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**CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF MICRO PPKM POLICY IN THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC:
A STUDY BASED ON THE PERCEPTION OF MICRO ENTREPRENEURS**

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ABSTRACT

In an effort to limit the spread of Covid-19, the Indonesian government through the provincial and district or city governments implemented the Micro PPKM policy which was implemented in almost all sub-districts and remote villages. This condition certainly brings positive and negative implications for society both economically and socially. This study aims: first, to find out the reality of the cultural theme of the impact of the implementation of the Micro PPKM policy that is currently happening. Second, a critical review of government policies related to Micro PPKM based on John Rawls' justice perspective. This type of research is included in the critical paradigm, while the research design is critical ethnography, which combines James Spradley's realist ethnographic approach and John Rawls' theory of justice. The results of the analysis of cultural themes indicate a decrease in the sense of community awareness, a decrease in the value of distributive justice related to the provision of incentives in the context of empowering MSMEs, a decrease in the income of micro business actors during Micro PPKM, strengthening the justification that the nature of the micro business sector is informal. Meanwhile, John Rawls's theory of justice analysis shows that based on the social values adopted by the Indonesian people, micro-enterprises operating in the afternoon until the evening demand equal treatment regarding the distribution of incentives as compensation for the impact of the implementation of Micro PPKM.

KEY WORDS

Micro PPKM, micro-enterprises, Covid-19, critical ethnography, theory of justice.

The Covid-19 pandemic has not only disrupted the business performance of the large business sector, but also has implications for the MSME sector. This condition is different from the financial crisis that occurred in 1997-1998 and 2008. Therefore, in those years, the financial crisis only affected the banking sector and large businesses. Meanwhile, in an effort to limit the spread of Covid-19, the central government through the provincial government and district/city governments implemented the policy of Enforcement of Micro-Based Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM Mikro) which was implemented in almost all sub-districts and remote villages. This condition certainly has positive and negative implications for society both economically and socially.

This research focuses on two things, in the first stage this research focuses on efforts to find the reality of the cultural theme the impact of the implementation of the Micro PPKM policy that is currently happening. In the second phase of this research, the focus is on a critical review of government policies related to Micro PPKM based on John Rawls' justice perspective. The contributions of this research are: (1) this research is expected to produce empirical evidence in the form of cultural realities that occur as a result of the implementation of the micro PPKM policy in the city of Malang, (2) this research is expected to be used as the government considerations in making policies related to Micro PPM policies, so that the resulting policies are not counterproductive. This research is the first research that tries to construct the impact of micro PPKM policy.

In an effort to follow up the instructions of Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 3 Tahun 2021 concerning Restriction on Micro-Based Community activities (PPKM Mikro) and the establishment of the 2019 Corona Virus Disease Handling Post at the Village and Sub-District levels to control the spread of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Kemendagri, 2021), the provincial government, in this case the Regency or City government, implements restrictions

(Jatim, 2021) including the following: (1) limiting workplaces or offices by implementing work from home (WFH) as much as 50 percent and work from office (WFO) by 50 percent by observing more stringent health protocols, (2) making arrangements for the implementation of restrictions; (a) restaurant activities (fifty percent on-site eating/drinking and for food service via delivery or take-away are still permitted according to restaurant operating hours with the implementation of stricter health protocols, (b) limitation of operating hours for shopping centers or malls until 21.00 WIB with the implementation of stricter health protocols, (3) activities of public facilities and socio-cultural activities that can cause crowds are temporarily suspended. With this Micro PPKM people in Java and Bali cannot move at night (Patrolipost, 2021). Meanwhile, based on undang-undang No.20 tahun 2008, micro businesses are productive businesses owned by individuals and or business entities whose criteria: (1) total assets are less than IDR 50 million rupiah, (2) have a turnover of less than IDR 300 million per year (Suhendri et al., 2017).

METHODS OF RESEARCH

'Paradigm' or also called 'perspective' in the context of life can be seen as a set of beliefs or basic beliefs that lead a person to act in living his daily life (Ludigdo, 2013). Paradigm will determine how a person does what he wants. The term paradigm was first introduced by Thomas Kuhn and popularized by Robert Friedrichs. In his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Kuhn defines 'paradigm' as a scientific effort that can be made to understand a problem and provide a solution to the problem for a community of users that is universally recognized (Kuhn, 1970). Paradigm provides a framework that includes a set of theories, methods and ways of determining data in a domain. 'Paradigm' is seen as important because of its ability to dissect empirical reality and its flexibility in dealing with the problems it will solve. In other words, 'paradigm' or 'perspective' is a point of view used to understand a phenomenon more fully.

