

RESEARCH REPORT

**The Grassroots Mutual Aid
Practice During Pandemic in Indonesia:
A Community of Practice (CoP) Study Case**

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

APBN	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara, State Budget
BLT	Bantuan Langsung Tunai, direct cash assistance
BNPB	Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana, The National Disaster Management Agency
DTKS	Data Terpadu Kesejahteraan Sosial, Integrated Social Welfare Data System
FBLP	Federasi Buruh Lintas Pabrik, Cross Factory Women Workers Federation
FNKSDA	Front Nahdliyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam, Nahdliyin Front for Natural Resources Sovereignty
GESLA	Gerakan Solidaritas Lumbung Agraria, Agrarian Food Granary Solidarity Movement
Gotong Royong	Mutual aid
ILO	International Labour Organization
JPRI	Jaringan Pekerja Rumahan Indonesia, Indonesian Homeworkers Network
KASBI	Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia, Confederation of Indonesian Trade Union Alliance Congress
KBN Cakung	Kawasan Berikat Nusantara, an industrial zone in Cakung, in Jakarta city
Kepmenkes	Decree of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia
KLA	Koperasi Lumbung Agraria, Agrarian Food Granary Cooperative
KPA	Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, Consortium for Agrarian Reform
KPBI	Konfederasi Persatuan Buruh Indonesia, Confederation of United Indonesian Workers
KPP	Komunitas Pemuda Petamburan, Petamburan Youth Community
KSN	Konfederasi Serikat Nasional, Confederation of National Union
KUR	Kredit Usaha Rakyat, credit stimulus for micro and small enterprises
MARSINAH FM	A community radio managed by FBLP union
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan, Family Hope Program
Polri	Kepolisian Republik Indonesia, The Indonesian National Police
Pre-Employment Cards	A social assistance program by the central government for workers in search of a job
PSBB	Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar, Large-Scale Social Restriction
Srikandi Pasundan	LGBT group in Bandung City
SSB	Solidaritas Sosial Bandung, Bandung Social Solidarity
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Army
TURC	Trade Union Rights Centre

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BACKGROUND

1.1. Indonesia Initial Response to COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has left many countries in an extraordinary crisis situation. Apart from the unpredictable nature of the pandemic, this crisis was also the result of its very rapid spread across borders and countries. Efforts made by the state in such a crisis situation are implementing martial law at various levels according to their needs, and carrying out mitigation and policies to encourage prevention efforts.¹

The COVID-19 outbreak has urged many countries to implement state crisis management, such as in Japan and Vietnam. As a first step, the main focus of a crisis management strategy in handling COVID-19 is the health sector. However, in the Indonesian context, when the COVID-19 pandemic broke out in Wuhan, the first response by the Indonesian government through the Minister of Health was to reject Harvard University's research recommendations regarding early detection as a base to formulate the public health prevention policies. In contrast, the government focused more on the economic impact. This can be seen from the statement of President Joko Widodo who asked the staff to prepare monetary and fiscal instruments to strengthen the resilience and competitiveness of the country. As well, the president emphasised maximising the activities of domestic conferences, Meetings, Incentives, Conventions and Exhibition (MICE), and increased promotions for tourists looking for alternative destinations due to the cancellation of visits to countries contaminated with COVID-19 at that time, such as China, Japan and Korea.

In many countries during the pandemic, policies promote closure for human traffic. In Indonesia, however, the government poured a budget of IDR 103 billion for tourism promotion, 25 billion for developing tourism destinations, and 72 billion for influencers in order to drive the increase of tourists to Indonesia at the time.

1.2. Problem Context

The Indonesian government has taken various measures through the social safety net policy to help the economy of the people that are affected in direct or indirect ways, as well as to break the chain of COVID-19, which has impacts on health and socio-economic conditions.

¹ Sri Yanuarti, 'Evaluasi Manajemen Krisis Negara dalam Penanganan Pandemi COVID-19,' <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-2/politik-nasional/1402-evaluasi-manajemen-krisis-negara-dalam-penanganan-pandemi-covid-19>

One of the policies taken by the government in preventing the economic impact of the COVID spread is implementing a social safety net, by providing a direct cash transfer scheme to the poor, providing pre-work cards, subsidizing wages for workers and reducing the basic electricity tariff for the poor community. poor.²

However, in reality, the crisis management implementation conducted by the government through the social safety net to tackle the spread of COVID-19 is ineffective in its application. This is apparent from the ongoing debate among stakeholders and the public, with topics including:

- 1) The implementation of the Pre-Employment Card policy with suspected conditions of corruption, collusion and nepotism due to the alleged involvement of the President's special staff in the implementation of the Pre-Employment Program. This program converts individual incentives of IDR 3.5 million into online training, which is seen as ineffective during a pandemic, as most of the community's need is for fresh money, not online training.³
- 2) Direct assistance for the deaf through social assistance schemes. In implementation, much of the assistance was not right on target. This was a result of data errors, conflicts of interest, and inappropriate recipient data that caused jealousy and social injustice among community members,⁴ particularly in the regions.⁵
- 3) Free electricity subsidy policy and 50% discount on electricity rates to ease the burden on the community⁶ is also appreciated, despite the implementation not being on target. The result is that the National Electricity Provider Company does not have access to the Integrated Social Welfare Data System (DTKS) to identify a number of poor households and small businesses.

² Agus Wibowo, 'Social Safety Nets Reduce the Economic Impact of Communities Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic,' Covid19.go.id April 16, 2020 [online], <https://covid19.go.id/p/berita/jaring-social-safety-reduce-economic-impact-society-in-the-mid-pandemic-covid-19>

³ 'Pre-Employment Card Scandal, Elite Toys Sacking State Money,' Law-justice.co April 27, 2020 [online], <https://www.law-justice.co/artikel/85540/skandal-kartu-prakerja-mainan-elite-money-waging-country>

⁴ Sri Yanuarti, 'Evaluation of State Crisis Management in Handling the COVID-19 Pandemic,' Political Research Center - LIPI 29 May 2020 [online], <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-2/politics-national/1402-evaluation-management-crisis-countries-handling-pandemic-covid-19>

⁵ Eko Wahyudi, 'During the Covid-19 Pandemic, the Ombudsman Received 1,346 Complaints on Social Assistance,' Tempo.co 6 August 2020 [online], <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1372937/selama-pandemi-covid-19-ombudsman-receive-1-346-complaints-social-assistance-questions>

⁶ Nuranisa Hamdan, 'The PLN Electricity Subsidy is Extended, Who Can Get It?' Tagar.id 2 July 2020 [online], <https://www.tagar.id/subsidi-listrik-pln-diperpanjang-siapa-yang-dapat>

The program policies issued in conjunction with the implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) policy shows the inability of the government to protect its people, and one action for survival is a civil society connection. Mutual aid (gotong royong) is a term that has been around for a long time. It is a voluntary effort for a form of social solidarity action that indirectly forms a smaller system of social safety networks and provides many benefits amid policy and social uncertainties. Collective support from the community itself is a practical idea that operates in a guided or organised manner, or even moves without leadership; there is no specific directory that reviews the practice of grassroots communities in providing collective support for each other to survive during the COVID-19 crisis. These community practices are ubiquitous and scattered in nearly all regions of Indonesia.

Departing from the above problems, the purpose of this study is to address the following key questions:

- 1) How do the grassroot organizations build social resilience in the period of Large-Scale Social restriction policy amidst a pandemic?
- 2) What are the actions of grassroots communities when facing a pandemic, and amid the uncertainty of social protection provided by the Indonesian government?

1.3. Methodology

The research uses a case study approach, with the aim of descriptively exploring the behaviour and experiences or actions of a phenomenon that occurs or is experienced by an individual or group of people. In other words, this research is a qualitative descriptive study that aims to describe precisely the characteristics of individuals, situations, symptoms, or certain groups in society.

Primary data sources include semi-structured interviews with key individuals or groups, and observations to record the process of the subject's behaviour patterns and actions without question or interaction with the target group. This study uses purposive sampling by determining certain criteria that are in accordance with the research objectives. The criteria in this study are grassroots organisations that have a mutual cooperation practice during the implementation period of the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) policy in Indonesia from February to May 2020.

Furthermore, this study is limited to a description of the practices used by the grassroots community in carrying out mutual cooperation during the emergency or crisis period due to the rapid spread of the virus. In particular, the study focuses on community members in the Jakarta

area with the highest virus transmission rate, and Bandung City as the capital of West Java province, with the second rate of virus transmission after Jakarta province. The study is conducted from July to August 2020.

2. COUNTRY OVERVIEW DURING THE PANDEMIC

2.1. State Crisis Management Policies

The coronavirus arose at the end of December 2019, and the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) declared an emergency response from January 28, 2020 to February 28, 2020. Due to the scale of the virus spread, the emergency status was extended to May 29, 2020. However, when the spread of the virus was categorised as a national disaster, the central or regional governments had not yet established an emergency status.⁷

The only policy related to mitigation and handling the COVID-19 in the health aspect is the issuance of a Decree of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (Kepmenkes). Taking effect on March 2, 2020, this decree concerned the determination of the coronavirus infection as a disease that can cause an outbreak and its prevention. However, President Jokowi received a lot of criticism when trying to implement a civil emergency along with regional quarantine to tackle the spread of the coronavirus. The government is considered to limit community activities with more authority, with less responsibility. The health quarantine law encourages the government to bear the living costs of quarantined people, and allegedly this is what the government wants to avoid. While in general the regional quarantine and civil emergency have similarities in terms of limiting community activities in public places, the two approaches are different. Civil emergency uses a state security approach, whereas regional quarantine uses a health approach.

