



Uncover *Intermestic*: Covid-19 Vaccination Implementation Policy In West Sumatra

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ABSTRACT

West Sumatra is one of the provinces in Indonesia where most of the people are of the Minangkabau ethnicity. People in the province base their lives on the customs and religion of Islam. As of October 2021, West Sumatra had not performed well in terms of vaccination rates. It was one of the two provinces in Indonesia with the lowest acceptance rate of the COVID-19 vaccine at the time. The government of West Sumatra did not sanction vaccine refusal either. This resulted in a slowdown in the government's objective of creating herd immunity. This article, therefore, aims to analyze the local values of West Sumatra, which can be utilized as a means of overcoming this situation. The research method used in this study was qualitative, with primary data collected through interviews, and secondary data obtained from journals, books, reports, and news articles. The result shows that the Covid-19 is a global problem which requires a domestic response by involving local actors from social capital networks in West Sumatra.

KEYWORDS

Covid-19; Intermestic; Policy; West Sumatra

INTRODUCTION

Covid-19 was declared a national disaster (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2020). To suppress the spread of the virus, the vaccination process in Indonesia officially began with President Joko Widodo having his vaccine in January 2021. However, the public has varied responses regarding the receipt of the Covid-19 vaccine. According to survey data conducted by the Ministry of Health, ITAGI (National Immunization Expert Advisory Committee), UNICEF, and WHO that of the 34 provinces, West Papua Province has the highest acceptance rate of 74%, while West Sumatra Province is the second-lowest province related to acceptance of vaccine, namely 47%. The reason for vaccines' hesitancy includes concerns about the safety and effectiveness of vaccines, distrust of vaccines, and the issue of whether a vaccine is halal (Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia et al., 2020). This condition is undoubtedly a challenge for the Government of West Sumatra in accelerating the improvement of public health conditions.

Vaccination is the treatment of Covid-19 that has been chosen as an alternative at the global level. However, in its implementation, some challenges occur domestically. Doubts about the vaccine arose in the community. This condition, for example, occurs in New Zealand; based on research by Thaker (2021), although many are willing to be vaccinated, there are still doubts about the vaccine. The same condition also occurred in Turkey; according to Kilic et al., (2021),

a third of the people had not been able to decide on their behavior towards vaccines. Salali and Uysal (2020) stated that doubts about the Covid-19 vaccine in Turkey were related to cognitive biases that developed in society. Furthermore, Alduwayghiri and Khan (2021) also found that the fear felt by the people led to doubts and even rejection of the Covid-19 vaccine in Saudi Arabia. Fear and biased information cause the slow progress of vaccination in the community. If left unchecked, it will undoubtedly hamper the improvement of the pandemic conditions. According to Demaio, it is necessary to link local wisdom to health policy to encourage behavior change (Demaio, 2011). Therefore, this paper aims to discuss the intermestic interactions caused by transnational issues in the case of vaccine policy adoption by utilizing local values in West Sumatra.

This paper contributes to the study of International Relations, particularly in two ways. First, this paper shows that in implementing top-down policies, an approach following local values in society. Second, transnational problems will affect the existing conditions in the domestic. Therefore, this paper consists of several parts, namely, discussing domestic and international relations. The second part discusses the challenges of Covid-19 vaccination in West Sumatra. Furthermore, this paper also discusses the culture in West Sumatra. Finally, discussing the local culture can be used by the government in changing people's

behavior and making them more ready to be vaccinated.

GLOBAL PROBLEM – DOMESTIC APPROACH

Intermestic studies are alternative studies in the study of policy change. Because of globalization, the main approach in the study of policy change includes domestic and international approaches (Kurniawati, 2017). Domestic and International dimensions have interactions and relationships, which then forms policies in achieving interests. The term intermestic comes from the Foreign Affairs article Bayless Manning in 1977, which states that a country's foreign policy has a direct impact on its domestic affairs and that policy is rooted in considerations of international and domestic conditions (Manning, 1977). Intermestic, according to him, can be seen from the impact of embargoing oil from other countries will cause domestic oil prices.

In the study of International Relations, many works of literature state that domestic and international affairs are interconnected. James Rosenau was the first scholar to pay attention to domestic and international relations in policies. Rosenau emphasized the importance of studying the impact of internal variables on internal politics and internal variables on foreign policy (Rosenau, 1969). Although before Rosenau, there were writings that mentioned the interaction between domestic and international, such as Deutsch (1957) and Ernst Haas (1958). Haas argued that European integration

occurred because of the influence of domestic and international developments. However, the primary analysis in Haas's writings focuses more on the formation of supranational institutions. The interaction between domestic and international interaction factors is also mentioned in Graham Allison's writings. In Allison's explanation of the foreign policy process, Allison's bureaucratic model explains if there is an overlap between domestic affairs and international relations. The relationship between bureaucratic interests and the formation of foreign policy (Allison, 1971). Further developments in domestic and international relations can be seen in the writings of Peter Katzenstein if policymakers must pay attention to domestic and international pressures simultaneously. The main argument of Katzenstein that the primary goal of a country's foreign economic policy strategy is to make the domestic economy in accordance with the international political economy (Katzenstein, 1978).