In each research process, the paradigm adopted by the researcher will greatly determine how the researcher views the research to be carried out. The research paradigm will assist researchers in understanding a problem as well as the testing criteria that will be used to answer the research questions raised (Guba & Lincoln, 1988). Paradigms in social science are divided into four main paradigms, namely functionalism, interpretive, humanist radicals and structural radicals (Burrell & Morgan, 1978). Burrell and Morgan's version of the paradigm by (Chua, 1986) is simplified into three paradigms which include mainstream positivism, interpretivism, and criticism. This division is widely used in the realm of accounting today. Because the analysis uses John Rawls' theory of justice, this research is included in the realm of 'critical paradigm'.

This type of research is a qualitative research where the data obtained and the analysis tools are more qualitative (Sugiyono, 2013). This research is based on the philosophy of postpositivism which prioritizes research on the condition of scientific objects (as opposed to experiments) in which the researcher acts as the key instrument. This research is often called naturalistic research, because the research is carried out in natural conditions (Sugiyono, 2016). Qualitative research was conducted intensively; the researcher conducted a reflective analysis of various documents found in the field, and compiled a detailed research report.

The design of this research is a critical ethnographic method. In the realm of social science, ethnography was initially used more in the interpretive research tradition. Harris as quoted by (Creswell, 2013) describes ethnography as: "a qualitative research design in which the researcher seeks to describe and interpret the same pattern of values, behavior, beliefs and language of a group of the same culture". In addition, it is also added as a process as well as the results of ethnographic research can be said as a way to study a group with the same culture which will also be used as the final written result of the research. Ethnography not only describes and analyzes what is visible but also reveals what is not visible or becomes a hidden agenda and has always been a limitation or obstacle. To discover the reality of the cultural theme of the impact of the Micro PPM policy, the researcher chose to

use the ethnographic research method introduced by (Spradley, 2006) called the Developmental Research Sequence method.

The following are the twelve steps of the Staged Forward Flow research method proposed (Spradley, 2006): (1) assigning informants or selecting research sites. There are three aspects of the social setting that must be mapped by the ethnographer before conducting ethnographic research, namely place, actors and activities, (2) interviewing informants (conducting participatory observations). Participant observers will record in their minds what happened, the atmosphere when something happened, what the sequence of events was and so on (Kamayanti, 2016), (3) make ethnographic notes in the form of: field notes, voice recorders, documents, pictures, artifacts and objects -Other objects that will describe the cultural atmosphere being researched. The principles are: (a) The use of the informant's native language. This will help the ethnographer to get complete information, (b) the concrete principle, namely the principle that emphasizes a detailed description of what the ethnographer sees and feels. (4) asking descriptive questions, (5) making descriptive observations. Some aspects that must appear in descriptive observation are: actor space, activity, object, action, event, time, goal, and feeling. These aspects will help the ethnographer in making questions when conducting research in the field. These aspects will also help make a complete building on the description of an event that an ethnographer wants to include in the description of his ethnographic record, (6) create a domain analysis. This is an attempt to obtain a general and comprehensive picture of the object of research or of a social situation through explicit or implied cultural domains or patterns (Spradley, 2006), (7) making focused observations, (8) making taxonomic analysis, (9) asking contrast questions (making selected observations), (10) making componential analysis, (11) analysis of cultural themes (revealing cultural themes), (12) writing ethnography.

According to (Creswell, 2013) there are many forms of actual ethnography, ranging from confessional ethnography, visual ethnography, automatic ethnography and so on. Creswell emphasizes that there are two popular types of ethnography, namely realist (traditional) ethnography and critical ethnography. Realist (traditional) ethnography is an objective report of a situation, usually written in the third person and reporting objectively the information learned from participants in one place. Critical ethnography in its development emerged as a rapid response to complex changes that occurred in the reality of the social world as well as the emergence of various new problems faced by existing society. Ethnographic results are criticized by using John Rawls' theory of justice. (Thomas, 1993) believes that critical ethnography will help broaden the perspective and experience of researchers in seeing, hearing, and feeling what is happening in the field.