On March 13, 2020, the government formed a Response Acceleration Task Force for the handling of COVID-19 to coordinate interagency activities, and to prevent and mitigate the impact of COVID-19. The task force also serves as the government's main reference for all information related to COVID-19, within the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) by involving ministries, institutions and other government units such as the Ministry of Health, the Indonesian National Police (Polri), the Indonesian National Army (TNI), and local

⁷ 'BNPB Extends Coronavirus Emergency Status: Already on a National Scale,' CNNIndonesia.com 17 March 2020 [online], <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200317181635-20-484298/bnpb-perpanjang-status-darurat-corona-already-national-scale>

governments. The establishment of the task force is considered positive by many people, because the task force can overcome differences among government elites who often differ on COVID-19-related issues.⁸

As the number of COVID-19 sufferers increases, the government has begun to implement stricter policies in an effort to prevent the transmission of the virus, known as Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB). In essence, it is an effort to restrict human traffic to reduce the spread of COVID-19, especially those caused by local transmission. Local governments who determine the PSBB policy are required to obtain approval from the Ministry of Health. In other words, the government does not implement PSBB nationally, but on a local scale, and the role of the government through the Ministry of Health is limited to granting permits. Permits are regulated through Government Regulation concerning Large-Scale Social Restrictions on March 31, 2020.

2.2. Fiscal Policy to Tackle COVID-19

The Indonesian government has implemented comprehensive fiscal and monetary policies to deal with COVID-19. In the fiscal sector, the government has implemented a policy of refocusing activities and budget reallocation. These monetary and fiscal instruments were legalised in the form of government regulations concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability Policy for Handling CoronaVirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Pandemic.

One of the fiscal and monetary policies undertaken by the government is to carry out a policy of refocusing activities and budget reallocation. All ministers and regional-level leaders were instructed by the president to accelerate the refocusing of activities and reallocation of budget and procurement services in dealing with COVID-19.

The form of fiscal support issued by the government for handling the coronavirus is around 2.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP). IDR 8.5 trillion was issued in the first stimulus and IDR 22.5 trillion with an additional budget of IDR 405.1 trillion in the second stimulus.⁹

⁸ Dwi Aditya Putra, 'The Amount of Stimulus in Handling Corona Indonesia Is Far Less Than Malaysia,' Liputan6.com 21 April 2020 [online], <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4233241/besar-stimulus-panganan-corona-indonesia-lost-far-compared-malaysia>

⁹ Pipit Eka Ramadhani, 'Complete Details of IDR 405 Trillion Stimulus to Overcome the Impact of Corona,' Liputan6.com March 31, 2020 [online], <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4216043/r-Details-Complete-stimulus-rp-405-trillion-to-overcome-corona-impact>

The additional expenditure and financing allocations in the 2020 State Budget (APBN) to handle coronavirus outbreaks amounted to IDR 405.1 trillion. The budget allocation amounted to IDR 75 trillion for the health sector. This fund will be used for the protection of health workers, especially for the purchase of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and medical equipment needed according to Ministry of Health standards.

For the social sector, as much as IDR 110 trillion rupiah has been allocated for social protection programs implemented in the form of a social safety net, including a budget for food assistance for the poor for 9 months, pre-employment cards, subsidized electricity rates and incentives for small and medium enterprises.

Furthermore, the provision of electricity subsidies for 450 volts will be free for three months, and 900-volt-ampere customers will be subject to a 50% discount. IDR 25 trillion will be allocated to meet basic needs as well as market and logistics operations. Lastly, amounting to IDR 70, 1 trillion will be allocated for fiscal incentives and credit stimulus for micro and small enterprises (KUR).¹⁰

2.3. Social Protection Policy Response to COVID-19

Social protection is vital in maintaining the level of social welfare, but still there is much procedural injustice related to social protection perceived by the poor, or for workers to avoid industrial strife in past pandemics. One form of this injustice is the absence of data on the poor, and difficulty for terminated workers to obtain their right to health or social security.

The social safety net's budget allocation policy amounts to IDR 110 trillion as part of the social assistance scheme, and the central government has detailed the distribution of social protection programs into six parts:

- 1) the Family Hope Program (PKH) has been distributed IDR 26.57 trillion for 10 million poor-family groups (KPM);
- 2) food cards (Sembako) have been distributed IDR 26.9 trillion for 19.21 million poor-family groups (KPM);
- 3) food cards (Sembako) in the Jabodetabek area have been distributed IDR 3.21 trillion for 1.89 million poor-family groups;

¹⁰ Edi Suwiknyo, 'For the sake of recovering consumption, the absorption of social protection is encouraged,' *Bisnis.com* 12 August 2020 [online], <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20200812/9/1278145/demi-kumsi-pulih-absorption-social-protection-boosted>

- 4) pre-employment cards have been distributed IDR 2.41 trillion with a reach of 680,922 participants;
- 5) non-cash social assistance for special areas in the Jabodetabek have been distributed IDR 16.45 trillion for 9.14 million poor-families; and
- 6) distribution of direct village fund cash assistance worth IDR 8.94 trillion for 7.55 million poor-families.¹¹

However, the realisation of social protection still leaves problems and challenges at the implementation level, including the government's plan to target as many as 8.3 million beneficiaries.¹² The social conditions before the Eid Mubarak holidays are still felt in various regions in Indonesia, because distribution is carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Villages revealed that there are 38 districts/cities where distribution of direct cash assistance has not been implemented at all due to technical problems such as inaccurate data collection, difficult to reach places of residence, slow and convoluted bureaucracy, and due to political factors. For instance, village heads may marginalise potential recipients because they did not vote for them during the election for the head of village.¹³

Social assistance distribution is uneven and not on target, and it has created the potential for corruption by local governments. One example of potential corruption is regional governments neglecting to update their community data, so there is potential for fictitious or duplicate data.¹⁴ Therefore, the realisation of social protection is being declared unfair, creating gaps and jealousy at the community level and public distrust of the government. Henceforth, people are taking a stance to find alternative ways to survive.

2.4. Recent Political Context

The political conditions during the second period of the Jokowi regime, before the coronavirus pandemic, have been a turning point for democracy. This condition is reflected in the

¹¹ Angga Laraspati, 'Uneven Social Assistance, This is Defense from the Ministry of Social Affairs,' Detik.com 20 May 2020 [online], <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5022166/bantuan-social-tak-evenly-this-defense-from-the-Ministry-of-Social-Affairs>

¹² Soraya Novika, 'Myriad Problems 'Stagnating' BLT Village Fund: From Technical to Political,' Detikfinance.com 29 May 2020 [online], <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-5033554/myriad-problems-stagnation-blt-village-funds-from-technical-to-politics>

¹³ Pipit Ika Ramadhani, 'Corona Social Assistance Is Not Right on Target, KPK Blames Local Government,' Liputan6.com 16 May 2020, [online], <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4255749/bansos-corona-tak-Right-target-kpk-blame-local-governments>

¹⁴ Adam Prawira, '8 Controversial Discourses and Policies in the Middle of the Corona Pandemic,' Sindonews.com 4 July 2020 [online], <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/90214/12/8-wacana-dan-policy-controversial-in-the-middle-pandemic-corona-1593835625>

government's efforts to issue various controversial policies, which are widely criticised by the public. The controversial policies that occurred prior to the pandemic are:

- 1) revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission, which aims to weaken the corruption eradication institution;
- 2) the Criminal Code revision, which opens opportunities for the intervention of state interests in the private sphere; and
- 3) the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, with its many aspects to seek to benefit investors over the working class or other marginalised groups who depend on natural resources for their livelihoods.

At the time of the coronavirus pandemic, the political ecosystem was marked by a strengthened role of government in dealing with the crisis. There is a tendency to play out the role of the ruler, whether for reasons related to disasters, wars or other crises. In the name of restoring the crisis, the government acts in a way it deems important, including bolstering its many rights and privileges, such as by making various rules that are restrictive, discretionary or even repressive. State-specific rules can enter the private sphere at once and policies can be unilaterally implemented.

The controversial policies made during the pandemic by the Jokowi administration include:¹⁵

- 1) increasing health insurance contributions by 100% in the midst of a pandemic;
- 2) establishing government regulations related to state financial policies;
- 3) discourse on the implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) accompanied by a civil emergency;
- 4) prohibition to return to hometown during the Eid Mubarak holidays, to prevent virus spread;
- 5) pre-employment cards were converted into online training activities for unemployed and laid off workers. The polemic is in the appointment of online training service providers who are part of the presidential staff;
- 6) prisoner release policies; and
- 7) online transportation policies that only allowed the transportation of goods.