In his theoretical approach, Putnam tried to solve the tangle between domestic and international politics in a policy. Putnam, in his writings, argues that decision-makers seek to link domestic and international sides together (Putnam, 1988). In its development, the study of policy change does not only discuss conflicts between interests and power, where domestic and international aspects coincide and become a challenge for policymakers to find a middle point. Analysis from Rosenau, Haas, Allison,



Katzenstein places a state-centric view. Putnam tries to get out of this grip with two-level game analysis, but with the rapid wave of globalization, the role of transnational ideas is also a determinant in policy change (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993; Risse et al., 1999). However, it is undeniable that domestic and international approaches dominate the study of foreign policy change. With globalization, it is tough to explain policy change if we only look at the domestic aspect without considering transnational ideas from outside the domestic sphere, for example, in explaining the third wave of democratization in the 1970s to 1990s which can be explained by linking the diffusion of democratic ideas (Kurniawati, 2017).

According to Kurniawati, the intermestic approach fills the gap left by the domestic and international approaches in explaining the influence of the New Right idea related to the market economy. In the intermestic perspective related to policy change, the simultaneous adoption of market economy ideology in the late 1970s in developing countries through scholars from developing countries who received scholarships to countries where the New Right idea was very dominant. So, according to Kurniawati, the intermestic approach sees the construction of ideas as an essential part of the policy change process. The intermestic approach still sees the logic of the domestic approach as important because it represents a government that has veto power in making policies, but this also

applies to the logic of the international approach, which opens space for non-state actors in the domestic and international arena (Kurniawati, 2017). So, if intermestic as an approach sees the construction of ideas as an essential aspect, so transnational interactions through governance, non-state actors across national borders become an integral part of the intermestic approach. Besides the construction of ideas, development, and diffusion of norms as interactions between domestic and international, then looking at the intermestic approach through a constructivist perspective will be suitable. The constructivist view in the intermestic approach is based on several things. First, domestic policy or interest is a continuous interaction process with international logic and norms. According to Checkel (1997), Liberal and Constructivist perspectives understand how international norms affect the domestic sphere. Using norms and ideas as objects of an intermestic approach is based on whether ideas and norms are immaterial in form and can move and spread quickly through technological advances.

International ideas and norms that influence domestic policies and activities are different from the materialist approach, which sees policy as the result of rational interests. Second, international and domestic interaction is getting stronger due to growing global governance activities. Global governance consists of elements and methods from public and private sector actors. These elements are norm, shared values applied



and "imposed" by the state (Benedict, 2015). It causes the intermestic side of Global Governance to solve a problem for the common good through multi-actor interaction by using elements of norms and values as products adopted or produced, which are then applied by the state. International interaction lies in the ideas and norms developed by Global Governance and adopted by the state as a domestic authority space (Top-Down) such as norms in global environmental issues, or norms and ideas from the domestic sphere driven by various non-state actors which then become a joint discussion by the Global Governance mechanism to be re-adopted by countries (Bottom-Up). The intermestic side of the Top-Down mechanism can be seen in the institutional developments stimulated by participation in global health governance in the WHO. For instance in order to break the spread of the Covid-19 virus, WHO recommended that the countries implement a social distancing policy. However, policy implementation differs from one country to another, because WHO only provides the initial guideline for Covid-19 prevention and its implementation depends on state actors' characteristics, such as political structure, nature, and other local conditions (Biswas, 2021).

Another form of intermestic interaction caused by transnational issues is the adoption of vaccines encouraged by the WHO to countries around the world during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ahead of that, WHO also recommended that

countries undertake public health measures in response to the Covid-19 epidemic, such as protective measures (hand hygiene, respiratory etiquette), environmental measures, physical distance measures, and travel-related measures. Additionally, WHO added that countries should identify, test, trace, and quarantine suspected cases (WHO, 2020). Nowadays, the World Health Organization encourages the public across the globe to receive vaccinations against Covid-19. Due to this, countries are responsible for promoting vaccination in their societies, in which at least 70% of the population is immunized. Each country has a different approach and strategy in adopting the WHO's vaccine use policy. For example, 4 out of 8 vaccines used as COVID-19 vaccines are produced in India, placing the Indian government in a policy of increasing vaccine production and developing an efficient digital system in the implementation of vaccinations (Kumar et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in England, in the success of the vaccination program, the British government divides the community into several priority groups for vaccine recipients. Vaccines are also distributed massively by creating mass vaccination centers. However, information from social media about the impact of vaccines on fertility is a challenge for the British government (Harnden & Earnshaw, 2021). The literature shows that every problem that occurs at the international level will have domestic implications for a country. The variety of ways of life and customs in

society makes conditions even more complicated so that it is not easy for the government to implement global policies, such as the Covid-19 vaccination.