The location of this research is in the city of Malang. In the process of this research, the informants who were interviewed in this study were micro business actors registered with Dinas Koperasi and UMKM city Malang, which consisted of: (1) micro business actors in the service sector, (2) micro business actors in the service sector, production Sector, (3) micro business actors in the trade sector. As in qualitative research in general, the instrument of this research is the researcher himself (Sugiyono, 2013). This is based on the basic belief that only humans are able to collect data, build a complete understanding and try to assemble the scattered "puzzles" through interviews with informants, direct observations at the research site and documentation of the artifacts needed to then frame them in a single research report. In practice, to assist researchers in data collection, researchers will use several other tools such as voice recorders, cameras, recording devices and others according to the needs in the field.

Meanwhile, several data collection techniques used in this study, namely: (1) Interview. Non-formal interviews were conducted without making any prior appointments and took place openly to informants. This interview is in the context of the impact of implementing the Micro PPKM policy, (2) Observation. The researchers will make observations on all business activities or the behavior of micro business actors. Observations will be made by becoming a participant observer, not an ordinary participant, this need to be done especially to get an "atmosphere" that might not be revealed if the researcher is just an ordinary observer. Participating observation is also important because the point of view of the observer who

stands on the outside will certainly be different from the point of view of the observer who stands on the inside of the micro business actor. The process of observing and observing can be done without the informant being aware of it or by notifying the informant in advance. This observation needs to be done mainly for the purpose of data triangulation. To record the activities of informants to be observed, researchers will use digital cameras and will be archived in computer files as data archives, (3) Documentation. The next data collection technique that researchers will do is documentation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Micro PPKM policy during the Covid-19 pandemic had a major impact on micro entrepreneur businesses. The perceived impact is a reduction in the income of micro businesses. The government's policy in an effort to help MSMEs is in the form of assistance in the amount of Rp. 2.500.000,- for every MSME. However, the assistance from the government has not been fully felt by micro-enterprises. The aid was deemed unfair in its distribution. The value of justice is seen from the level of concern, equal treatment, and fairness.

As social beings, humans are required to live side by side with other humans. In society, every human being needs to instill a sense of caring for one another. Social care is a form of attitude and action that reflects concern for other people or communities in need related to the values of honesty, compassion, humility, friendliness, kindness and so on (Setiawan et al., 2017). The importance of instilling a caring attitude needs to be done as early as possible so that values are permeated in humans. Social care plays an important role in forming socially sensitive individuals, with attitudes and actions who always want to help others in need.

All values about social care are obtained through the environment. Social care in question is not to interfere in other people's affairs, but rather to help solve problems faced by others with the aim of goodness and peace (Tabi'in, 2017). One form of social care is helping. Helping behavior can be done by all people without exception. Likewise, the efforts made by the government at the time of PPKM were to help MSME actors by providing assistance of Rp. 2.500.000, - for each MSME. However, this assistance is not fully felt by micro-enterprises, and many micro-enterprises do not know that during this pandemic the government provides assistance.

In general, justice associated with outcome justice is distributive justice, although in principle the two are different. In the distribution process there are always two parties, namely the aid provider and the aid recipient (Faturochman, 1999). In this case, it is aid agencies from outside parties which are sometimes assisted by local actors and recipients, namely survivors. Often the relationship between the two is not equal in the process of distributive justice, but when viewed from the point of view of exchange, both must be equal. Equality in the distribution process is important because it involves psychological factors, namely the acceptance of survivors of aid providers (Rawls, 1971).

Basically discrimination is different treatment. The difference in treatment can be due to skin color, class or ethnicity, and it can also be due to differences in gender, economy, religion, and so on. According to Theodor Son, discrimination is an unequal treatment of individuals, or groups, based on something, usually categorical, or distinctive attributes, such as based on race, ethnicity, religion, or membership of social classes. One of the provisions of the PPKM policy is the 'prohibition of crowding' and 'restriction of community activities only until 20.00 WIB'. This provision has implications for the community not to leave the house until 20.00 WIB. Meanwhile, this provision is detrimental for traders who open their stalls starting at 16.00 WIB.