In addition, human rights defenders often experience repressive actions by law enforcement officials in expressing opinions or criticisms of the government through online channels or in

¹⁵ Julio Achmadi, 'Silencing of Activists during the Pandemic,' Tempo.co 10 August 2020 [online], <https://kolom.tempo.co/read/1374148/pembungkaman-aktivis-di-masa-pandemi>

mass actions. The handling policy should be a preventive effort, but the apparatus committed more violent acts.¹⁶

Under these conditions, the nuance of strengthening the role and position of the state is very pronounced. In the absence of appropriate policies that can be controlled effectively, this situation can create opportunists or interest hijackers who can endanger the interests of the people and the existence of the state. Looking at the political ecosystem in Indonesia, it seems that the strengthening role of the state becomes something that cannot be avoided, but when it is not in accordance with a limited measurement and time period, it will have the potential to perpetuate totalitarian rule, or at least lead to weakening democracy due to the tendency of a detached government to emerge the oligarchy.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Definition and Concept of Mutual Aid

Mutual aid is a concept born from an eclectic mix of Russian evolutionary theory and anarchist thought. In particular, it is an idea associated with Peter Kropotkin – the famous anarchist socialist thinker and naturalist, ethnographer and proponent of scientific thought. Kropotkin, along with other Russian scientists, developed mutual aid in response to the profound impact of Darwin's theory of evolution, and focused on competition among its adherents.

Kropotkin's most famous book, *Mutual Aid*, states that cooperation within a species has been a historical factor in the development of social institutions, and in fact, avoidance of competition greatly increases the chances of survival and improves the quality of life. He argued that mutual assistance was a biological and voluntary factor that enabled progressive evolution.

Kropotkin also believes that humans have a tendency to help each other, and that we do so without government coercion. Centralised government is not always needed to set an example or get people to do the right thing; people did it before the rise of the country. In fact, Kropotkin insists that the government suppresses our natural inclination to cooperate.

¹⁶ Firman Noor, 'Indonesian Democracy and the Direction of Its Development during the COVID-19 Pandemic,' Political Research Center-LIPI 12 May 2020 [online], <http://politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-2/politik-nasional/1394-demokrasi-indonesia-dan-arrah-perkembangannya-di-masa-pandemi-covid-19>

Kropotkin accuses historians of paying little attention to the lives of the masses and their inclination to help one another, instead offering a distorted view of civilization through a series of ‘epic poems, inscriptions on monuments, peace treaties – nearly all historical documents of the same character; they deal with breaches of peace, not with peace itself’ (Moya K. Maso, 2012).

In the Indonesian context, mutual aid in Bahasa is called ‘gotong royong’ and is part of a culture held by most Indonesians. A culture is a system of ideas, actions and work in people’s lives that are internalised by humans through a learning process and then applied in everyday life.

In practice, prioritising public interests over personal interests, where everyone works hand in hand to help ease the burden on others who are in need of help is a culture of mutual cooperation that is still adhered to by the Indonesian people.

According to Sudrajat (2014, p. 14), mutual cooperation or ‘[g]otong royong is a form of social solidarity, formed because of assistance from other parties, for personal or group interests so that there is a loyal attitude of each citizen as a unit.’ In addition, Pasya (in Sudrajat, 2014, p. 16) expresses that ‘gotong royong as a form of integration is much influenced by the sense of togetherness among community members which is carried out voluntarily without any guarantee in the form of wages or other forms of payment’.

Continually, solidarity is a condition that indicates a closeness between members of a community group. The conception of solidarity is always associated with a sense of togetherness and the same fate. Solidarity is influenced by social facts which show that there are various ways, and human efforts to build a community, or what is called society, stated by Durkheim (Ivan Rismayanto, 2016).

3.2. Community of Practices (CoP)

Social scientists have used the concept of community of practice for a variety of analytical purposes, but its origin and primary use has been in learning theory. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (Etienne at all, 2011) pointed to the term while studying quasi-work as a model of learning. People usually think of embodiment as the relationship between a student and a master, but the study of embodiment reveals a more complex set of social relationships in which learning takes place mostly with more advanced day labourers and apprentices.

The term community of practice was coined to refer to a community that acts as a living curriculum for apprenticeships. Once the concept is articulated it is to see these communities everywhere, even when there is no formal system of embodiment. And learning in a community

of practice isn't limited to beginners: community practice is dynamic and involves learning from everyone (ibid.).

Practical communities are formed by people who are involved in the collective learning process in the shared domain of human endeavours (ibid.). In short, a community of practice is a group of people who share a concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do better when they interact regularly. Wenger and Trayner (2015) note, however, that not all so-called communities are communities of practice. The environment, for example, is often called a community, but usually not a community of practice. Three characteristics that are crucial to a community of practice are:

Domain

A community of practice is not just a club of friends or a network of people-to-people connections. It has an identity defined by the shared domain of interest; the domain is not necessarily something that is realised as 'expertise' outside the community. For example, youth gangs may have developed various ways of dealing with their domain, such as: surviving on the streets, maintaining an identity they can live with, assessing their collective competences and learning from each other, even though few people outside the group value or even acknowledge their expertise.

1) Community

In pursuing their interest in their domain, members engage in activities and discussions, help each other and share information. They build relationships that allow them to learn from one another; they care about their position with each other. The website itself is not a community of practice. Having the same job or the same position is not suitable for the community of practice unless members interact and learn together.

A claims process in a large insurance company or students in American high school might have a lot in common, but unless they interact and learn together, they do not form a community of practice. But members of the community of practice don't work together every day. For example, they used to meet in cafes and studios to discuss the style of painting that they created together. This interaction is important to make them a community of practice even though they often paint themselves.

2) Practice

A community of practice is not just a community of interest, such as people who like certain types of films, for example. The members of the practice community are practitioners. They developed a repertoire of resources that are the same: experiences, stories, tools, how to deal with a recurring problem in a short group exercise, etc. This requires time and continuous interaction. A good conversation with a stranger on a plane might give you all the inspiring insight, but that does not in itself create a community of practice.

Joint practice development may be more or less self-conscious. The windshield cleaner engineers at an auto factory make a concerted effort to gather and document the tricks and lessons they have learned into a knowledge base. Likewise, nurses who meet regularly for lunch in the hospital cafeteria may not be aware that their lunchtime discussion is one of their main sources of knowledge about how to treat a patient. In all these conversations they have developed a series of stories and cases that have become a common repertoire for their practice.

The combination of these three elements (domain, community, practice) developed in parallel forms a community of practice (CoP). The community of practice is not called that in all organisations. They are known by various names, such as, for example, study networks, thematic groups or clubs.

The community of practice has existed for as long as humans have learned together. At home, at work, at school and in our hobbies we all belong to communities of practice, some of which we may be a core member. But in many ways, we are simply peripherals, travelling through many communities during our lifetime.

In fact, communities of practice are everywhere. It is a familiar experience, so familiar perhaps that it often escapes our notice. But when they are named and put into focus, they become perspectives that can help us better understand our world. In particular, this allows us to see more clearly past formal structures such as organisations, classrooms or countries, and to understand the structures defined by engagement in practice and the informal learning that accompanies them.

The concept of community of practice has found a number of practical applications. In the civil sphere, there is growing interest in building community among practitioners. In the nonprofit world, for example, the foundation recognises that philanthropy needs to focus on learning systems in order to take full advantage of the projects it funds. But practitioners look for peer-to-peer connections and learning opportunities with or without institutional support. This

includes regional economic development, with intra-regional communities in various domains, as well as inter-regional learning with community gathering practitioners from various regions.

Community and networks are often considered two types of social structures. From this perspective, one must consider if a given group is a community or a network, and when networks turn into communities and vice versa. We prefer to think of communities and networks as two aspects of the social structure in which learning takes place.

The networking aspect refers to the set of relationships, personal interactions and connections among participants that have personal reasons to connect. It is seen as a set of nodes and links with the ability to learn, such as information flow, helpful relationships, joint problem solving and knowledge creation.

The community aspect refers to developing a shared identity around a topic or set of challenges. It represents a tacit, collective intention to manage the domain of knowledge and to sustain learning about it.

There are groups whose one aspect dominates so clearly that they can be considered ‘pure’ communities or ‘pure’ networks. Private networks, for example, are rarely a community because people in the network are likely to have little in common except to be connected to the same people in various ways based on their shared interests.

The challenge of networking is that it requires strong direction from individuals. Learning takes place as participants take advantage of the availability and dissemination of information to pursue a business they are interested in and develop their ability to do so. The value of the network as a learning resource relies on individuals to act as responsible nodes and evaluate the relevance of information flows for themselves and for the wider network.

This study seeks to see the application of community of practice carried out by grassroots communities in responding to crises, and explore aspects of domain, community and practices that have been carried out to map the values contained in the community of practice.

3.3. Conceptual Framework

Solidarity is at the heart of helping each other and remaining strong, even as government control, power and bureaucracy seem destined to pit one another in hopes of suppressing initiative. On the contrary, however, strangers are seen helping each other in Indonesia (Moya K. Maso, 2012).

As expressed by Pasya (in Sudrajat, 2014, p. 16): ‘gotong royong as a form of integration is much influenced by the sense of togetherness among community members which is carried out voluntarily without any guarantee in the form of wages or other forms of payment’, and always associated as a sense of togetherness and the same fate, which is influenced by social facts which show that there are various ways and human efforts to build a community, or what is called society by Durkheim (Ivan Rismayanto, 2016).