Intermestic is understood as the interaction of domestic and international through ideas and norms. International ideas and norms compete with the local community's ideas and beliefs, which then becomes an obstacle for the adoption of these international ideas and norms. The challenge is the rejection or resistance of the community to the new idea or norm. It could be because the idea or norm conflicts with the prevailing idea or norm, or there is misinformation or misunderstanding regarding these international norms and ideas. The government then needs to carry out specific strategies so that these international ideas and norms can be accepted, by using social capital in society so that new ideas and norms can be accepted.

According to Putnam (Putnam, 1995), social capital is trust between community members, involving many networks, norms, and social trust, which encourages cooperation to achieve common interests. Then, Brehm and Rahn (1997) define social capital as a network of cooperation among communities to facilitate joint resolution in problem-solving. From this definition, it can be concluded that social capital is a reciprocal social network and acts as a solution to common problems. Social capital is distinguished in terms of its form (Ferlander, 2007). First, bonding refers to

social connections built from equality, informality, and intimate closeness. This social capital is homogeneous in terms of social class, closed, and lacks trust with outsiders. Second, bridging, this social capital refers to the relationship between diverse individuals. Bridging networks are characterized by formal and informal relationships and strong or weak ties. This social capital connects individuals and communities to opportunities outside their networks. Therefore, this social capital is heterogeneous, and the relationship is very open. Third, linking, this social capital refers to the relationship between individuals or groups in positions of power. This social capital connects people on different social scales.

METHODS

This article applied a qualitative method. Primary data is collected through an interview with three interviewees, namely West Sumatra Spokesperson for Covid-19, Mr. Jasman Rizal and Mrs. Risda, a *Bundo Kanduang* (woman leader in Minang Culture in Lawang, Agam Regency, West Sumatra), and Mr. Natsir Dt. Sampono Batuah, Secretary of the Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (Minangkabau Natural Indigenous Density Institute). Secondary data was gathered from journal articles, books, reports, and news article based on keyword searches including 'vaccines', 'West Sumatra', 'Covid-19', 'character of society', 'social capital, intermestic'. After the data was collected, data triangulation was then carried out, namely by

comparing the data obtained from interviews, report documents, books, and journal articles used. The data is then analyzed using a conceptual framework, namely, social capital, which aims to explain how the local culture can be used by the government in encouraging people's behavior and raising community willingness to be vaccinated.

THE CHALLENGE OF COVID-19 VACCINATION IN WEST SUMATRA

Based on Presidential Regulation Number 99 of 2020, the Government of Indonesia prepares the procurement and distribution of vaccines and the implementation of vaccinations. The hope is that by vaccinating all levels of Indonesian society, the spread of the Covid-19 virus can be suppressed, as stated by the Indonesian Minister of Health, Budi Gunadi Sadikin, that the purpose of vaccination is to achieve herd immunity (Bona, 2021). Of course, vaccination is an alternative solution for the government to minimize the development of the COVID-19 virus in Indonesia. Therefore, generally, people are injected with the vaccine twice to strengthen the antibodies in the body.

According to the data released by the Indonesian Ministry of Health on July 25, 2021, out of 34 provinces in Indonesia, West Sumatra is in the third lowest position for the first dose of vaccination and the second-lowest for the second dose of vaccination. However, West Sumatra's ranking again decreased to the second-lowest for the first and second vaccination

doses on September 18, 2021 (Ministry of Health, 2021). This data indicates that the development of vaccination in West Sumatra is running very slowly compared to other provinces. The unavailability of vaccines in West Sumatra could be the reason for this phenomenon; as stated by the Deputy Governor of West Sumatra that the demand for vaccines at the District and City Health Offices is relatively high (Public Relations of West Sumatra Province, 2021). This high demand, of course, is part of the West Sumatra government's efforts to ensure the target of herd immunity is achieved, with 70 to 80 percent of the population in West Sumatra being vaccinated as per the presidential instruction.