The Covid-19 pandemic has implications for the inhibition of micro-entrepreneurs' business activities, especially micro-entrepreneurs who are active at night. The PPKM policy limits the operational hours of business activities to 20.00 WIB. For traders who are active at night, of course, they are affected by the policy of operating hours. Martabak sellers, chicken and fish salad sellers or stalls, satay sellers and so on will experience a decrease in the

number of customers which will ultimately have an impact on the income earned. Compassion is a form of concern among fellow traders who sell until the evening. Feelings of the same fate will foster a caring attitude among the merchant community. ¹⁴

Domain is any symbolic category that includes other categories. Domain is **the first and most important unit of analysis in ethnographic research**. The first element in the structure of a domain is the term 'cover term'. The second element is the term 'covered'. The third element is 'semantic relationship'. In a domain, the semantic relationship relates the encompassing term to all included terms in its pair. Domain analysis in this research is done by looking for semantic relationships as a starting point; semantic relations as a very useful tool in ethnographic research. Using these relational concepts, the ethnographer can discover most of the principles that culture has for organizing symbols into domains. Even more, because cultural meaning depends on the relationship between symbols, using these relational concepts will lead directly to understanding the meaning of these symbols. Domain analysis begins with the use of semantic relationships, not concluding terms to find domains. Researchers as ethnographers try to find relational concepts related to the Impact of this Micro PPKM Policy.

The researcher reads the manuscript from the interview with the informants and which is then coded and supported by the photo documentation that the researcher obtained. Based on the reading of the coding and documentation, it was found that relational patterns or domains related to the impact of the Micro PPKM Policy in Malang were found. Some domains are often stated in terms that often appear when researchers conduct interviews with informants. Domain elements in this domain analysis consist of included terms, covered terms, and semantic relationships. Some of the results of the domain analysis that can be identified are related to the impact of the Micro PPKM Policy, namely the reason for the importance of caring, the attributes of distributive justice, the reason for the importance of equal treatment, the reason for the decline in MSME income during Micro PPKM, the reason for the nature of the micro business sector. The process of finding these domains is done by repeatedly asking the informants, starting from the initial informant to the final informant. For example, the description of distributive justice is taken from quotes from words or sentences conveyed by informants. At first, the domains of distributive justice and the domain of equal treatment were separated, because there was a similarity in meaning even though they were written differently and the meanings of the terms covered were mostly the same. Henceforth, in the taxonomic analysis, they are combined into one domain, namely distributive justice. James Spradley stated that researchers can determine the main domain by considering which domain has ¹⁷ the most 'terms covered'.

Meanwhile, **based on the results of the taxonomic analysis that has been carried out**, four contrasting dimensions were found, namely: (1) there is a decreased sense of human concern. The government should also provide financial assistance to micro-enterprises who carry out their business activities at night; (2) there is a decrease in the value of distributive justice (related to the provision of incentives in the context of empowering MSMEs during the Covid-19 pandemic). It is better to avoid giving incentives only to MSME actors who are close to the local government; (3) the income of micro business actors during Micro PPKM has decreased; (4) ¹¹ the nature of the business sector of micro business actors is informal.

Furthermore, component analysis is a systematic ²¹ arch for various attributes (meaning components) associated with cultural symbols. Based on the results of the componential analysis, a series of contrasting sentences can be explained as follows: (1) this decreased sense of concern implies a statement from the informant that the incentive assistance should be directed to micro business actors who are really affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, especially micro business actors, whose business runs at night. Their business only started at 16.00, but at 21.00 it had to be ended or closed due to the curfew rules during Micro PPKM, (2) The decrease in the value of distributive justice related to the provision of government incentive assistance to MSME actors, because not all micro-enterprises receive the incentive assistance equally. Only urban MSME actors and close to the city government receive it. Meanwhile, not all micro business actors in urban periphery receive the incentive assistance, (3) The impact of the Micro PPKM policy, namely the limitation of business

operating hours at 20.00 WIB must be closed and road access closures in several RW (Rukun Warga) locations, causing a decrease in the income of most micro business actors working at night, (4) The nature of the business sector. Many micro business actors who incidentally work in the informal sector are affected by this Micro PPKM policy. It is possible for the government to only provide incentive assistance to MSME actors who are officially included in the local government database, in the sense of having an ID card of a local resident. Meanwhile, those who do not have an ID card as local residents do not get the incentive assistance.

Finally, the discovery of cultural themes in this study was carried out using an inventory approach. In the analysis of cultural themes, actually not only the inventory approach can be used, but also researchers can join in and interact repeatedly with informants or participants, as is done in grounded theory research. The concept of cultural themes was first introduced by anthropologist Morris Opler, who described the general culture of the Apache Indians (Spradley, 2006). General patterns can be understood by identifying them repeatedly. Morris Opler defines a 'theme' as 'a postulate or proposition, stated directly or indirectly, and which usually controls behavior or stimulates activities that are tacitly approved or publicly supported in a society'. The concept of theme has its roots in the general idea that culture is more than pieces of habit. Not only that, culture is a complex pattern. Every culture, and every cultural setting, is more than a collection of parts. Culture contains a system of meaning that is integrated into several types of larger patterns.