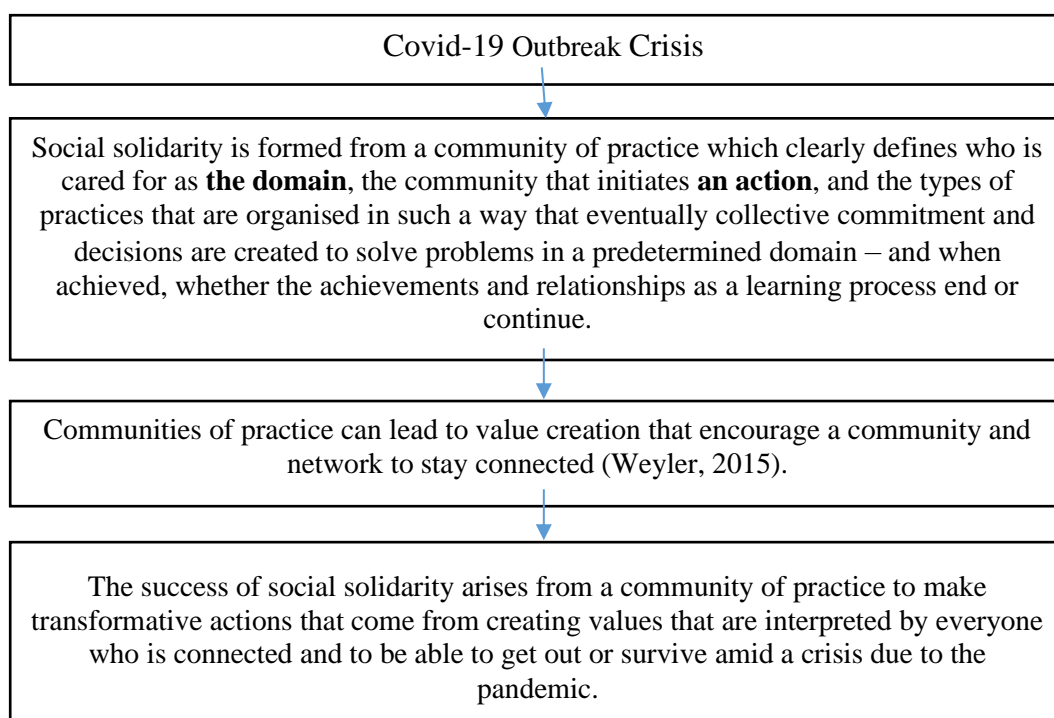
The concept of solidarity is influenced by the social facts experienced so as to create a sense of togetherness and the same fate, and encourage human ways and efforts to build a community. Community refers to the development of a shared identity around a topic or series of challenges, representing collective intentions. It is developing learning partnerships that create an identity around an agenda or common area for learning (Etienne Wenger., and Beverly Trayner, 2015).

The concept of community practice implementation, used in this research, is important to understand to what extent people respond to social facts in facing difficult times in the midst of a pandemic, by knowing how they develop and gather interactions between individuals and others, and to share resources.

By knowing that communities and networks build an act of solidarity in response to experienced social facts and strive to find solutions together from the situation and conditions of a shared fate, we can better understand how this can result in the creation of collective values that encourage continued connection.

The study’s framework is described in Chart 1 below.

Chart 1: Framework of the Current Study



From the framework of thought above, the author proposes that the success of social solidarity is created from a series of community practices, and is influenced by two variables: the way of organising and the values created and relationships built in each cycle of actions.

4. GRASSROOTS MUTUAL AID PRACTICES AND VALUE CREATION

A community of practice (CoP) is organic, and like most living organisms, has a natural life cycle, starting with an idea for a new community and ending where community members feel the group has achieved its purpose (domain) or no longer delivers value. According to Weyler (2015), the typical CoP life cycle starts with building commitment (committing), initiating practice ideas (start-up), implementation (operating), winding down, and closing activities or sustainability (shut-down/scale-up). This study seeks to identify the process of organising community practices, as well as deepen the value creation.

4.1. Mutual Aid Practices by Women Workers' Unions

There is concern for female workers who lost their jobs due to termination of employment as a result of the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy at the end of March 2020 (domain). The establishment of a COVID-19 Emergency Response Committee by initiating donations through charity concerts and producing non-medical masks is a practice carried out by the Cross Factory Women Workers Federation (FBLP) community.

During the period of social restriction policy that was implemented during the emergency response period, as well as when most Muslim citizens were facing the Ramadhan holy month, there were efforts to organise a community of practice carried out by a group of FBLP and Nahdliyin Front for Natural Resources Sovereignty (FNKSDA) communities.

The value creation cycle starts from the idea from FBLP to establish a COVID-19 Emergency Response Committee in the form of activities to respond to the domain. Organising charity concerts, producing masks and campaigning about the conditions of female workers at the factory level are the practices that were carried out as a strategy to attract public attention about the working conditions experienced by female workers in factories, to identify strategic networks of support and to assist in their implementation including i) Determine and contact the FNKSDA network to formulate criteria; ii) collect data of potential assistance's beneficiaries; iii) The distribution techniques and management; iv) strengthening the target of expanding to build a factory-level union by FBLP; v) Linked with community radio MARSINAH FM to disseminate information, and actual conditions, along with writings, raising donations by holding online charity

concerts with Islamic nuances in May and April 2020; vi) Produce non-medical masks amid the high price of medical masks to be distributed free of charge to women workers, and collect donations to be converted into food-aid; vii) And create information and consultation channels about the actual conditions experienced by women workers during the pandemic.

With 2,500 food packages distributed in the KBN Cakung-Jakarta, Bekasi and Central Java areas, FBLP are able to meet the food needs for members, meet the needs for personal protective equipment in the form of free masks for FBLP union members and reach new members from PT. Dayup who received food support and legal assistance during the pandemic.

The practices carried out by FBLP encourage learning to understand the suffering experienced by members and others, and encourage new hopes for formulating safety and security guidelines in dealing with disasters or unexpected situations. The practices also aim to build cooperatives as the pillar of the economic movement to collectively meet the consumption needs of members in overcoming scarcity of basic food and securing personal safety equipment in times of crisis.

Value creation from the practice of the FBLP community is extracted from a series of processes in organising in response to certain situations experienced by the FBLP community. The stages of organising these practices are described in Chart 2 below.

Chart 2: Practice Community Organising Stage Cross-Factory Workers Federation

Committing	Starting from the idea of Jumisih as chairman of the FBLP who initiated the creation of a COVID-19 Emergency Response Committee to ease the burden faced by the union members, who are mostly women workers.
Start-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishing the COVID-19 Emergency Response Committee as a forum for conducting short studies on the impact of COVID-19 in general. Especially for women, advocating for workers who have been laid off or do not get holiday allowances. Organise campaign activities and distribution of personal protective equipment and food assistance. ● FBLP initiative to engage the FNKSDA as a strategic partner network to take a role to collect donations from their members who mostly work in various civil society organisations. As well, form a collaborative committee to collect donations by online charity concert with Islamic nuance in April and May 2020. ● FBLP has a role in managing campaign techniques and donation funds, and cooperating with artists.
Operating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● FBLP and FNKSDA formulate criteria and collect data regarding potential recipients of assistance, along with the distribution techniques for potential beneficiaries. ● Collect data on potential recipients of social assistance, accompanied by activities to expand the membership base of the factory-level union by FBLP. One of them is PT. Dayup, the aid distribution process, coupled with identification process of working conditions inside the factory, to make an inventory of workers who are exposed to pressure and threats of employment termination.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Amidst the scarcity and high price of masks, FBLP produces non-medical masks. ● FBLP engaged with MARSINAH FM as the community radio to disseminate information and writings related to the actual working conditions. ● Overcoming the member problem of unpredictable mobility of workers, FBLP transferred knowledge orally. ● FBLP provided assistance to PT. Dayup labour members (such as Nike gloves manufacturer) who were forced to resign as contract workers under 5 years, and PT. Amos workers who did not receive maternity leave during the pandemic as well as domestic violence for members from informal workers.
Winding down	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● FBLP has succeeded to fulfill basic food for their members during the pandemic, with 2,500 food packages distributed to union members in industrial areas in KBN Cakung, Bekasi Municipal and Central Java region. ● FBLP has succeeded to produce the personal protective needs, such as non-medical masks for all union members. ● Fulfillment of personal protective needs in the form of free masks for FBLP members. ● There is an increase in the number of FBLP labour union members at the company level, especially from PT. Dayup and PT. Amos. ● FBLP members, especially female workers, receive double protection, apart from social assistance, as well as assistance for women's rights, such as maternity leave. ● FBLP has succeeded in establishing and engaging support from the network to collaborate in distributing social assistance to FBLP members.
Shutting down/ Scaling up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The practices that have been achieved and carried out in social solidarity do not end up with the goal of fulfilling FBLP members in an emergency, but FBLP extends its reach by helping informal workers during a pandemic. One of them, Mrs. Darsih, who was inspired to assist other informal workers, in this case, was an example of cases of domestic violence during the COVID-19 period, where the focus of the issue of assistance to women's violence was often provided by FBLP. ● The value of learning that is interpreted by members is learning to understand the suffering of others. For example, if one member has received assistance, the other has not, then they must share. ● FBLP also plans to formulate safety guidelines in facing any disaster at the grassroots level, so that in the future they have a structure that is ready for action, not only for spontaneous action. ● FBLP formulated the concept of Koperasi Sejahtera (Welfare Cooperative) as a pillar of a collective economic movement. In addition to applying basic, voluntary and social contributions, they will also apply production patterns from members to meet the consumption needs of their members, to overcome the scarcity of food materials in times of crisis.

Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

4.2. Mutual Aid Practice by Home-Based Workers

The large number of homeworkers who lost their orders for raw materials such as shoe glue, paper bag glue and thread rolls left them with no income to survive during the pandemic under the implementation of the PSBB policy in North Jakarta. The Trade Union Right Centre (TURC) under the informal sector division is raising support from various philanthropic

organisations to channel it to homeworkers groups to alleviate their daily needs during this time of crisis.

By dividing roles and tasks, value creation begins with collaborative work between TURC and Indonesian Homeworkers Network or Jaringan Pekerja Rumahan Indonesia (JPRI) in empowering the most vulnerable members of homeworkers during the pandemic and strict social restriction. TURC classifies categories of potential beneficiaries who are mostly members of homeworkers and formulates temporary job creation schemes for more skilled homeworkers. Then JPRI identifies and gathers the needs of homeworkers according to the criteria for potential recipients that have been formulated together.

JPRI is a TURC assistance group formed through the homeworker program. Initially, JPRI established TURC as a strategic network to solicit ideas, direction and technical guidance about members who were experiencing a downturn during the pandemic and social restrictions. As a result of technical guidance from TURC, JPRI has been able to identify and inventory the needs of its members according to the types of vulnerability resulting from the virus or implementation of social restriction policies, including decreased or loss of income and job changes. This is so that JPRI can determine the criteria for potential recipients in its members to focus on homeworkers who have become unemployed due to no income at all. In addition, JPRI was successful in making an inventory of homeworkers who have skills, such as sewing.

TURC has managed to collect donations from various philanthropic organisations and other social institutions, such as Yacobis, Kitabisa.com and public contributions to raise food aid for homeworkers who have no income at all. They have also helped identify opportunities for additional sources of income that can be worked on by homeworkers, such as the manufacture of non-medical masks. TURC raised funds for food and personal protective equipment for 511 JPRI members, according to mutually agreed criteria, so as not to create social jealousy among the homeworkers. In addition, TURC provided small jobs to increase income for 100 homeworkers who have sewing skills. These women made 10,000 non-medical masks intended for garment sector workers who continued to work during the pandemic in the Sukabumi Regency, Bandung and Jakarta.

The results that have been realised give rise to new ideas for sustainable staple food for home workers, TURC cooperation with JPRI to assist members in developing the family food security by way of planting in a narrow area.

The creation of value from the JPRI community practices, is extracted from a series of processes in organising these practices in response to certain situations experienced by the JPRI community. The stages of organising these practices are described in Chart 3 below.

Chart 3: Community of Practice Organising Stage Homeworkers Network and TURC

Committing	<p>Starting from a request from the board of the Indonesian Homeworkers Network (JPRI) in the North Jakarta area, which was addressed to TURC about the conditions of homeworkers (mostly women) in fulfilling their daily needs during the pandemic and social restriction policies.</p> <p>JPRI is a TURC assistance group formed through the Homeworkers program with the support of the MAMPU project by ILO, which fosters homeworkers in terms of capacity building in organisations. Most of their work is to make raw materials for sandals and shoes, such as glue, yarn and sandal pads which are done at home on orders from small businesses or large companies.</p>
Start-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The initial step taken by TURC together with JPRI was to determine the criteria for potential beneficiaries of JPRI members, and formulate a plan to collect data on the most vulnerable groups of homeworkers during the COVID-19 situation, from 794 homeworkers in North Jakarta. ● TURC has a role in helping to classify the categories of potential recipients in the Homeworkers Network members, while JPRI has a role to carry out data collection on their members and verify the categories that will receive assistance.
Operating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● JPRI was to collect data on the most vulnerable groups of homeworkers during the pandemic. ● JPRI collected data with four categories of homeworker groups, covering: 1. unemployment 2. decreasing income 3. switching to other jobs 4. not affected at all (the one in Tangerang). ● Together they decide to focus assistance to the first group, that of home workers who have become unemployed and don't have income at all. ● As many as 511 homeworkers (68%) who did not have income at all have received food packages to fill their daily life during the pandemic. ● TURC collected donations from various philanthropic aid agencies such as Yacobis, Kita Bisa.com. Women's Ship, the Regional Government Covid Task Force, Ministry, etc. ● TURC formulated another scheme to create temporary employment opportunities for JPRI members who have sewing skills, to produce a number of masks intended for female workers in the garment sector.
Winding down	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Results of raising funds carried out by TURC spent on food needs and masks, and distributed to 511 JPRI members in North Jakarta. ● In collaboration with Kapal Perempuan Institute and Alpha Omega Foundation, TURC are also collecting donations, and have collected and distributed 1,500 food packages to JPRI members in North Jakarta each week from April to June 2020. ● TURC also works with a food care program to provide food assistance for common residents affected by COVID-19 by building a public kitchen and producing about 1,000 food packets daily to distribute to North Jakarta residents. ● TURC provides employment for 100 homeworkers in the Jakarta, Sukabumi and Solo areas, producing 10,000 non-medical masks to be distributed to workers in the garment sector.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a close relationship between the network of homeworkers and the network of trade union members in the garment sector in the Sukabumi, Bandung and Jakarta areas.
Shutting down/ Scaling up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The collaboration between TURC and JPRI has completed its distribution to a number of JPRI members based on the criteria that have been formulated and agreed upon by TURC and JPRI. • For the long term, TURC and JPRI initiated the formation of a collective Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) by way of shifting the temporary livelihood to earn an income, during the period of application of PSBB policy.

Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

4.3. Mutual Aid Practice by Peasant and Trade Unions (KPA)

The implementation of Large-Scale Social Restriction policies resulted in rice farmers being faced with uncertainties about market and fair price from their harvests and a number of workers in the industry were put on mass layoff, and even stopped being the domain of the Agrarian Granary solidarity practice initiated by the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA) community.

KPA initiated an activity framework in the form of the Agrarian Food Granary Solidarity Movement (GESLA), which aims to raise donations to meet workers' needs of food, and Economic Solidarity, which aims to provide a solution to the uncertainty of farmers' rice sales, in the way of bartering, rice subsidies for labour unions and through cooperatives. Agrarian Food Granary Cooperative (Koperasi Lumbung Agraria) takes and accommodates the harvest of the members who are mostly scattered in the regions.

KPA conducts outreach and consolidation with labour groups including Confederation of United Indonesian Workers (KPBI), Confederation of National Union (KSN) and Confederation of Indonesian Trade Union Alliance Congress (KASBI), related to the framework and objectives of activities. The KPA also collects data and, with assistance from labour unions that are affiliated with KPBI, KSN and KASBI, explores the urgent needs of workers. Labour groups assist rice farmers in breaking supply chains, long-sales distribution, and helps with fluctuations in rice consumption during the fasting month.

Solidarity economy is done by way of purchasing rice from farmers in the region through a cooperative owned by KPA, and selling it to a group of workers by providing subsidies below the price of rice in the general market. The cooperative buys the price of fresh rice from farmers around IDR 10,500 per kilogram and sells it to workers for IDR 7,500 per kilogram. The KPA bears a fee of IDR 3,000 as a form of subsidy for groups of workers who have been laid off, work at home, and for those who cannot return home due to the social restriction policy. The

role of labour groups through KPBI, KSN and KASBI is to assist KPA in packing goods and sending them directly to union members. In addition, the labour group also provides personal protective equipment in the form of protective masks to be used by rice farmers.

The KPA cooperative has been accommodating and buying farmers' fresh rice, and curating long supply lines for farmers with reasonable prices. The amount of rice collected is distributed by the union to its members during social restrictions to fulfill their basic needs during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The distribution of food aid is distributed to union members in Jakarta and West Java provinces.

The KPA Food Granary Cooperative acts in economic solidarity with rice farmers who have difficulty selling their crops by providing fair prices and clear market channels. The KPA helps members of KPBI, KSN and KASBI labour unions to meet basic food needs during the month of Ramadan and in the face of social restrictions.

On the other hand, labour unions exchange the proceeds from subsidised rice prices by providing personal protective equipment, in the form of masks, to rice farmers to avoid contracting the virus while working in the fields. The bartering approach to economic solidarity is an approach used in mutual cooperation between farmers and labour unions.

Value creation from the KPA community practices is extracted from a series of processes in organising these practices in response to certain situations experienced by the KPA community. The stages of organising these practices are described in Chart 4 below.