According to data from the Padang Panjang City Health Service report as of July 24, 2021, for two doses of vaccine in 19 districts/cities in West Sumatra, it is still below 70 percent. The data also shows that the City of Padang Panjang is in the first position to achieve the first and second doses of the Covid-19 vaccination. Meanwhile, Agam Regency is in the lowest position in the percentage of the first and second doses of COVID-19 vaccination (Government of Padang Panjang City, 2021). This data shows that the spread of the COVID-19 virus will be difficult to control with low vaccination rates. This is evident from the West Sumatra Covid-19 monitoring data that the number of daily positive cases of Agam residents has increased, as of July 21, 2021, consisting of 14 cases (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021b), then on 24, 27, and 29

July 2021. the number increased by 61 cases (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021c), 64 cases (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021d), and 108 cases (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021a). This condition worsened when West Sumatra did not comply with the recommended health protocols. Referring to the data collected by the Covid-19 Handling Task Force, accumulatively, West Sumatra Province has a compliance rate of wearing masks of 86.89% and maintaining a distance of 84.08% (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021e). However, there are still areas in West Sumatra that have a compliance level of these two indicators, less than 60%. However, the areas where the percentage of vaccination achievement is low and compliance with health protocols is less than 60% in terms of compliance with wearing masks and adherence to social distancing and crowds are Padang City and Agam Regency (Covid-19 Task Force, 2021f). This data shows that if we want to deal with COVID-19, the public needs to comply with health protocols and vaccinate at designated health centers.

In addition, if we look closely at what is happening in West Sumatra, according to Short and Mollborn (2015), health behavior is determined by individual welfare and extends to social organizations, such as family neighbors, workplace, and other interpersonal interactions. We cannot address the problem of the high number of Covid-19 cases and the low acceptance of vaccinations because of individual problems. Citing survey data from

Research and Development Kompas (2021) that the source of public information related to vaccines is based on their social environment, the nuclear family gets the most significant percentage, followed by close friends/neighbors/relatives, followed by the community, and religious leaders (Afrianto, 2021). Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, religious leaders in West Sumatra, especially Ulama, have tried to explain the importance of healthy behavior in today's new normal using a religious perspective through verses from the Quran and Hadith (Permata et al., 2021b). The hope is that the public understands and obeys the government's recommendations during this pandemic. Then religious communities in West Sumatra, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, can play an active role because of the emotional closeness between them and the community (Permata et al., 2021a). In addition, it is also necessary to pay attention to some of the characteristics of the people of West Sumatra, according to Effendi, namely respecting figures who are considered leaders, then respecting women based on matrilineal traditions, and placing roles and status by their rights and obligations (Effendi, 2015). Understanding the community's character can be used as a strategy in the success of vaccination. The character of the people of West Sumatra provides opportunities for women to play a role in the success of the vaccination that is being intensively carried out. The role of

women can be applied to bridge from the family and household to the community.

CULTURE IN WEST SUMATRA

West Sumatra is inhabited by a majority Minangkabau ethnic community. The community adopted a kinship system based on maternal lineage or matrilineal lineage. In this system, traditionally, land and property management (heirloom) and matrilineal title are passed on from mother to daughter in the Minangkabau society. Accordingly, the system provide a women at the core of the generational family (Mutolib et al. 2016). Besides, this system also has a uniqueness in leadership which is termed "tungku tigo sajarangan, tali tigo sapilin." The term "tungku tigo sajarangan" refers to local leadership actors, namely *pengulu* (traditional leader), *alim ulama* (religious leader), and *cadiak pandai* (scholar). While the term "tali tigo sapilin" refers to the values used in leadership, namely traditional values, religious values, and science (Sulastri et al., 2019). Therefore, these three actors and values become a unique blend in West Sumatran society.

The first local actor is the *pangulu*. He is a tribal leader who is elected by deliberation. This position is usually given to a man. The task of a leader is related to the daily affairs of the people he leads. The teacher's character is wise, fair, knowledgeable, and caring (Suryami, 2014). By having this character, he can support the people he leads. This is as expressed in the proverb *baringin gadang di tengah koto, ureknyo tampek baselo,*

batangnyo tampek basanda, dahannyo tampek bagantuang, daunnyo perak asuaso, bungonyo ambiak kasuntiang, buahnyo elok dimakan, tampek bataduah katiko hujan, tampek balinduang katiko paneh (a giant Banyan Tree in the middle of village, the roots as the place to sit, the stem as the place to lean, the branch as place to hang, the leaf is silver jewelry, the flower is for wedding crown, the fruit is good to eat, as a shelter when its rain, as place to cover from the sunlight). This proverb implies that the leader has a significant role in his people.

Furthermore, the other local actor in Minangkabau is *alim ulama*. The actor has become one of the influential actors in Minangkabau due to the existence of philosophy in society, namely *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (customary based on syari'a, syari'a based on the Koran). Based on this philosophy, Minangkabau is run based on customs and religion. The *alim ulama* are the figures in charge of religious affairs in Minangkabau society. Its function is described in the traditional proverb, *suluah bendang dalam nagari, palito nan indak panah padam, nan manunjuak mangajari untuk bajalan luruih, bakato bana* (as a torch on the ground, a light that never goes out, that guides us to walk and speak the truth). This proverb illustrates that the *alim ulama* is a place for asking questions for the community, inviting and teaching people to behave following religious teachings. In addition, the function of the *alim ulama* is still related to the traditional leader. The *alim ulama* can provide policy recommendations to

leaders related to moral and religious issues (Ismail et al., 2020). Therefore, the ulama became local actors who were listened to by the people in West Sumatra.

