2), 61-75. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.18485/ijdr.m.2019.1.2.5>
- Honig, B. (2009). *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ICOR. Community Resilience Framework. [www.build-resilience.org](http://www.build-resilience.org). Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <https://www.build-resilience.org/>
- Kabar Banyuwangi. (2024, August 26). *Jika PKB Terlambat Ambil Sikap, Petahana Semakin Leluasa Menangi Pilkada Banyuwangi 2024*. Retrieved from <https://kabarbanyuwangi.co.id/jika-pkb-terlambat-ambil-sikap-petahana-semakin-leluasa-menangi-pilkada-banyuwangi-2024>
- Mesquita, r. B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., & Morrow., J. D. (2003). *The Logic of Political Survival The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/4292.001.0001>
- Mietzner, M. (2020). Authoritarian Innovations in Indonesia: Electoral Narrowing, Identity Politics and Executive Illiberalism. *Democratization*, 27(6), 1021–1036.
- Mercy Corps. (2013). Retrieved from resilience: <https://www.mercycorps.org/what-we-do/resilience>
- Mukaromah, K. (2020). *FAKTOR KETERPILIHAN IPUK FIESTIANDANI DALAM PILKADA KABUPATEN BANYUWANGI TAHUN 2020: KONTEKSTUALITAS PATRONASE POLITIK DAN TRANSFORMASI SOSIAL*. Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro.
- Nirwana, K. P., Sakir, & Sutan, A. J. (2022). Analisis Kebijakan BLT Dan Desa dalam Upaya Penanganan Covid-19 pada Sektor Desa. *JIIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 7(2), 137-150.
- Oktavia, H. (2024, August 12). *Pilkada Banyuwangi, Ipuk Fiestiandani Resmi Didukung Lima Partai*. Retrieved from [tvonenews.com](http://tvonenews.com): <https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/235725-pilkada-banyuwangi-ipuk-fiestiandani-resmi-didukung-lima-partai>
- Olson, K. (2006). *Reflexive Democracy: Political Equality and the Welfare State (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)*. United States: The MIT Press.
- Orunbon, N. O. (2016). *Political Behaviour*. Department of Educational Management. Lagos State University, Ojo, Nigeria.
- Peraturan Kepala Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana Nomor 1 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pedoman Umum Desa/Kelurahan Tangguh Bencana. Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana.



- Ramadhan, M. N., & Oley, J. D. (2019). Klientelisme sebagai Perilaku Koruptif dan Demokrasi Banal. *Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 169-180.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (2003). *Capitalism, Socialism, & Democracy*. Routledge.
- BPS Provinsi Jawa Timur. (2022, November 10). *Kasus Kumulatif Covid-19 Menurut Kabupaten/Kota di Provinsi Jawa Timur*. Retrieved from <https://jatim.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/1/MjQwNCMx/kasus-kumulatif-covid-19-menurut-kabupaten-kota-di-provinsi-jawa-timur-2021.html>
- Goyal, N. (2019). Disaster Governance and Community Resilience: The Law and the Role of SDMAs. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Management*, 1(2), 61-75. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.18485/ijdr.m.2019.1.2.5>
- Honig, B. (2009). *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mesquita, r. B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., & Morrow, J. D. (2003). *The Logic of Political Survival The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/4292.001.0001>
- Sumarsono. (2024, August 22). *PDI-P Resmi Usung Ipuk Fiestiandani dan Mujiono di Pilkada Banyuwangi*. Retrieved from Radio Republik Indonesia: <https://www.rri.co.id/pilkada-2024/922226/pdi-p-resmi-usung-ipuk-fiestiandani-dan-mujiono-di-pilkada-banyuwangi>
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. (2021). *Democracy Index in 2020 in Sickness and in Health*. The Economist Press.
- Wade, I. O. (1976). Rousseau and Democracy. *The French Review*, XLIX(6), 926-937.