Chart 4: Community of Practice Organising Stage of Consortium for Agrarian Reform

Committing	Through the Koperasi Lumbung Agraria (KLA), the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) takes and accommodates the member farmers' harvest, who are scattered in West Java province, to facilitate the process of sending and distributing rice.
Start-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● KPA initiated a framework of activities in the form of the Agrarian Granary Solidarity Movement (GESLA) and Economic Solidarity. ● KPA engages labour unions through the Confederation of Indonesian Workers' Organizations (KPBI) to coordinate and synchronise the activity or programs that have been planned by labour groups, as well as to explore the needs of workers. ● KPA expanded outreach to reach more labour groups including KPBI, KSN and KASBI, regarding the framework and objectives of activities. ● KPA conducts data collection, and explores the urgent needs for workers, and is supported by labour unions from KPBI, KSN and KASBI. ● GESLA aims to raise donations to meet the food needs of workers, with an economic solidarity scheme where workers buy rice farmer products at reasonable prices and farmers become the main producers. ● Labour groups assist rice farmers in breaking supply chains and long-sales distribution, as well as fluctuating rice prices during the fasting month.

Operating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Practice solidarity economy by KPA with a way to buy the harvest of rice farmers in the area through a cooperative, and sell it to a group of workers by providing subsidies and prices below the market-level price of rice. ● KPA buys fresh rice from farmers for IDR 10,500 per kilogram and sells it to a group of workers for IDR 7,500 per kilogram. The KPA bears a fee of IDR 3,000 as a subsidy for vulnerable workers who have been laid off, work at home without pay, and cannot return home due to the social restriction policy. ● The role of labour groups through KPBI, KSN and KASBI assists KPA in packing goods and sending them directly to union members. In addition, the labour group also provides personal protective equipment such as non-medical masks to be used by rice farmers through the KPA.
Winding down	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The fresh rice obtained from the rice farmer groups has reached members of the labour union who have experienced layoffs, are sent home and cannot return home due to the implementation of quarantine policies and during the holy month of Ramadan. ● The practice of economic solidarity encourages trust of trade union members in the KPBI, KSN and KASBI which have provided basic food fulfillment services during the emergency period of the pandemic. ● Labour's economic solidarity practices assist rice farmers in coping with long supply chains and price uncertainty. ● The KPA cooperative contributes to the uncertain economy for rice farmer groups as part of the cooperative and KPA organisation members. ● Rice is distributed among members of the largest labour unions in Jakarta, West Java and other industrial areas.
Shutting down/ scaling up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The practice of economic solidarity, farmers helping workers and vice versa, provides an understanding of mutual cooperation regardless of background, but concern each other. ● There is a commitment to each other in strengthening the relationship between farmer groups and labour groups in building solidarity as the important value of cooperating.

Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

4.4. Mutual Aid Practice by Petamburan Youth Community

The technical distribution of social assistance is not evenly distributed and is not right on target for the urban poor. A discrimination in the verification process of potential recipients of social assistance are the domain of public kitchen ideas and activities during the social restriction policies from the Petamburan Youth Community or Komunitas Pemuda Petamburan (KPP), in the largest densely populated area of Jakarta.

The KPP collects data from poor people who have not received assistance from the government during the area quarantine period, under the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy, as well as entering the holy month of Ramadan in the Petamburan area which is densely and slums populated. The KPP collects and combines relief aid from public resources and involves a group of students from various campuses to distribute directly to resident or poor households in the Petamburan area.

The KPP also engages housewives who do not get income from their small business to build a public kitchen, which is intended for residents who lack foodstuffs during the quarantine period in the month of Ramadan. They also formulate a program plan of mutual cooperation activities in slum and densely populated areas in the Petamburan area, and regulates citizen actors to take part, and participate in meeting each other's basic needs.

The KPP also formulates technical disinfectant processing independently, to carry out periodic spraying in its area on a regular basis, and divides the role of raising donations to social organisations. and individuals to be distributed to poor people who are excluded from social assistance provided by the central and regional governments.

As a result, the KPP was able to distribute personal protective equipment and food assistance to 50 households in dense and slum areas in the Petamburan area, to those who were not registered as recipients of social assistance. As well, the KPP assisted community residents to produce and spray disinfectants, and cleanup garbage to anticipate flooding in the rainy season, considering that most people live on the west canal riverside in Central Jakarta.

The practice carried out by the KPP does not stop at the distribution of direct assistance, but continues by identifying narrow, unused land to make planting activities in an effort to build food security for residents living in slum and dense areas. This practice extends to neighbouring areas to implement similar activities.

Value creation from the practice of the Pemuda Petamburan (KPP) community is extracted from a series of processes in organising these practices in response to certain situations experienced by residents who live in slum and dense area. The stages of organising these practices are described in Chart 5 below.

Chart 5: Community of Practice Organising Stage of Petamburan Youth Community

Committing	Adam is a young man who is a resident of Petamburan, He is active as a student and has built a reading garden for children who live in dense and slum areas in Petamburan. As a result of his area being a red zone for the spread of the virus, and entering the quarantined area under the social restriction policy, Adam saw that the distribution of social assistance provided by the government was not right on target, and many residents who should have deserved it were being ignored by regional officials.
Start-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Adam initiated the formation of the Petamburan Youth Movement (KPP) which involved a group of students from various campuses and initially focused on improving community literacy. ● KPP formulates a program of mutual assistance solidarity activities in slum and dense areas in the Jakarta area, especially the area where he lives.
Operating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● KPP collects data for the poor families who have not received assistance from the government during the area quarantine and fasting month.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● KPP mobilises assistance to civil or public organisations by collecting aid and combining assistance sourced from individuals. ● KPP invites housewives in the Petamburan area who cannot earn income from small business activities to make public kitchen facilities for residents who need to eat during the fasting month. ● KPP collects and identifies unprocessed empty land for planting practice space for food security.
Winding down	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● KPP succeeded in distributing personal protective equipment and food assistance to 50 households in dense and slum areas in the Petamburan area who were not registered as recipients of social assistance. ● KPP also helps residents in slum and densely populated areas to produce and spray disinfectants, and clean up rubbish to anticipate flooding in the rainy season, considering that most people live on the banks of the west canal river.
Shutting down/ scaling up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● KPP activities such as distribution of aid continue to grow the movement for food security in the dense and slum areas in the Petamburan area. ● Adam together with his friends at KPP, provided inspiration for young groups in Petamburan in organising communities, and youth in the midst of quarantine policies in their area. ● KPP becomes a learning space for young people to be more sensitive to the surrounding environment and community members who do not get the justice they deserve during the pandemic crisis and strict policies. ● KPP extends its practice and knowledge to young groups outside the Petamburan area.

Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

4.5. Mutual Aid Practice by LGBT Groups

The impact of the spread of the coronavirus in Jakarta's city centre also extends to other regional areas, especially the city of Bandung. The transgender community has been heavily impacted, in particular in regards to their professions: for example, losing orders for bridal makeup, consumers to beauty salons, and fitness activities that have stopped due to large-scale social restrictions. In its place, many transgender community members are encouraging the practice of developing public kitchens as a means of switching activities to meet income as well as social activities. This practice is carried out by the Srikandi Pasundan Community, under the network of the Bandung Social Solidarity movement.

Public kitchens are a form of activity carried out by the LGBT community as part of the Bandung Social Solidarity movement to accumulate skills and accommodate LGBT groups who are unable to carry out their work during a period of large-scale social restrictions. The framework for public kitchen activities starts from the formulation of a place to produce food ingredients, arrange raw materials, prepare menus and distribute food ingredients by the LGBT community to other groups in need.

To gather public support for public kitchen, the LGBT community incorporated into the Mutual Cooperation Network or Jaringan Gotong Royong that was initiated by the Bandung Legal Aid,

which collects the majority of civil society networks for advocacy, mentoring and raising funds. Bandung Social Solidarity or Solidaritas Sosial Bandung (SSB) is an action platform that is actually realised in the form of a public kitchen and is spread across Bandung.

The LGBT’s community, which is part of Srikandi Pasundan, started by collecting data and gathering a number of its members who have cooking skills, and whose professions have stopped so they no longer receive an income. They compile a shopping list for groceries, foods and the target beneficiaries of foodstuffs to be distributed every day, and collect supplies of raw materials to be processed into the semi-finished materials that are supported from various sources of public donations.

The public kitchen which was initiated by Srikandi Pasundan as a forum for LGBT groups is capable of producing 50–100 packages of ready-to-eat food per day, and distributed to people in need, such as beggars, homeless people and hawkers, and victims of residential demolition in the Tamansari area. Public kitchens by Srikandi Pasundan can also help reduce the stigma about LGBTs in the community during the pandemic crisis in Bandung.

The initiative has inspired and has reached 13 public kitchens under the auspices of the Bandung Social Solidarity movement, which is carried out by various communities, by preparing a sustainable supply of food raw materials by planting on narrow land.

Value creation from the practice of the LGBT’s community is extracted from a series of processes in organising these practices in response to certain situations experienced by LGBT members, and situations of the surrounding community who are unable to meet food needs amid Large-Scale Social Restriction policies in Bandung. The stages of organising the practice are described in Chart 6 below.

Chart 6: The Stage of Organising the Bandung Social Solidarity for LGBT Groups

Committing	The Bandung Social Solidarity movement is a collaborative work between the Bandung Legal Aid Institute and the Srikandi Pasundan community which is the initiator of the mutual cooperation network in the Bandung area. Srikandi Pasundan is a community that accommodates LGBT people in West Java, and is spread across 27 cities/districts and aims to build awareness for the LGBT community, and improve economic and social health.
Start-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Jaringan Gotong Royong (Mutual Cooperative Network) was initiated by Bandung Legal Aid as a communication channel and advocacy space for all marginalised communities in Bandung. ● Public kitchens are a form of activity from Bandung Social Solidarity. ● Srikandi Pasundan built a public kitchen intended for underprivileged people. The skills possessed by each LGBT are used to make food that is distributed free of charge to underprivileged people and LGBT members.