The following local actor is *cadiak pandai*. This actor means a scholar. Therefore, he is a person who is considered to have the knowledge to contribute to society. With this knowledge, *cadiak pandai* can be a problem solver in the community. In addition, *cadiak pandai* also plays a role in advancing people's thinking so as not to be out of date. Their job is described in the proverb *masalah buah kacang padi, dibao urang kalubuak bangku, kok cadiak kamamaga, nan elok masuk, buruak jan lalu* (cook the mung beans, bring people to Lubuak Bangku (place), The clever will create the fence, the good enter, the bad will never allowed). This proverb illustrates that as the protectors of the nagari (land), the *cadiak pandai* can be a filter regarding things that can impact the community. In addition, the character that *cadiak pandai* must possess is as expressed by the proverb, *cadiak indak mambuang, pandai banyak paguno, tau mambari tau, arif copek batenggang, bijak coteh barundiang, barani pantang mailak, tanang saribu aka, adil dalam manimbang* (The clever never waste, the smart helpful, The knower tell what it know, the wise is dependable, The wise is skilful in negotiate, the brave will never run, calm with a thousand idea, just in consider). In addition to being useful for many people, from this proverb, it can also be understood that an intelligent person must be able to respect the

opinions of others, share his knowledge with others using language that is easy to understand, responsive in various conditions, and in giving views must always be objective.

In addition to these three figures, the Minangkabau community also respects a *bundo kanduang*. Functionally *Bundo Kanduang* is interpreted as a senior woman or a true mother in a Minangkabau matrilineal family (Sismarni, 2011). Minangkabau culture describes *bundo kanduang* as "limpapeh rumah nan gadang." This expression describes *bundo kanduang* as the central pillar in a house. If the pole is not there or shakes, then the pole will collapse. This expression means that *Bundo Kanduang* is a mother who continually educates her children. Furthermore, women are also described as *amban puruak pegangan kunci, amban puruak aluang bunian, pusek jalo kumpulan tali, hiasan dalam nagari* (The Heirloom Guardian holder of the key. The heirloom guardian sound of subtle, problem solver of rope entangles, ornament of the land). This expression illustrates that *bundo kanduang* is the manager and key to solving family problems, unifying all differences, and guarding customs and values. Therefore, the position of *bundo kanduang* is significant because, without *bundo kanduang*, the family order will be shaky (Zainal, 2014). Therefore, the position of women as *bundo kanduang* is respected by custom. Risda added that *bundo kanduang* is a place to ask for advice, direction, and teaching (Risda, 2021). The

function of *bundo kanduang* conveyed by Risda is in line with what was conveyed by Eravianti et al. (2021) that *bundo kanduang* also plays a role in education. Elimartati (2016), in her writings, describes *Bundo Kanduang's* efforts in educating and fostering the golden generation. Because according to Elimartati, the role of *bundo kaduang* as a mother is fundamental, especially in laying the foundation for building the nation's character (morals). Furthermore, Irwandi et al. (2021) also described the role of *Bundo Kanduang* as an educator in Tahfizul Quran learning activities in Batipuh, Tanah Datar Regency. One indicator that can be used as a reference is the amount of moral and material support from the community both at home and abroad. *Bundo Kanduang's* ability to be an educator is not only because of the gendered character of *Bundo Kanduang* as a role identity, but also because the public trusts in seeing *Bundo Kanduang* not only as a mother in Rumah Gadang but also as a mother figure for the community.

These four figures are essential elements in Minangkabau society which are described in the proverb, *elok nagari dek panghulu, elok musajik dek tuangku, elok tapian dek nan mudo, elok rumah dek bundo kanduang* (The goodness of land because of Panghulu, The goodness of mosque because of Tuangku, The goodness of river because the young, the goodness of house because *Bundo Kanduang*). The point is that the goodness and success of a nagari/land depend on the character.

Although the four local actors have different roles and functions, in the process, they must synergize with each other in carrying out their roles. This synergy is depicted in the proverb, *tak ado barek nan indak bisa dipikua, indak ado ringan nan indak bisa dijinjiang, karano barek lai samo dipikua, ringan lai samo dijinjiang* (There is heavy load than cannot be bear, there is no light load that cannot be carry, because heavy load bear together, and light load carry together). Based on this proverb, it can be understood that the synergy between these figures is essential. It is because to ensure that the implementation of policies in the community is thriving, cooperation and cohesiveness from these figures are needed. According to Natsir Dt. Sampono Batuah, Secretary of the Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (Minangkabau Natural Indigenous Density Institute), said the Minangkabau community still respects these four figures because they have strong values of shame, *raso pareso* (tolerance), and politeness. According to him, this *raso* value binds us to other people. In the past, the origin of the word *raso* was *aso* which means one or faith, namely God. If we remember God, we will not be arbitrary towards others (Natsir, 2021). With these values, the emotional relationship of the Minang community with these figures becomes stronger, thereby strengthening the existing sense of trust.