Theme is an affirmation that has a high level of generality. Themes apply to a wide variety of situations. Recurring themes in two or more domains. One way to detect themes is to examine the contrasting dimensions of several domains.

Table 1 – Cultural Theme Analysis Results

Domain Analysis	Taxonomic Analysis	Componential Analysis	Theme Analysis
Concern (Care)	Decreased sense of caring	Moral or ethical system	Espoused Social Values
Distributive Justice	Decrease in the value of distributive justice (in terms of providing incentives in the context of empowering MSMEs)	Moral or ethical system	Espoused Social Values
Revenue during Micro PPKM	Reduction in income during Micro PPKM	Income Level	Income Stability
Nature of the business sector	Informal (Micro-Enterprises)	Nature of the business	Informal business sector

Cultural themes in the research have been found (see table 22). Therefore, the stages of this ethnographic analysis have been passed; starting with domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis and the last is the analysis of cultural themes. Based on the results of the research conducted, there are several domains related to the impact of this Micro PPKM policy. The first domain is 'care'. The second domain is 'distributive justice'. The third domain is 'income during PPKM'. The last domain is 'the nature of the business sector'. The domain of 'care' can be analyzed taxonomy and the result is a 'decreased sense of caring'. Taxonomy analysis of the 'distributive justice' domain results in a decrease in the value of distributive justice related to the provision of incentives in the context of empowering MSMEs. Furthermore, the taxonomic result for the domain 'Revenue during PPKM' is 'reduction in income during Micro PPKM'. Finally, the result of the taxonomy of the 'nature of the business sector' domain is 'micro-enterprises that are informal sector businesses'.

The 'social values embraced' by the Indonesian people are the spirit of togetherness, kinship and mutual cooperation. If a member of the community experiences a disaster or experiences difficulties, a sense of social concern for the surrounding environment will arise. In addition, these 'social values' will encourage the nature of demanding equal treatment (Rawls, 1971). There is no real difference, especially in the distribution of incentives among communities when a disaster occurs (Herdianto & Yuniarti, 2012). Meanwhile, based on a tenacious, diligent spirit and the spirit of freedom of business, many Indonesians work in the 'informal business sector' or entrepreneurship. Given the nature of this business sector, the level of 'income stability' is influenced by existing social and economic conditions.

CONCLUSION

In accordance with the initial objectives of this study, this research has found the reality of cultural themes related to the impact of the implementation of the Micro PPKM policy, namely: (1) a decrease in the sense of concern for the people who are really affected by the Micro PPKM policy. This reality is not in accordance with the social values adopted by the Indonesian people, namely upholding the spirit of togetherness, kinship, and mutual cooperation; (2) the decreasing value of distributive justice. The provision of incentives as compensation for the implementation of the Micro PPKM policy is not evenly received by MSME actors, especially for micro entrepreneurs who operate at night and who do not have a local ID card. With operating hours limited to 20.00 WIB, of course, it will further reduce the income received by micro business actors whose operating hours are in the afternoon until the evening; (3) Decrease in the income of MSME actors. As a result of the implementation of the Micro PPKM policy, one of which is the limitation of operating hours, it has implications for the stability of income received by micro business actors, especially micro business actors who only operate in the afternoon until the evening; (4) the nature of the business run by micro-enterprises is informal. With the background of the spirit of freedom of business, supported by a tenacious spirit and perseverance, many Indonesians are engaged in entrepreneurial work, which incidentally is the informal business sector.

The results of this study have implications for several parties. First, the government needs to conduct an accurate survey of MSME actors who really need incentive assistance. The government should avoid providing Covid-19 incentives that are only concentrated in urban areas. The government needs to make special rules for micro-enterprises operating at night. Second, the government needs to understand the business characteristics or nature of this micro-enterprise sector, considering that the development of social and economic conditions will affect the development of micro-enterprises. Third, for micro-entrepreneurs who do not have a local resident identity card, they should immediately request a letter from the head of the local RW or RT (Rukun Tetangga) explaining that their business has been operating for at least 5 years. With this certificate, it will be easier for the local government to distribute incentive assistance related to compensation for the impact of the Micro PPKM policy.

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