Operating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Srikandi Pasundan collected data and gathered members with cooking skills from those who did not work due to the impact of the spread of the virus. ● Srikandi Pasundan’s public kitchen formulates a list of daily necessities, starting from rice and side dishes. ● Other solidarity members helped raise funds and other items, such as rice, oil and gas for public kitchens.
Winding down	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Srikandi Pasundan’s public kitchen is capable of producing 50–100 ready-to-eat food packages per day. They are publicly distributed to homeless people, mall workers who are homeless and unable to return home to their villages, community members whose settlements have been displaced by building construction and other LGBT members. ● The practice of Srikandi Pasundan’s public kitchen strengthens relations between members and marginalised communities in the city of Bandung. ● The public kitchen of the Srikandi Pasundan community inspired other groups in terms of cooperation, public kitchen management, food processing and distribution to beggars, homeless people and other marginalised communities who live under laying bridges. ● The practice of the Srikandi Pasundan community kitchen can help reduce the stigma against LGBT and encourage inclusiveness in providing humanitarian assistance.
Shutting down/ scaling up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The practice of the Srikandi Community public kitchen has been adopted by other communities, and has spread to 13 public kitchens in every corner of Bandung City. ● To meet the supply of public kitchens, the Srikandi Pasundan soup kitchen strives to build community-scale food security with limited land availability.

Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

5. GRASSROOTS TRANSFORMATIVE VALUE IN MUTUAL AID PRACTICES

In regards to the community practices described above, in terms of relations, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between communities and networks. Communities and networks are often considered as two types of social structures. From this perspective, one must consider whether a given group is a community or a network, and when networks turn into communities and vice versa. We prefer to think of grassroots communities and networks as two aspects of the social structure in which the learning process takes place.

The networking aspect refers to the set of relationships, personal interactions and connections among participants that have personal reasons to connect. It is viewed as a set of hubs and relationships with the ability to learn.

In other words, the network as a shortcut to social networks rather refers to a group’s connection between person to person, which could be mediated by conventional or

technological channels. Connections and relationships are used as resources for information flow, relationship help, collective troubleshooting, knowledge creation and sharing, and to make further connections.

The community aspect refers to developing a shared identity around a topic or set of challenges. It represents a tacit, collective intention to manage the domain of knowledge and to sustain learning about it. In other words, community work is developing learning partnerships that create an identity around an agenda or common area for learning. It helps explain why people were there, what they could learn from one another and what they could achieve by studying together. Community work helps to develop a sense of collective trust and commitment.

As described in the previous chapter, a community of practice is a series of grassroots community work and networks that come together to address their domains, encourage collective action in the form of mutual cooperation to overcome difficulties, solve problems faced during a pandemic, and encourage new ideas and more sustainable connections.

This study is an effort to reframe the value or value of transformation about what changes the understanding of community work and networks about the domain or problem to be solved, which in this case refers to the domain defined by each community of practice.

One of them is reframing the values or transformative values that arise from community work resulting from the organising process to solve a problem experienced in an uncertain situation. An example of this is how FBLP encourages learning value to understand the suffering experienced by their members and others around them, and encourages the existence of new hope for formulating safety and security guidelines.

This is an important value especially when the grassroots community is facing multi-disaster threats or unexpected situations. Communities of practice are building cooperatives as pillars of an independent economic movement to collectively meet the consumption needs of members to overcome scarcity of staples and secure personal safety tools in times of crisis as a transformative value of the process to reframe the values of each stage of community organising practice undertaken and the results achieved.

In the case of TURC with JPRI, TURC as networks bring new ideas to the sustainability of the fulfillment of basic food for home workers. TURC cooperates with other networks such as KPRI to assist member JPRI to develop family food security by planting in a narrow area.

Similar with other practices carried out by Petamburan Youth Community, the Bandung Social Solidarity for the LBGT Group. Based on the experiences that they faced together is a transformative value and meaning from the process of stage of community organising.

In addition, the KPA Agrarian Food Granary Solidarity Movement as an economic solidarity effort to help rice farmers sell their crops by providing fair prices and clear market channels, has built a bridge with trade union members to strengthen connections between farmer groups and labour groups. The energy, yield and value of an item to be able to meet each other in critical times is the transformative value of a series of reframing the values at the organising stage carried out along with the results that have been achieved.

An overview of the meaning of the value of transformation that arises from a series of processes carried out, and the results produced, from each community of practice is described in Chart 7.

Chart 7: Value Creation Cycle in Re-Framing Value into Transformation Value

<i>Cycle of Value Creation</i>	<i>FBLP</i>	<i>TURC-JPRI</i>	<i>KPA</i>	<i>KPP</i>	<i>SSB</i>
Domain	Female workers who lost their jobs as a result of layoffs due to Large-Scale Social Restriction policies in March 2020.	The large number of homeworkers who lost orders for raw materials such as shoe glue, paper bag glue and thread rolls left them with no income to survive during the pandemic and the implementation of the PSBB policy in North Jakarta.	The Large-Scale Social Restriction policy resulted in rice farmers being faced with price and market uncertainty from the crops they had collected. As well, a number of workers in the industry were put on vacation, laid off or terminated.	Techniques for the distribution of social assistance that are not evenly distributed and are not right on target for the urban poor, and discriminatory actions in the verification process of potential recipients of social assistance.	Besides having an impact in Jakarta's city centre, the impact of the spread of the virus also extends to other areas such as Bandung. The transgender community faces the cessation of their professions, as many have lost orders for bridal makeup, consumers at beauty salons, and fitness activities have stopped due to social restrictions.
1. Immediate value: What happened and what was the community experience of it?	Establishment of a COVID-19 Emergency Response Committee as a means of formulating action in response to the targeted domain. Organising charity concerts, producing masks and campaigning for the conditions of female workers at the factory level are practices carried out as a strategy to attract public	Collaboration between TURC and JPRI in empowering the most vulnerable members of homeworkers during the pandemic. TURC classifies categories of potential beneficiaries who are mostly members of homeworkers and formulates temporary job creation schemes for skilled homeworkers. JPRI	KPA initiated an activity framework in the form of the Agrarian Food Granary Solidarity Movement (GESLA) and Economic Solidarity. GESLA aims to raise donations to meet workers' food needs, while economic solidarity aims to provide a solution to the uncertainty of	KPP collects data for poor people who have not received assistance from the government during the area quarantine period and are also entering the holy month of Ramadan in the Petamburan area which is densely populated with slums. KPP raises assistance to social organisations and individuals by collecting aid and combining	Public kitchens are a form of activity carried out by the LGBT community, as part of the Bandung Social Solidarity movement, as a means to accumulate skills and accommodate LGBT groups who are unable to carry out their work during a period of large-scale social restrictions. The framework for public

	attention to the working conditions experienced by female factory workers and identify strategic networks to support and assist the implementation of the framework of activities that have been formulated.	identifies and creates an inventory of homeworkers' needs according to the criteria for potential recipients that have been formulated together.	farmers' rice sales by way of bartering and rice subsidies for labour unions through cooperatives. Lumbung Agraria (KLA) takes and accommodates the crops of the members, who are mostly scattered in the regions.	assistance from public resources.	kitchen activities starts from the formulation of a place to produce food ingredients, arrange raw materials, prepare menus and distribute food ingredients by the LGBT community to other groups in need.
2. Potential value: What has all this activity produced?	Determine and contact the FNKSA Network to formulate criteria and collect data regarding potential beneficiaries of assistance, along with the distribution techniques for potential beneficiaries. The data collection on the distribution of social assistance is also strengthening the target of expanding to build a factory-level union by FBLP, choosing MARSINAH FM Community radio to disseminate oral and written information about actual conditions, and raising donations	JPRI is a TURC assistance group formed through the Homeworkers program. Initially, JPRI established TURC as a strategic network to solicit ideas, direction and technical guidance about members who were experiencing a downturn during the pandemic and social restrictions. As a result of technical guidance from TURC, JPRI has succeeded in identifying and inventorying the needs of its members according to the types of vulnerability resulting from the	KPA conducts outreach and consolidation with labour groups, including KPBI, KSN and KASBI, regarding the framework and objectives of activities, collecting data and extracting urgent needs for workers. Labour groups assist rice farmers in breaking supply chains and long-sales distribution, as well as helping to cope with fluctuations in rice prices during the fasting month.	KPP involves a group of students from various campuses and invites housewives who do not get income from trading to build a public kitchen. This kitchen is intended for residents who lack foodstuffs during the quarantine period and the month of Ramadan.	For the continuity of public kitchen activities, the LGBT community is incorporated into the Gotong Royong Network initiated by the Bandung Legal Aid Institute, which brings together most civil society networks to carry out advocacy, assistance and fundraising. Solidaritas Sosial Bandung is an action platform that is actually realised in the form of a public kitchen that is easily carried out by every community across Bandung.