In daily life, Minangkabau people live in groups or communally based on maternal lineage. With these

characteristics, the network within the West Sumatran society leads to a horizontal social capital network with informal ties. This network emphasizes equality of status and strong feelings between people. This is because the proverb describes the Minang people's way of life in society, namely *bak aua jo tabiang* (like bamboos and cliff) which means that they must strengthen and support each other (Saydam, 2010). This proverb shows that the value of togetherness is one of the distinctive values in Minangkabau society, according to the customs, *sakain sabaju, salauak sanasi, sabanta sakalang ulu, salapiak saka-tiduran* (sharing fabric sharing clothes, sharing side dish sharing rice, sharing pillow sharing head mat, sharing mattress sharing place to sleep). This proverb describes how the Minangkabau people have a high sense of solidarity in living together (Saydam, 2010). In addition, this proverb implies that Minangkabau people are accustomed to agreeing with one another in social life. Therefore, in a society in Minangkabau, every individual is seen as having the same status, following the saying *tagak samo tinggi, dudak samo randah* (Stand in the same high, sit in the same low) (Saydam, 2010). This proverb shows that interaction in society is not based on social classes.

However, people in Minangkabau also have respected leaders within a nagari. The proverb describes the state of the nagari in Minangkabau, namely *adaik nagari ado basuku, dalam suku babuah paruik, buah paruik ado tuonyo* (The land custom is

having a tribe, in the tribe there is families, each families have its eldest). This proverb means that every land in Minangkabau consists of tribes led by a tribal mamak (tribal leader) (Saydam, 2010). The tribe consists of a clan led by a mamak clan (a clan leader: someone who is chosen from among several mamak houses). These groups consist of families led by mamak rumah (tungganai: mother's brother) (Samin et al., 1996). In addition, this proverb describes how the Minangkabau community attaches importance to the existence of a representative from each unit in the community structure. The leader is the choice of his people and must be respected. This is in line with the saying *adaik pangulu bapadang larweh baalam leba* (Pangulu custom is broad field wide realm). This proverb means that his orders are carried out, as an elder and respected his existence. In addition, the leader is also described as *nan didahulukan salangkah, nan ditinggikan sarantiang* (one step first, one branch higher). This proverb illustrates that the elected leader has a high position in the community structure. The relationship between leaders and the community in Minangkabau can be categorized as a vertical social capital network with informal ties. This relationship is informal because there is no formal binding law between the community and the leader. However, the leader is respected by the community because it was decided based on deliberation. As expressed by the saying, "bulek jantuang karena kelopak, bulek aia dek pambuluah," meaning that every

decision in Minangkabau is the result of mutual respect consensus. The existence of obedience to informal leaders makes Minangkabau society unique. Even though it is informal, the relationship level is intense. This refers to the saying, *kamanakan barajo ka mamak; mamak barajo ka pengulu; pengulu barajo ka mupakaik; mupakaik barajo ka alua jo patuik* (Nephews obey uncle, uncle obeys pangulu, pangulu obeys discussions, discussions obeys what is appropriate) (Navis, 1984). The word “mamak” here means mamak rumah or mother’s brother. This proverb means that nephews in Minangkabau regard mamak as king, then the pengulu is the highest in the clan, so it must be heard and obeyed. This proverb shows the close relationship between the leader and the led in Minangkabau society. This close relationship arises because the leaders come from the mother's lineage so that those who are led and the leader has an emotional bond.

According to the characteristics of the Minangkabau community in West Sumatra, the form of social capital is bonding with a strong level of relationship. Because, referring to Putnam, bonding emphasizes the relationship created because of similarities in terms of particular demographic factors, such as age, ethnicity, and education. This bond tends to be inward-looking and strengthens an exclusive identity (Ferlander, 2007). This bond is reflected in the strong relationship between the Minangkabau people in the village and overseas. The nomads from West Sumatra

then formed a kinship network between fellow nomads from the same village. These nomads then formed various organizations that contributed to the progress of their village, even in dealing with various problems in the place where they came from. For example, an immigrant organization from the Sulik Air area in West Sumatra, later contributed to the development of the Sulik Air area (Addiarrahman, 2013). Then, Fahira and Putra also describe Minang immigrants from Nagari Atar, Tanah Datar Regency, West Sumatra. Many immigrants opened photocopying businesses in overseas areas such as Bandung and Jakarta. According to Fahira, when they are successful, the migrants bring their family, relatives or close friends from the same area of origin. Successful immigrants are also able to inspire their relatives back home. Many prospective immigrants intend to come to the capital and several areas on the island of Java to open a photocopying business (Fahira & Putra, 2021). This phenomenon is as depicted in the proverb, *satinggi-tinggi tabangnyo bangau, baliaknyo ka kubangan juo* (as high as the stork flies, it will return to the wallow) which means that wandering activities aim to seek knowledge and materials that can later contribute to their hometown. In addition, the phenomenon of *merantau* (leave home to make living) also shows that there is a closeness between the Minangkabau people who have the same identity. This institutionalized kinship network also strengthens fellow nomads' emotional and supportive relationships.

In addition, the inward-looking aspect of Minangkabau society is also illustrated by the proverb, *adaik badunsanak, dunsanak patahankan; adaik bakampuang, kampuang patahankan; adaik basuku, suku patahankan; adaik banagari, nagari patahankan* (Family custom, family guarded; Village custom, Village guarded; Tribe Custom, tribe guarded, Land custom, land guarded). This proverb means that people in Minangkabau have levels focused on their social life. This level starts from the most minor, namely relatives, then people from the same hometown, then fellow tribesmen. Then the last one is the senagari or compatriot environment. This proverb shows that people in Minangkabau tend to be homogeneous and have close ties with people who have the same identity. This phenomenon also shows that the form of social capital in Minangkabau tends to form bonds with horizontal networks.

LOCAL WISDOM AS DOMESTIC APPROACH TO ENCOURAGE COVID-19 VACCINATION IN WEST SUMATRA

The existence of public trust in local actors is social capital in West Sumatra. In addition, collective values are full of people's social life. Therefore, integrating social capital into policy can be used as a solution option in the success of vaccination. Referring to the study of the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) (2005), the government can be involved directly or indirectly based on the issues at hand, namely (1) Building and supporting

networks (social capital) that are relevant to the objectives of a specific program, (2) Entering into the social network (social capital) in program implementation, (3) Establish desired conditions through social interaction or using third parties such as norm entrepreneurs (4) Increase program sensitivity to social capital patterns to assess. The first and second options require direct government involvement, while the third and fourth options require the government to be involved indirectly (Policy Research Initiative, 2005).

For the context of West Sumatra, the government can use the strategy of "shaping the desired conditions using a third party." In this strategy, PRI (2005) explains that to achieve its goals, the government identifies influential actors and has substantial social capital. Furthermore, the government can take advantage of the existing social capital network to influence behavior related to the goals to be achieved. The government can choose this strategy because West Sumatra has a strong level of social capital and a form of horizontal bonding social capital. As explained in the previous section, this character is closely related to the family aspect so that influential local actors can play a role in society. Therefore, the Government of West Sumatra can embrace the local actors which identified in the previous section, as norm-entrepreneurs in the success of the vaccination program.

In the process, West Sumatra already has a unit tasked with dealing

with the pandemic, namely the Covid-19 Task Force (Covid-19 Task Force). This institution is regulated by the central government, attached to positions, and involves all parties. During the vaccination program, Jasman Rizal conveyed the many challenges the Covid-19 Task Force faced. The biggest obstacle faced is convincing the people of West Sumatra about the safety of vaccines, mainly because of the large amount of hoax information circulating about the Covid-19 vaccine. This problem creates a perception in the community, which is then reluctant to vaccinate. As for the perception, such as "is the vaccine safe? Why do we use vaccine from China? Is the vaccine *halal* or *haram*?". Jasman Rizal acknowledged that digital literacy was critical during the implementation of the vaccination program and acknowledged that the involvement of community leaders was significant. Jasman Rizal also admits that for the West Sumatra region, the involvement of figures trusted by the community dramatically influences the people's attitude in West Sumatra. It is then very relevant to the value of the social capital of the people of West Sumatra. West Sumatra is one of the regions with substantial social capital, especially in trust. According to further information from Jasman Rizal, figures such as *Ulama*, *Niniak Mamak*, and *Bundo Kanduang* have a substantial role in society, and if these actors vaccinate, the community will also participate in vaccinating (Rizal, 2021). Jasman Rizal's statement shows that although West

Sumatra already has an acceleration unit for handling Covid-19, it has not boosted West Sumatra's low number of vaccinations. The challenges faced by the Covid-19 Task Force unit are related to the characteristics of the people of West Sumatra. A spokesman for the Covid-19 Task Force, Jasman Rizal, also considered that the people of West Sumatra tend to be reluctant to do something if they are too forced, and will do something that is instructed if there is a figure who becomes an example so that it encourages people to do that. Jasman Rizal added that the people of West Sumatra need an example in this regard (Rizal, 2021). Therefore, a coercive approach is complicated to help maximize the success of the vaccination program in West Sumatra.