	by organising online charity concerts with Islamic nuances.	spread of the virus and social restriction policies, including decreasing income, changing jobs and having no income at all. This is so that JPRI can determine the criteria for potential recipients in its members to focus on homeworkers who become unemployed due to no income at all. In addition, JPRI was successful in making an inventory of homeworkers who have skills, such as sewing as an optimised resource.			
3. Applied value: What difference has it made to community/network's practice/life/context?	Producing masks amid the high price of masks to be distributed free of charge to workers, collecting donations to be converted into food aid, and creating information and community channels about the actual conditions experienced by female workers during the pandemic.	TURC has succeeded in collecting donations from various philanthropic organisations and other social institutions, such as Yacobis, Kitabisa.com and public contributions to raise food aid for homeworkers who have no income at all. They have also helped identify opportunities for additional sources	Economic solidarity is carried out by buying rice yields from local farmers through the Lumbung Agraria Cooperative and selling them to labour groups by providing subsidies and prices below the market-level price of rice. The cooperative buys the price of fresh rice from farmers of IDR 10,500/kg and	The KPP formulated a program of activities in the form of mutual solidarity actions in slum and densely populated areas in the Petamburan area, and arranged for citizen actors to participate to meet each other's basic needs and in efforts to prevent virus transmission in the Petamburan area. KPP formulates technical disinfectant processing independently, carrying	The LGBT community, which is part of Srikandi Pasundan, started by collecting data and gathering a number of its members with cooking skills, and whose professions have stopped so they no longer receive income. They compile a shopping list for kitchen needs, food menus and target recipients of foodstuffs

		<p>of income that can be worked on by homeworkers, such as the manufacture of non-medical masks.</p>	<p>sells it to a group of workers for IDR 7,500/kg. The KPA bears a fee of IDR 3,000 as a form of subsidy for groups of workers who have been laid off or are sent home and cannot return home due to the social restriction policy. The role of labour groups through KPBI, KSN and KASBI is to assist KPA in packing goods, and sending them directly to union members. In addition, the labour groups also provided personal protective equipment in the form of protective masks to be used by rice farmers. The IDR 3,000 subsidies given converted into masks for farmers.</p>	<p>out periodic spraying in its area, and dividing the role of raising donations to social organisations and individuals to be managed and distributed to poor people who are excluded from social assistance provided by the central and regional governments.</p>	<p>that will be distributed daily, and collect raw material supplies to be processed into food from various donation sources.</p>
<p>4. Realised value: What difference has it made to community/network's ability to achieve</p>	<p>FBLP is able to meet the food needs for members with 2,500 food packages distributed in the KBN Cakung-Jakarta, Bekasi</p>	<p>TURC managed to raise funds which were spent on food and personal protective equipment for 511 JPRI members, according to</p>	<p>The KPA cooperative is already accommodating and buying farmers' rice crops, and curating long supply lines for</p>	<p>As a result, KPP was able to distribute personal protective equipment and food assistance to 50 households in dense and slum areas in the</p>	<p>The public kitchen which was initiated by Srikandi Pasundan as a forum for LGBT groups is capable of producing 50–100</p>

<p>what matters to community or other networks?</p>	<p>and Central Java areas, and meet the need for personal protective equipment in the form of free masks for FBLP union members, and mining for new members from PT. Dayup who received food support and legal assistance during the pandemic.</p>	<p>mutually agreed criteria, so as not to create social jealousy among the homeworkers. TURC succeeded in providing small jobs to increase income for 100 homeworkers with sewing skills, and they have made 10,000 non-medical masks intended for garment sector workers who continue to work during the pandemic in the Sukabumi Regency, Bandung and Jakarta.</p>	<p>farmers at reasonable prices. Collected rice is distributed by the union to its members during the pandemic and social restrictions to meet basic needs during the month of Ramadan. Food aid is distributed to union members in Jakarta and West Java in the factory area.</p>	<p>Petamburan area to those who were not registered as recipients of social assistance, and assist community residents in slum and densely populated areas to produce and spray disinfectants and cleanup garbage to anticipate flooding in the rainy season, considering that most people live on the banks of the west canal river.</p>	<p>ready-to-eat food packages per day. The packages are distributed to people in need, such as beggars, homeless people and hawkers, and victims of eviction of settlements in Tamansari.</p>
<p>5. Transformative value: Has it changed community or network's understanding and definition of what matters?</p>	<p>The results of the practices that have been carried out by FBLP encourage learning to understand the suffering experienced by fellow members and others around them, and encourage new hopes for formulating safety and security guidelines in dealing with disasters or unexpected situations. As well, the results encourage building cooperatives as pillars</p>	<p>The results give rise to new ideas for the sustainability of the fulfillment of staple food for homeworkers. TURC collaborates with KPRI to assist JPRI members in developing family food security by farming on narrow land.</p>	<p>The KPA Food Granary Cooperative as a means of economic solidarity to help rice farmers sell their crops, by providing fair prices and clear market channels, namely to members of KPBI, KSN and KASBI labour unions to meet basic food needs during large-scale social restrictions and the month of Ramadan. Labour</p>	<p>The practice carried out by KPP does not stop at the distribution of direct assistance, but continues by identifying narrow, unused land to make planting activities in an effort to build food security for residents living in slum and dense settlements. This practice extends to neighbouring areas to implement similar activities.</p>	<p>Public kitchen activities help to reduce the stigma about LGBTs in the community during the pandemic crisis in Bandung, and the practice of public kitchens has inspired and reached 13 public kitchens under the auspices of the Bandung Social Solidarity movement, which is carried out by various communities, by preparing a</p>

	<p>of a collective independent economic movement to meet the consumption needs of members to overcome scarcity of basic commodities and secure personal safety equipment in times of crisis.</p>		<p>unions then exchange the proceeds from subsidised rice prices and provide personal protective equipment, in the form of masks to rice farmers to avoid contracting the virus while working in the fields. The bartering approach to economic solidarity is an approach used in mutual cooperation between farmers and labour unions.</p>		<p>sustainable supply of raw materials by planting on narrow land.</p>
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Source: In-depth interview, July 2020

Network work aims to optimise the connectivity among people to increase network coverage and density by strengthening existing connections, enabling new connections and getting fast response. The challenge of networking is that it requires strong direction from individuals, and as members of the networks take advantage of the availability and dissemination of information, to pursue the domain they are interested in and develop their ability to do so.

The value of the network as a learning resource depends on the individual or core community to act as a responsible hub and evaluate the relevance of information flows for themselves and for the wider network in solving problems.

6. CONCLUSION

In the face of uncertainty due to the spread of the virus, accompanied by the confusion of Large-Scale Social Restriction policies, most of the communities of practice are portrayed as building social resilience through mutual cooperation activities of various forms, after they determine the target group that is their domain of concern.

Gotong royong or mutual aid as the cultural root of Indonesian society is maintained and implemented as a form of social solidarity. In the context of the current practice, this is generally limited to increasing chances of life-survival, rather than improving the quality of life. The practical community response is based on uncertain situations, and there are many pressures resulting from Large-Scale Social Restriction policies set by the government.

The grassroots practice on mutual cooperation actions that are carried out amid the uncertainty of social protection efforts provided by the government, include:

- 1) Determine the domain or focus of the target groups concerned in terms of the vulnerabilities and risks experienced by each target group.
- 2) Formulate activities based on the results of the identification and inventory of the needs of each target group.
- 4) Build and establish a connection with the network as a resource strength of collaborative work, such as by raising funds, event management, goods collection, and distribution of food aid and medical equipment to the targeted vulnerable group.
- 5) Divide roles between communities and networks to facilitate the handling or logistical management process as needed, through a series of meetings and scheduled coordination.

- 6) Realise a number of supporting capacities and resources to reach target groups to overcome the problems they experience, such as food shortages during times of social restrictions, rising prices, scarce raw materials, fasting month, and prohibition of returning to the village on Eid Mubarak holiday.

Actions by each community to mobilise mutual cooperation in the current situation are deemed more appropriate to the target group that focused on the domain they are concerned with, and much faster because they are well-organised for the roles and tasks that the community and their network carry out. When compared with the implementation carried out by the government, it takes a lot of time due to the validity of data that has never been updated.

The achievements produced by the community of practice do not stop when the full achievement produces satisfying results, but instead raises the transformative value that results from the process of re-meaning, or re-framing the values of each stage of community organising practice to continue connections and practices for a longer term. Cooperatives as a form of collective economy, planting activities on narrow land for food security, responding to the uncertainties faced by each community, and network towards the target groups they care about.

Based on the various practices carried out by the community, important recommendations that can be adopted by policy makers to effectively implement social protection are:

- 1) Policy makers can learn to prioritise human care, by placing everyone in a disaster situation as a human being and not always prioritising mere administrative matters.
- 2) Policy makers can provide a space for community participation in monitoring and distributing social assistance, if they feel they are not on target. Community participation is the key to encourage government accountability in distributing social assistance in an equitable, nondiscriminatory manner.
- 3) Policy makers would benefit from realising that the mutual cooperation approach is purely voluntary and based on critical awareness. Communities act without coercion or obligation.
- 4) Policy makers can learn about how each community and network creates security and protects each other in the midst of a crisis. Policy makers may benefit from not creating repressive fear and insecurity, because in any crisis, human security is the priority.

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