With the strong ties of the social capital network in West Sumatra, the government can involve the actors in the network. Regarding this matter, Jasman Rizal said that the Covid-19 Task Force always holds regular meetings with local actors affiliated with several institutions in West Sumatra, such as the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), the Minangkabau Natural Customary Density Institute (LKAAM), the Adat Density Nagari (KAN), Bundo Kanduang Organization. Jasman also added that in practice, they, such as the MUI Chair and LKAAM Chair, were involved in the Covid-19 Task Force so that coordination became easy and they could work together with the government in making the vaccination program a success. In addition, these local actors can assist the government in

breaking the chain of hoax information related to vaccines. Citing survey data from Research and Development Kompas (2021) that sources of public information related to vaccines are based on their social environment, the nuclear family gets the most significant percentage, followed by close friends/neighbors/relatives, followed by the community and religious leaders (Afrianto, 2021). These data indicate that the minor units to the broader community need local actors to guide and direct the community in assessing correct information regarding vaccination. Of course, if local actors can play an active role in the community, the government will be helped.

In addition to embracing local actors, the government has also established a village that can handle its problems independently, such as Nagari Tageh and the Kongsis Covid (Rizal, 2021). One of the goals of Nagari Tageh was formed to break the spread of the Covid-19 chain by involving elements of the nagari. This program was initiated in collaboration with Universitas Andalas (one of public university in West Sumatra) and the TNI/Polri. Universitas Andalas helps nagari prepare themselves to become resilient villages (nagari tageh) in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic and its impacts. This activity involved the community from the planning stage, with the aim was to include the Covid-19 prevention program and handling its impacts in the nagari development plan. The Nagari Tageh Program is a disaster

management program, especially the Covid-19 pandemic, by involving the community as the driving actor directly. Several programs tackling Covid-19 were agreed upon through the Nagari Tageh program, such as implementing the Nagari isolation house.

Quoting a statement from Dr. Eri Gas Eka Putra, if the principle of synergy and cooperation of all elements becomes social capital to survive and continue to develop during the Covid-19 pandemic, he conveyed this statement when explaining the Nagari Tageh concept. The main points in the implementation of Nagari Tageh can then be understood using the principle of gotong royong, the true nature of which is one of the characteristics of the people of West Sumatra. Furthermore, Eri Gas explained that the Nagari Tageh program was based on "basamo mangko manjadi" (Tanah Datar Regency Government, 2020). Conceptually, the Nagari Tageh program is a program that makes the people of West Sumatra themselves a catalyst in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. An approach that is more inviting and involving is considered more effective than an approach that tends to command, and it even seems coercive with coercive means such as punishment and intimidation.

Meanwhile, Kongsis Covid is an independent community-based institution to break the Covid-19 chain. This institution is similar to Nagari Tageh, which facilitates coordination and synergy in overcoming Covid-19 by fostering a

spirit of mutual concern. Besides, this institution provides mutual support for healing for residents who are confirmed positive, as well as educating the community about healthy lifestyles so that they are not exposed and implementing Health Protocols, providing education and inviting the public to participate in supporting the vaccination program, as a step to increase immunity in the face of Covid-19 (Ombudsman RI, 2021). The difference is that the Kongsid Covid is applied to the neighborhood association level. These two institutions show that a solid social capital network in society can fill the void the government has not been able to fill. Therefore, using local actors to succeed in vaccination in West Sumatra is very important. Activities carried out by the government is social capital from the third aspect. This activity implies indirect government involvement. Indirect government involvement may constitute one step in the right direction. However, it also has challenges in achieving vaccination targets which can take a long time. It is because the strategy is indirect so that the formation of the desired conditions requires the involvement of all stakeholders.

CONCLUSION

Covid-19 has become one of transnational problem today. Therefore, WHO has issued a series of guidelines on the handling and prevention of the transmission of Covid-19, such as protective measures, physical distance measures, and vaccination. Accordingly,

all of the governments required their society to be vaccinated. As one of solutions, Covid-19 vaccination is not easily accepted by the society, especially related to the safety and *halal* issue. West Sumatra province is one of the provinces that the vaccination progress quite slowly whereas they are pursuing the herd immunity target that the central government has set. The rejection of the Covid-19 vaccine in West Sumatra is a challenge for local governments and local leaders (traditional, religious, scholar, and *bundo kanduang*). In addition, the existence of hoax information that is spread in the community is also an obstacle that the government must face. Education through advertisements in print media, electronic media, and public places has not had a significant effect on vaccination rates in West Sumatra. Therefore, by understanding that the people of West Sumatra are accustomed to a collective lifestyle. With this character and culture, local leader actors, such as traditional, religious, scholar, and *bundo kanduang* significantly can influence society. The government can use this condition to adopt global policies in the domestic sphere. West Sumatra already has a solid social capital network so that the government can involve local leader actors as norm-entrepreneurs in adopting the Covid-19 vaccination in two ways; first, the local leader actor becomes part of the Covid-19 task force team; second, the establishment of community units with local actors, such as Nagari Tagedh and Kongsid Covid.

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